

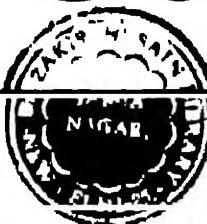
The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal.

341
RARE BOOK

341.

Edited by Mohamed. Ali.



Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

—Morris

Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 1. Anna 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, January 6, 1912.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1.

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On arrival at Government House the King Emperor and Queen Empress were received by the Governor General and Lady Hardinge.

The following had the honour of being presented to Their Imperial Majesties by the Governor General:

The Chief Justice, the Bishop of Calcutta, the Members of the Executive Council, the Naval Commander-in-Chief, the Chief of the General Staff, the President and Members of the Railway Board, the Additional Members of the Legislative Council, the Secretaries to the Government of India.

After this the senior officers of the Army Head Quarters Staff had the honour of being presented by the Commander-in-Chief and the Puisne Judges by the Chief Justice.

The King Emperor's reply to the City's address was as follows:—

"I thank you warmly on behalf of the Queen-Empress and myself for the assurances of loyalty and devotion on the part of the Corporation and citizens of the city of Calcutta to which your address gives expression."

"We are deeply touched by your kind reference to my beloved Father's stay in your city and by your affectionate allusion to our own visit here six years ago. We can never forget the cordial welcome given us on that occasion, while the sympathetic interest in our Indian Empire, which the first sight of this great city inspired, has in no way abated. It is a source of great pleasure to us to re-visit Calcutta and to see for ourselves evidence of your progress and prosperity."

"The changes in the administration of India resulting from the announcement made by me at the great Durbar at Delhi will affect, to a certain extent, Calcutta. But your city must always remain the pre-acute city of India. Its population, its importance as a commercial centre and great emporium of trade, its splendid historic traditions, all combine to invest Calcutta with a unique character, which should preserve to it a pre-eminent position. At the same time the status of the Province of which Calcutta is the Capital, has been enhanced by the creation of a Presidency of Bengal and I feel confident that under the wise administration of a Governor and Council, the new Presidency will enjoy increased prosperity with the blessing of tranquillity and order."

"I know that you cherish ambitions that India will one day become a great manufacturing as well as an agricultural country. I have watched with keen interest the progress of your business enterprises, and I trust that the success which has attended your commercial energy will attract more and more of the youth of this country to regard commerce as a distinguished and honourable profession."

"I thank you for your kind wishes and prayers. It shall ever be our earnest endeavour to promote the welfare of our Indian Empire, and we fervently hope that the years as they pass will ever strengthen the feeling of warm attachment that exists between my House and my Indian people."

31st December. Their Imperial Majesties attended Divine Service at St Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, on Sunday, driving there and back in state carriage with outriders and postillions. The road from Government House was kept by the police, but beyond this there was no formality. The King Emperor and Queen Empress entered the Viceregal pew from the south-east door and took their part in the service like any other members of the large congregation which filled the building.

The Week.

The Royal Visit.

The following are extracts from the Court Circular — 29th December. The King Emperor and Queen Empress arrived at Howrah at 12.30 p.m. and were received by the Governor-General and Lady Hardinge. On Their Imperial Majesties' alighting from the Royal train, the National Anthem was played and a salute of 21 guns was fired from the ramparts of Fort William. Their Imperial Majesties were received at the pier by the Vice-Chairman of the Port Commissioners, the Officer Port of Calcutta, and the Deputy Conservator of the Port of Calcutta. The route from the station, to the pier was lined by troops. On leaving the station, the Queen Empress was graciously pleased to accept a bouquet presented by Lady Dring. The King Emperor and the Queen-Empress embarked on the steamer *Hawrah* which was escorted by tugs steamer manned by the Calcutta Port Defence Volunteers down the Hooghly river to Prinsep's Ghat. As the steamer left the pier a salute of 21 guns was fired by H M S *Highflyer*. On the arrival of the *Hawrah* at Prinsep's Ghat, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and the General Officer Commanding 8th (Lucknow) Division with their staffs proceeded on board where they had the honour of being presented to Their Imperial Majesties.

The King-Emperor and Queen-Empress then proceeded ashore where they were received by the members of the Bengal Executive Council, the Ruling and Feudatory Chiefs of Bengal, the principal nobles of Bengal, the members of the Bengal Legislative Council.

The Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation then on behalf of the Commissioners read an address of loyal welcome to Their Imperial Majesties, to which the King-Emperor was graciously pleased to reply.

The Comrade.

6th January.

The sermon was preached by Bishop Copleston from the two initial words of the Lord's Prayer, "Our Father which art in heaven." The Bishop dwelt upon the religious aspect of the rejoicings of the country over the presence of its King-Emperor and pointed out that a great people must be knit together by the recognition of the existence of one divine father of all its members.

Her Majesty accompanied by Lady Hardinge and party from Government House paid a visit on Sunday afternoon to the Royal Botanical Gardens at Shibpur. The Royal party left by steamer from Chandpal Ghat and on arrival at the gardens were shown over by the Superintendent. Her Majesty was apparently much pleased with all she saw in the gardens.

1st January. At 8 a.m. this morning the King-Emperor rode from Government House to the racecourse.

In the afternoon the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress motored to the racecourse polo ground.

In the evening, a State Dinner followed by a reception, was given at Government House to which a large number of guests, mainly high officials, Judges of the High Court, and members of the Foreign Consular body were invited.

The following Press communiqué was issued on 1st January.—

"By the gracious command of Their Imperial Majesties a holiday has been granted to all schools and colleges in Calcutta and the suburbs, including Howrah, from the 1st to the 9th January. Those schools and colleges which have examinations fixed during these days will be given equivalent holidays after the examinations are over."

Their Imperial Majesties accompanied by their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Hardinge visited the Zoological Garden in the evening and were received at the gate by Mr B Basu, the Superintendent, and Mr S Ganguli, the Assistant Superintendent and staff. Their Majesties expressed themselves highly interested in what they saw in the Garden specially the lion cubs (born in the Garden), the tigers, the poisonous snakes, the cat bears, and the birds of paradise. They were satisfied with the upkeep of the animals and the general management of the Garden. Lieutenant-Colonel E. Harold Brown, M.D., I.M.S. (retired), Honorary Secretary of the Garden, came later on and was introduced to His Majesty by His Excellency the Viceroy and accompanied him to the gate.

2nd January. This morning the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress proceeded from Government House to the Parade Ground.

The King Emperor mounted his charger at Government House and the following Procession was formed: The King Emperor, Major Keighley, Commandant of the Body Guard, the Commander-in-Chief, the Governor-General, the Duke of Teck, Major Lord Charles Fitzmaurice, Brigadier General Sir R. Crimston, Lieutenant Colonel Maxwell, the Maharajah of Bikanir, the Maharaja of Gwalior, Hon. Major-General Sir Pintap Singh, the Queen-Empress in a carriage with the Mistressess of the Robes and the Lord High Steward, Captain Hodson, Adjutant of the Body Guard, Lady Hardinge, the Marquis of Crewe and the Lord Chamberlain to the Queen-Empress in a carriage.

Major Stockley and Major General Sir Stuart Bentson were in attendance on Her Imperial Majesty on horseback.

The route was by the Red Road and the escort was furnished by the Governor-General's Body guard.

On arrival at the Saluting Base, the King-Emperor was received by a Royal salute, and His Imperial Majesty, followed by the Queen-Empress in Her carriage, inspected the Parade.

At the conclusion of the Inspection, Their Imperial Majesties returned to the Saluting Base when a Salute of 101 guns and a few *de-jou* were fired.

The March Past then took place after which the Cavalry Brigade passed at the gallop.

The whole of the Division then advanced in Review Order. The Royal Salute was given, followed by three cheers for the King-Emperor and three cheers again for the Queen-Empress.

Their Imperial Majesties left the Parade Ground and returned to Government House in Procession as before.

In the afternoon the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress honoured the Governor-General and Lady Hardinge with Their presence at a Garden Party given in Government House Grounds.

The King-Emperor held a Levee at Government House.

3rd January. At 8 a.m. this morning the King-Emperor rode from Government House to the Racecourse.

In the forenoon the King-Emperor attended by the Governor-General and Commander Sir Charles Cust and Rear Admiral Sir Colin Keppel (Equerries in Waiting) motored to the Polo Ground where His Imperial Majesty honoured with his presence the final of the Calcutta Coronation Polo Tournament. The competing teams were the 10th Hussars and the Scouts. The tournament was won by the latter to whom the King-Emperor was graciously pleased to hand the Cup which was given by Sir Cecil Graham.

This afternoon the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress honoured the Calcutta Races with their presence. Their Imperial Majesties left Government House at 2.30 and a procession of carriages was formed.

The escort under the command of Major Keighley was furnished by the Governor-General's Body-guard.

On arrival Their Imperial Majesties were received by the Governor-General and Lady Hardinge and the Stewards of the Calcutta Turf Club, and witnessed some of the races including the Race for the Cup given by the King-Emperor.

Before leaving the Racecourse His Imperial Majesty was graciously pleased to present the Cup to Mr. J. C. Galstaun, the owner of the winner.

The King-Emperor and Queen-Empress then entered their carriage and returned to Government House with their suite in procession via the west side of the Race Course and the Red Road.

Morocco.

REUTER wired from Madrid:—Fighting round Melilla recently was of the heaviest description. The Rifians were decimated, while the Spanish General Ros was wounded. The operations continue. In the further fighting on the 28th instant Spaniards lost two killed and seventy wounded.

As a result of intelligence from native sources that the enemy are expecting reinforcements to the number of 20,000, Spain has decided to despatch to Melilla all forces necessary to quell the rising.

It is officially stated that the Spanish losses on the 27th December were 4 officers and 64 men killed and 18 officers and 210 men wounded. The Moors have received fresh reinforcements and further obstinate fighting is expected.

Latest details give the Spanish losses on December 27 as 12 officers killed and 21 wounded, and 83 men killed and 257 wounded. Bad weather delays the embarkation of Spanish reinforcements.

China.

REUTER wired from Nanking:—Sun-Yat-Sen had been unanimously elected President of the Republic of China.

Reuter wired from Peking:—The Dowager Empress, Yuan-Shih-Kai, and the Manchu prince to-day discussed the proposals of the Shanghai Conference. The Throne agreed to accept the scheme for a further conference with a wider representative character and the Cabinet was instructed to draw up the regulations necessary for the inauguration of the scheme. The Throne expressed its willingness to agree to any form of Government the Conference might decide on.

Reuter wired from St Petersburg:—A telegram from Hankow states that the armistice has expired and that the Republicans have opened fire from Wuchang upon Hanyang.

Reuter wired from Shanghai:—The Peace Conference has resolved that the National Convention shall be composed of representatives of the different sections of China, each province forming one section. Each section will send three delegates and each delegate will exercise three votes even if the full number of delegates of that section does not attend. The delegates will be summoned by telegraph partly in the name of the Provisional Republican Government and partly in the name of the Manchu Government.

The Conference has voted 200,000 dollars for the relief of the famine-stricken area.

A telegram from Urga states that the head of the Buddhist priesthood has taken over the government of Mongolia as an autocratic ruler.

Reuter wires from Shanghai that it is feared, owing to the resignation of Tang-Shao-Yi, the Imperial delegate at the Conference, because his compliant attitude during the peace negotiations was disapproved of by Peking, that a continuation of the Conference is impossible.

Reuter wires from Shanghai:—Wu-Ting-Fang in further reply to the note of the Powers of December 21st urging speedy arrangement in the interests of all concerned says the prospects of peace have been wilfully nullified by the Manchu Government breaking off negotiation and repudiating the decisions of its accredited representative Tang-Shao-Yi.

Reuter wires from Nanking:—Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen arrived here yesterday. He has received a courteous letter from Yuan-Shih-Kai declaring that the entire people will be permitted to decide the form of Government and thanking him for the offer of the presidency.

A message to the *Daily News* from Peking states that the Secretary of the Italian Legation has returned from Tzu-Yuen-Fu and reports that the conditions there are critical. The official states that the brigands rule the town and that thirty Italian priests are in jeopardy. The British and Italian Ministers have informed Yuan-Shih-Kai of these statements and he has promised to send troops.

TETE À TETE



We HAVE already rung out the old year, and the new one is now being rung in. 1911 has indeed been a memorable year throughout the world, with its industrial struggles, its political wars, its military raids and its peace purchased perhaps at even greater cost than the fierce arbitration of the sword would have involved. It would indeed be a pleasant task to run back over the whole ground of the last twelve months and trace on our pages the lines of the world's movements scrawled hastily by the actors in a very vivid and moving drama on the vast page of life. But properly speaking the task is the historian's who must provide the connecting links of a long chain and not the journalist's who must be content to chronicle the day's doing, as each sun goes down and dips into the sea of the Past. All that the journalist is expected to do is to see that his chronicle is accurate, and that the material he provides for the historian can be relied upon for the construction of the latter's fabric. Lord Rosebery's artistic sense detects flaws where less artistic souls can discern nothing but merits, and in one of his artistic moods he found fault with the newspapers because they contained leading articles. He would have liked a newspaper to be accepted at its face value, i.e., as a paper with news and not views. But although we believe his Lordship's lonely furrow was not ploughed in the field of journalism, we should have thought that he was too astute a public man to ignore all the artistic skill that goes to the creation of "news." A leading article of the *Times*, for instance, does not perhaps bear a deeper impress of the leader writer's personality than the newsletter of one of its own correspondents. A latter-day Priaire may well ask "What is news?" and puzzle not a few editors with his awkward query. Luckily for ourselves, we do not pretend to cater news to the curious so much as to supply our readers with a running commentary on the news provided for them and us by our contemporaries. A Persian proverb, نقل کفر کفر نیز را (May the lie thereof be on the neck of the person who related the story), is a good enough protection for us, we hope, against the cross-examiner who would pillory us in the witness-box and hurl at our devoted head the question "What is news?" Many Oriental chroniclers used to provide themselves with a lawyer's "Without Prejudice" in the convenient dictum: در عرض بتوکردن را (May the lie thereof be on the neck of the person who related the story), and used to wind up their statements with the pious Arabic formula, اللہ اعلم بالصواب.

(Allah knoweth the truth best) We too must have in the course of a whole year reproduced much that must remain a terrible load on the necks of our contemporaries and that Allah may have found difficult to identify as His own truth. But our comments have been our own and for them we must accept the full responsibility. We must confess that nobody would be a journalist who had in his constitution the somewhat inconvenient virtue of modesty in a large measure. A journalist has to appear not only as the spokesman but also as the leader of public opinion, not only to advocate the claims of the people but also to preach from the journalistic pulpit to his flock. Such a position must satisfy the cravings of the heart of the most self-confident among mankind but we have a suspicion that not all the bravery of the editorial "We" and similar journalistic paraphernalia can always subdue the feeling that it is a single individual, not necessarily more competent than all his readers to pass judgments on affairs, that is preaching from an unusual eminence. We should be sorry to follow in the footsteps of the Pharisee, but we hope we may justly claim that our opinions have been offered more as friendly suggestions to our readers than as sermons delivered from a great height. They have not been lectures administered by a superior person, but like like confidences exchanged between comrades. In some quarters, however, exception has been taken to

our claim of comradeship. A man is mostly a bundle of prejudices, and we have not yet claimed for ourselves a place among the angels. If there is an unconscious bias in any direction, we can only regret it. But *ex hypothesis* an unconscious failing cannot be consciously corrected. To the charge of conscious partisanship we unhesitatingly plead "Not Guilty." We belong to no Syndicate. We are part and parcel of no political Trust. We are rigidly attached to no Tammany Hall. Our opinions may be right or they may be wrong. But they are all our own. Our faith in a United India is unaltered and unshaken. But a United India does not exist to day. We have to create it, and the first necessary condition before it can be created is to recognise that at present it does not exist. We are prepared to face the situation fairly and squarely, and we do not shrink from a recognition of uncomfortable facts. We confess we have chalked out for ourselves a path somewhat different from the paths of others. But the goal is identical, and that is the highest good of every community and interest in India's varied elements. We confess religion and religious warfare has no dangers for us. For us the greatest enemy of a united Nation is the Caste, and if we appear unduly suspicious, we must plead our unfortunate experience in the past, that what had been claimed for the Nation was often shared only by a few favoured castes that are essentially un-national. Specious pleas such as "free competition" have no attraction for us. Our ideal is not so much free competition as fraternity, and we think that the weakest brother is in need of protection rather than of a Manchester School of political philosophy. If we have advocated the cause of one community more strenuously than that of another, it has chiefly been because it was the weakest and most in need of our advocacy. We have been at such pains to meet criticism levelled at our consistency, not because we resent it, but because we desire to show that we are not deaf to the critic's voice. With one class of critics, however, we have no patience. That is the person who wishes us to make him, or some organisation of those who think like him, the Keeper of our Conscience. We believe we have a conscience, and we believe equally firmly that it is best kept by ourselves. Lord Morley, one of the greatest benefactors of India, has no more escaped the charge of inconsistency than we have been, but, in the words of a journalistic colleague and critic of Lord Morley, we may conclude this survey by saying that the ship may swing on the tide sometimes, but the anchor holds. It is our hope that we shall be no more untrue to ourselves in 1912 than we have been in 1911, and that we shall continue to be comrades of all and partisans of none. But if in ought we have erred in 1911, we would crave the indulgence of all whom we have offended. After all it is not to what is past that we must hark back. The ideals of progress are always before, not behind us, and we may say with the poet,

Ring out a slowly dying cause,
And ancient forms of party strife,
Ring in the nobler modes of life,
With sweeter manners, purer laws.
Ring out false pride in place and blood,
The civic jangler and the spite;
Ring in the love of truth and right,
Ring in the common love of good.
Ring out old shapes of foul disease,
Ring out the narrowing lust of gold,
Ring out the thousand wars of old,
Ring in the thousand years of peace.

Our supporter would like to know how we have fared in the eventful year that has just closed after witnessing such strange and wholly unsuspected happenings.

For us it has been a year of special anxiety for it has been the very first of our existence, and who does not know the many perils of journalistic infancy? We often hear of hope being the only asset in some enterprise, but we wonder if this trite remark was ever half as true as it has been in our own case. Here was an enterprise which was undertaken absolutely without capital, and although good Samaritans were not wanting in our case, they came to our rescue almost without an exception after we had taken the first fateful step. Our confidence in our own rough-hewing was no less startling than our faith in the divinity that shapes our ends. But we have no reason, after a year's trial, to be dissatisfied with results. When the first issue appeared a year ago we had less than 300 promised subscribers, and hardly a penny of capital. But within a fortnight of the first issue the number of subscribers was more than doubled, and the average increase in the number of subscribers has been about 200 per month. July and August are part of India's rather long Silly Season, and nothing unusual had occurred in 1911 to disturb their reposed character. But the largest additions to our list of subscribers were made in those two months, and, what is still more satisfactory, the variations from month to month have been very slight. We may, therefore, claim that it is not by catchpenny sensationalism that the *Comrade* has made its way into the homes and—may we say?—the hearts of the people. Although the phrase has been made odious by the unshamed hypocrisy of European

diplomacy, we may truly say that it has rather been a case of "peaceful penetration". We have often advertised for canvassers to push the sale of the paper and have failed to get one. But the chief reason of our failure has been the constant supply of honorary canvassers, for just as every Moslem is—or at least used to be—a missionary, every reader of the *Comrade* is its sturdy and most successful canvasser. We had hopes of repaying this kindness, not by a mere acknowledgment of it in our columns, but by an appreciable reduction in the rate of subscription. But what has happened reminds us of the problem of our schooldays which had something to do with a tap in a tank bringing in a supply of water at a given rate and an escape for the water which let it out at another rate. While we were steadily adding to the number of our subscribers every month, a certain number of others were running up arrears of subscription in spite of our repeated request to settle accounts. Had some of our subscribers asked us after a few months' trial to discontinue sending the paper to them we should have been sorry to learn that it had failed to please them, but we would, on the other hand, have been spared much confusion and disappointment. The fact, that while bills remain unpaid and reminders unanswered, each succeeding issue was willingly accepted, flatters our self-conceit no doubt, but it sorely touches our finances. We are sorry to say that in the course of the last 12 months we have had to strike off the names of no less than 400 subscribers, hardly 10 per cent. of whom had their names scratched after paying the dues for some time, most of the remaining 90 per cent. having had their names removed as defaulters. We expected generosity in their treatment of us, but this is not even honesty. The result of this has unavoidably been that those who have been regular in their payment have had to be deprived of the much-looked-for chance of a reduction in the rate of subscription. If any of these defaulters chances to read these lines, we only trust they will make him realize better than before that in reality he has been punishing with bad debts not us so much as those who have no dues to settle. But in spite of this set back the progress has been far beyond our expectations. The rate of the first few days of January, 1912, is so remarkably high that if it is maintained longer we shall have an addition of 400 names in the very first month of the new year. A few months like this would see us not only securely established, but also in a position to enable thousands of people, who cannot spare Rs 12 a year for the *Comrade*, to subscribe to it. An early step that has to be taken is the establishment of our own Press so that savings may be effected in printing charges and we may be enabled to follow the Government of India to its new Capital, or its near neighbourhood. All this can be done if we continue to receive the same support from our numerous friends in our second year that we have received in our first. The New Year is generally the time for new resolves which seldom materialize into facts. We make none ourselves, nor ask our readers to do so. If they and we adhere faithfully to our old resolution of true comradeship, it will be well for them as well as for us. So let us welcome the New Year with the hope that, without losing any of the old ones, we shall add new friends to our *camaraderie*.

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS COLLECTED FOR THE RELIEF OF THE WAR SUFFERERS IN TRIPOLI AND AN EXCELLENT INDEX OF THE EXTENT OF TURKISH RELIEF FUND. To which the sufferings of Mussalmans abroad are felt by their co-religionists in India. With a view to show these clearly we had requested the gentlemen in charge of these funds in various localities to take the trouble of giving us this information by filling a form like the one we published in another column and sending it to us so as to reach us at the latest on Wednesday mornings. We are sorry to say that hitherto only two gentlemen have sent us the required information, but we trust others will follow their example, and that the form would in all cases be adhered to and accounts ending Saturday would be sent week by week. We are not convinced that Karachi Mussalmans have done their duty, for the students of Aligarh who are not in a position to earn anything themselves have contributed almost an equal amount by stinting themselves in the way of food and reducing other items of expenditure which had to be met out of their scanty pocket money. We heard from Kazi Kabiruddin Saheb of Bombay that nearly Rs 75,000 have been collected there, but the amounts mentioned in his letter—which we hope to publish soon with some more information which we have asked for—show that little has been realized from the poor Calcutta, we learn, has contributed about Rs 30,000. That, we fear, is too little even for the late metropolis of India, specially as its contribution to the Moslem University Fund is of the smallest. It is a source of personal gratification to us that Rampur, which is the capital of the Rampur State and has a very poor and not very large population, has contributed Rs 30,000, which have been sent through the Commissioner of Bareilly to the British Ambassador at Constantinople for favour of forwarding to the Grand Vizier. Our own fund is progressing fairly well, although we have purposely refrained from publishing special appeals. We wish the contributions to be

voluntary in the strictest sense, and although we shall lose the benefits accruing to us here and hereafter as persuaders in a good cause, according to the wise dictum *الله على خير كنا عليه* (the persuader of good is like the doer of good), we hope to be able to know more truly how far the Mussalmans of India feel for their foreign co-religionists.

*لَهَا كُرْنَقِيْرُونَ كَاهْ نِيْهِسْ غَالِبْ * تَمَاهِيْلَ اَهْلَ كَرْمْ وَبَكَرْتَهْ مَهْنَ*

We must not forget our much-esteemed and brilliant contemporary, the *Zamindar* of Mr Zafar Ali Khan, which has collected more than Rs 16,000. We have no doubt that if the accounts of all collections were published, it would be found that India has sent not less than five lakhs of rupees for the sufferers in Tripoli and Turkey. Hardly had India succeeded in relieving the miseries of these people when the sufferings of the Persians at Tabriz are announced. What with the claims of the Moslem University and of the sufferers in Tripoli and Tabriz, the Mussalmans of India have more calls on their purses than they could well respond to. But they must remember the pregnant words of the Quran:

وَلَنَلْتَرُ لَكُمْ بَعْضًا مِنَ الْخَوبِ وَالْجُهُومِ وَتَقْبَعُ مِنَ الْأَمْوَالِ رَأْلَنْسِ وَالْتَّمَرِتِ وَبَقِرَالصِّبِرِينَ الَّذِينَ اَدَى اَمَّا يَتَمَّ مَصْنَعَةً فَالْوَانَاثُ لِلَّهِ اَنَا لِلَّهِ زَحْفُونَ

(And indeed We shall test you with a little of fear and hunger and loss of wealth and life and produce. So announce [our pleasure] to those who are patient, who say when a trouble befalls them "We are for Allah, and we shall return to Him"). They are being tested only with a little loss of wealth, but there is neither fear, nor hunger, nor loss of life. All the greater tests are only for their brethren's in Tripoli and Tabriz. Egypt which is so much smaller than India has contributed several lakhs already. It is indeed one more proof of the nobility of English character that when the London Moslem League opened a "Red Crescent" Society fund, while only a few Mussalmans contributed small amounts—smaller indeed than we had ever expected—about twenty Englishmen came to the League's assistance and among them Captain C. F. Dixon-Johnson of Darlington contributed £100, which is twenty times as large as any Moslem contribution, excepting of course H. H. The Aga Khan's £400. This is a fact worth remembering, for otherwise Indian Mussalmans are apt to be unjust to the British nation and the Christians. If there is a Sir Edward Grey, there are also Lords Lamington and Curzon, Professor Browne, Captain Dixon-Johnson and Lieutenant Montagu.

It is only once a year, with the close of the Annual Session of the Congress, that one hears of the existence of the Social Conference, that one hears of the organised movement for reform in Hindu Society. What that movement really stands for would be manifest from the scope and

variety of the deliberations that take place in the Social Conference. The list of the official resolutions that come up for discussion every year with unfailing regularity, reveal the colossal nature of the problems with which the Hindu reformers have got to deal. They cover the whole range of the Hindu social life, its castes and conventions, its marriage laws and sex relations, the modes of living it prescribes, its restrictions, inequalities and immobility. Even a brief acquaintance with the enormous work that lies before the Hindu Social Conferences would lead one to approach the broad questions affecting the political evolution of the country in a very humble, subdued and chastened mood. The Hindu Press talks democracy with a vengeance and is trying to copy the accent of the oracle without first making sure of the inspiration. The conditions of the Hindu society as it exists to-day furnish the true perspective of the Indian situation. To talk of democracy, with the mass of the people still in varying stages of an unregenerate state of existence, with caste and privilege and priest as the dominating influences in home and social relations, is to indulge in a tall political talk without measuring the realities of the situation. Social tyrannies afford hardly the sort of atmosphere for the growth of political freedom. Democracy, as we had explained in a previous issue, is not a cult or a system, it is the expression of the social habit and will and conscience in politics. Yet the Hindu politicians seem to have shunned the only straight path that could lead to the political salvation of the country. The Social Reform movement is as yet in its infancy, and leaving aside the platform zeal and fine patriotism that does not cost more than the burning of the mid-night oil over carefully prepared manuscripts, there seems to be no earnestness and sustained endeavour in fighting the terrible evils which are sapping the vigour of the great Hindu community. Resolutions are good in their own way, but they are not an end in themselves. If the serious social evils can be ignored in this light-hearted fashion

in the rush and hurry of politics, the other communities may well look with suspicion on the efforts of the Hindu politicians for political co-operation on terms of equality, when there exists extreme social tyranny in their own ranks.

A very amusing communication on "the future policy of Indian Moslems" has appeared in the *Pioneer* of the 4th Begging for a instant over the signature of S. Riza Ali, "Secretary, Policy. District Moslem League, Moradabad." The object of this letter is "to take the *Pioneer* into our confidence, to communicate to it our anxieties and troubles, and to ask it to help us by advice in shaping our future policy." We do not know whether the District Moslem League commissioned their Secretary to approach their new political "adviser," which "has been a friend of the Mussalmans for a long time," to share with it their anxieties and their griefs, and extract from it a word of good cheer, or it was the Secretary's personal anxiety to deal a smart stroke of business with the *Pioneer* on his own account. Be this as it may, the *Pioneer* has risen characteristically to the occasion and has "no desire to sketch out programmes for the many rival communities of India." For once even the Allahabad Daily, which loves nothing so much as to indulge *obiter dicta* for the benefit and guidance of the erring universe, has been able to imagine that "the Muhammadans in particular are very well able to take care of themselves" Mr. S Riza Ali, perhaps, seems to think otherwise. His hankering after a "policy" laid down for him by an Anglo-Indian daily reveals a piteous frame of mind, which is fortunately rare amongst the majority of educated Mussalmans "Policies" can not be manufactured any more than history or environment. They are the result of genuine convictions and take shape as definite courses of action through circumstances. If the Secretary of the Moradabad District League can or think out for himself the line of his future conduct, the best thing for him would be to apply to the All-India Moslem League for help in the matter. To begin to think aloud in the columns of a newspaper and complain like Hamlet that

Times are out of joint. O' cursed spite
That ever I was born to set them right

is surely the height of political imbecility. Happily, however, the Mussalmans feel that they are able to take care of themselves without needing the editorial wisdom of the *Pioneer* to set them right. If the Mussalmans are unable to think for themselves no extraneous advice will save them even if it be as pontifical as that of the friend, philosopher and guide that Mr. S. Riza Ali has unearthed for them.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND

	RS	AS	Ps
W. Panee, Esq., Khatia, Tangail ..	50	0	0
Through Mazar Husain Qaziwal, Esq., Lucknow ..			
Mussalmans of Gadia ..	13	9	0
Mussalmans of Goela ..	25	5	0
Mussalmans of Sidhaura ..	47	5	6
Mussalmans of Radauli ..	15	0	0
Mussalmans of Daryaband ..	00	0	0
Mazhar Ali, Esq., Aligarh ..	5	0	0
Mrs Abdus Sattar, Rasulpur, Meerut ..	50	0	0
Abdul Hamid, Esq., Dacca ..	2	8	0
Through Maghsoor ul-Haq, Esq., Deewanwan ..			
Messrs Ghulam Kadir, Musauitaubid Rs each ..	1	0	0
Mohamed Yasin, Esq ..	2	5	0
Messrs Nabi Baksh, Mohamed Wahid, Hussain, Liaquat Hussain and Mother of Maulavi Bashir Re. 1 each ..			
Miss Abdul Latif (Senior) ..	5	0	0
Abdullah, Esq. ..	0	8	0
Waezuddin, Esq. ..	0	1	0
A sympathiser ..	10	0	0
Shukh Chiraghuddin, Esq., Gurdaspur ..	50	0	0
Anonymous ..	7	0	0
	408	5	6
Less rebates on cheques and notes..	2	10	0
Amount received during the week ..	405	11	6
Amount previously acknowledged ..	5,572	4	4
Total ..	5,977	15	10

Note.—In the issue of 23rd December 1911, Rs. 1,000 have been mentioned as the subscription of Qazi Najmuddin Sahib. The Qazi Sahib informs us that the money was sent on behalf of the Mussalmans of Meerut.

The Comrade.

Persia.

The land on which the Muscovite yoke is settling fast with England's "sanctimonious acquiescence" is one of the few examples of social and political organisms holding together through the stress and storm of time and amidst the cataclysms of history. It has preserved a marvellous uniformity of racial type and character amidst various changes of faith and empire ever since the nomad tribes of the Aryans from central Asia swept over it and made it their future home. The Aryan settlers were a young and virile race, and the change from the pastoral to the agricultural and industrial stage was as rapid as it was thorough. Industries, arts, wealth, power, culture sprang up in the course of time, and the influences of Persian civilisation began to be felt far and wide throughout the world.

The bold sweep and speculative subtlety of the Persian mind, which had created new forms of beauty and spiritual grace and explored new realms of poetry and romance, left, however, the political development of the country to the uncertain vicissitude of chance. It remained absorbed with awful earnestness in boldly questioning fate and measuring the absolute and the infinite, but disdained to take heed of the trivial and the relative. Turning in despair from the incurable imperfections of human life in its essence, it ceased to care about its accidents. The one characteristic of the modern mind lies in its clear grasp of the value of detail, however trivial, and its recognition of the importance of the accidental in the development of human things. The Persians, with all their grandeur of moral conceptions, vast intellectual power and artistic achievements, failed to evolve some vital doctrine in politics that could co-ordinate the activities of the individual with the functions of the State. All political wisdom came to be centred round the traditions of despotism, however benevolent. All corruption, license, oppression on the part of the rulers began to be silently endured in a mood of resigned indifference. Decay set in in all branches of rational life. Initiative and enterprise perished under the dead weight of tyranny. Industries, arts, culture, in fact, all intellectual activity sank into a mere tradition warped by ignorance. One of the most tragic of the world's woes thus being worn out by an idle system of administration.

It was in the beginning of this century, when the utter political annihilation of the people of Iran was only a matter of a few years, that the hopes of a brighter era dawned within the country. The West, which had been so long dumping hales of goods not unmixed with balls of cannons, had also brought a message of political freedom to the East. Persia listened to the new gospel of Western democracy and opened her eyes with wonder and delight. The teachings of this Gospel were not new to her, she caught in them the unmistakable accents of the earlier Dispensation which in a series of simple and immutable formulas had, thirteen hundred years ago, summed up the most advanced social and political creed of Modern Europe. The scales fell from her eyes, she repented of past errors and solemnly vowed to mend her ways by the help of Divine light. For the first time she realised the awful plight into which the misdeavour of her despots and the helpless ignorance of her people had thrown her. Both her honour and resources were mortgaged to Russia and the designs of that unscrupulous neighbour on her very life were developing with unrelenting thoroughness. It was therefore her first duty to get rid of the despot and the system of which he was the symbol, the man who was bent on betraying her and had already bartered away her economic freedom for a mess of pottage and a cup of wine. The despot was hauled down from his power and with him fell the system that had wrought frightful havoc and ruin in the country. The sovereignty was rescued from being the instrument of an irresponsible autocrat and was made to reside in the will of the people. With the establishment of a government consisting of responsible ministers and subject to the control of the elected representatives of the nation, Persia turned a new leaf in her history and the whole world, at least all those nations interested in human progress and freedom, hailed the advent of the new regime with sympathy and joy.

There is no formula yet known to political philosophy that could heal the woes of centuries of misgovernment in a day and create, as if with a magic wand, a fully equipped modern nationality out of the sundered elements of a race just waking to its political and material ruin. Nor could it ever be expected by those who have the least historic sense that Persia would be able to set up in a few years a perfect system of government and evolve peace and order out of the chaos of the ages. Persia, like Turkey, won the plaudits of a shallow press that talks freedom and practices the most blatant despotism of opinion. But it begay to accuse the Persians, as it had done the Turks, of failure and incapacity before the warmth of the first reception had begun to cool. There were disorders and riots rampant

in the country; life was unsafe; property was insecure: officials were ignorant and inexperienced; and, to cap all, democratic forms of government were unsuited to the instincts and intelligence of an Eastern race. Thus waxed the Press of Europe, notably of Russia and England, whose mood and temper away to the striking paragraphs of the adventurers that after a stormy passage across Persia, as often as not set up as "correspondents" of a *Narod Vremya* or a *Times*. The spirit and genius of one of the most gifted races have been held up to obloquy and scorn, because sooth a narrow-minded press reporter had not the insight, capacity and breadth of vision to understand them or, perhaps, because a sturdy enucleate of the caravan had treated him with the contempt and indifference that he deserved. Lord Morley discoursed the other day in an unusual vein of inconclusive garrulity on the dangers of new political experiments. It is almost inconceivable that he, too, should have used an unworthy claptrap to avoid a clear and unequivocal issue. The dangers of new experiments are great, are we, therefore, to understand that there should never be new political experiments? It is just because an old system is bad, corrupt and intolerable that humanity gets rid of the incubus, though it may have to face ills in the future that it knew not of. All experiments are dangerous as all progress is truly the result of a bold re-adaptation of means to ends. It is not, therefore, the new experiments that need frighten a statesman: what really matters is the spirit and the ideals behind them. Now, a nation honestly striving for freedom, progress and reformed administration, moved by the purest love of justice and political equality, making enormous sacrifices to build up a vigorous national life on a basis of enlightened patriotism, deserved something better from a Radical statesman than the cold douche of a ponderous platitude. Again, no one knows better than Lord Morley how weary and arduous is the journey to a complete political reconstruction. Modern Democracy in Europe is about a hundred years old, and in the opinion of some of the most competent judges, it is yet in the stage of experiment. Lord Morley's criticism of Mr. Hobhouse's famous book on "Democracy" is still fresh in men's minds. It is the most inspiring and fruitful contribution yet made on the subject. In it we find Lord Morley discussing the fortunes of Democracy, its blunders and its perils, and finally coming to the sage conclusion that the future is, on the whole, full of hope for the great political movement of modern times. True, but one may reasonably expect that the same patience, intellectual tolerance and the perspective of history will be brought to bear on the discussion about the fortunes of the Persian movement which is hardly yet five years old. None of course, would expect a hand-to-mouth newspaper reporter, revelling in the shoddy style and expletives of the modern picturesquer, to be capable of exercising these virtues. It is all the more necessary that a great Minister should not allow himself to confuse definite and far-reaching issues by exploiting cheap philosophic doubts.

The central fact of the Persian situation is that the country had been already rendered hopelessly weak and defenceless by the orgies of its despots before the recent efforts of its patriots to save it brought about the revolution. The awakening of the nation and its growth in union and power were utterly disastrous to Russia, who began to cleverly multiply her incisive naval and diplomatic forces in order to crush its nascent sense of freedom. The new developments alarmed British statesmen, who at their simplicity thought that by concluding a treaty with Russia they would in this lay the Muscovite bogey to rest. The growing complexity of the European situation and more particularly the dread of Germany, drove Sir Edward Grey to approach Russia with flattering overtures for the settlement of the Asiatic question. Sir Edward Grey's weakness was Russia's opportunity and she traded the oil as a veritable Godsend. So the notorious Convention was born and founded on its ill-starred canker. Persia was divided into spheres of influence and "its integrity and independence" were assured. As a matter of fact, assurances about the "integrity and independence" of another country mean that the country is too weak to enforce respect for her independent existence and this diplomatic fiction is devised to furnish a sort of legal cloak for acts of gradual spoliation. The history of the Convention is the history of Russia working implacably and with a single mind—the overthrow of Persian freedom. The British Government has been implicitly following on the heels of Russian diplomacy because the Convention was to be maintained. Indeed, this abrupt creation of Sir Edward Grey's genius has become a sort of fetish to him; and to worship it as the one potent charm that could keep the German bogey away, has grown to be the master-purpose of his policy. After every aggressive act committed by Russia, be it the despatch of troops, the coercion of officials, the protection of law breakers and rebels, the inciting of anarchy or interference with the government of the country—Sir Edward Grey has always come out with an apology; and in order to save the Convention has been busy revising its spirit and meaning. Mr. Shuster has gone, and with him have gone the sovereign rights of Persia. The Government has been bullied to pay a fine for having the impertinence and temerity to administer its own laws. Russian

Cossacks are killing women and children at Tabriz or shooting Persian patriots by courts martial. A provisional government is to be set up by Russia in the northern provinces because the Persian Government is helpless to punish the authors of the "crimes," i.e., those devoted patriots who opposed the occupation of Tabriz by Russian troops. The Mejliss has been dissolved and it is quite probable, in view of the dark hints thrown out by Sir Edward Grey, that the National Assembly will never be allowed to meet again. In fine, Persia has virtually ceased to exist as an independent and sovereign state. Yet Sir Edward Grey thinks that Convention is still intact and that it was never concluded to assure the integrity and independence of Persia. Be this as it may, the Convention has almost killed Persia and the death of Persia will in its turn kill the Convention.

Why was this murderous instrument forged? If the peaceful division of the Persian Empire between Russia and England was its aim why were the unctuous assurances about its "integrity and independence" so solemnly made? We do not imagine any British statesman worth the name could have contemplated with equanimity the creation of a land-frontier with Russia. Let us allow that Sir Edward Grey's original intention was to come to an understanding with Russia with a view to the ultimate creation of a sort of buffer and semi-independent Persia dependent upon them for economic direction and political advice. Annexation, we may suppose, was not his aim. Russia, however, had full-fledged designs of territorial acquisition and by subtly playing on the Germanophobe instincts of Sir Edward Grey, she dragged him along with her and has at last landed him in a situation which is little short of a complete *coup de sac* for British statesmen, defaces the traditional Eastern policy of Britain and leads to the suppression and overthrow of Persia's liberty. Lord Curzon, in his masterly survey of the situation in the House of Lords, had warned the Government of what might happen quite inevitably and independently of their desire to maintain the *status quo* in the Middle East. By "following silently in the footsteps of our allies" the British Government might undo the work of generations of British statesmen. His apprehensions have been realised sooner than even he could have imagined at the time. Russia has planted herself at Resht and Tabriz and no power or prayer can dislodge her from these positions. Her occupation of Teheran is only a question of days. By the inevitable logic of the *fait accompli*, the British battalions must move up from the South and meet the Russian legions across the vague line dividing their respective spheres of influence. Whatever may be the ultimate fate of Persia, whether it would be administered indirectly by "protectorates" or directly by annexation and absorption, the coterminous frontiers would change the whole character of British position in the East. Leaving aside the development of an acute problem about the attitude of Afghanistan, enormous fresh responsibilities would be thrown on the shoulders of the Indian people and Government. India will have to pay, whether in treasure or in blood, for the indiscretions of Sir Edward Grey.

Mussulman nations owe a great debt of gratitude to Lord Curzon for pleading so eloquently on their behalf and exhorting the Imperial Government to occasionally try to save them from destruction at the hands of the aggressors. Both Lord Morley and Sir Edward Grey have said that the sentiments of His Majesty's Moslem subjects were one of the guiding considerations in their Persian policy. We may thankfully accept these assurances. But the recent developments in Persia lead us to think that if the Moslem sentiments had been a factor of some weight in the councils of the Imperial Government the Persian situation could have never become so hopeless and almost irretrievable. Needless to say the news of Russian doings have been received by the Mussulmans with the utmost grief and consternation. They cannot look without being profoundly shocked on the destruction of Persia, to whom they are bound by common civilisation and culture no less than by common faith. It is distressing and humiliating to them that one of the most brutal and cynical powers should be allowed to crush one of the most virile and historic races of the East. The existence of an independent Persia is to the advantage of England who could easily save her by a more self-reliant and courageous policy. It is really surprising that a weak minister should be allowed to compromise the whole position of the British Empire in the East as well as to profoundly affect the peace and contentment of millions of Mussulmans. Moral considerations which inspired the early history of the British Liberalism, have ceased to move even Liberal Statesmen. But even on the lowest calculations of expediency, the continued and independent existence of Persia should have been England's foremost concern.

The Source of Truth.

The Pioneer is evidently well served by its foreign correspondents who manage to provide it with suitable facts for its own theories about most things, from the administration of Oriental countries to foreign aggression in the East. Its late correspondent at Constantinople has once more buckled on his armour and his quill-driving campaign is mercilessly going on. In a long letter covering four

and a half columns, this denizen of the Palace of Truth tells us that "a hurried visit to Constantinople and a number of interviews with old friends of all parties has convinced me that the agitation in connection with the war has absolutely died out so far as the capital is concerned. From what I could gather in conversation with three of the present Cabinet, the actual loss of Tripoli does not affect them in the least. What they fear is that with the loss of the province there will be some loss of prestige. Otherwise the Ministry would gladly have accepted the first offer of the Italians and conceded the province in exchange for a pecuniary compensation."

We are not permitted to know who these "old friends of all parties" are, but the only ones who are mentioned at all in the article and whose opinions are related at great length and with evident zest are "one of the Ministers of the ex-Sultan, who is now a *mis-diant* political prisoner in the Prince's islands," and an Arab lawyer who had just returned from Tripoli to which city he had been exiled some ten years ago." We shall deal with the ex Minister's remarkable opinions later, but we are permitted to ask what light can be thrown by this gentleman on Turkish opinion, popular or official, considering that he is a "political prisoner in the Prince's islands," even if we allow that he is permitted to continue his subscriptions to a very considerable number of French, English, and German papers."

As for the Arab lawyer, we are told that "he was a bitter opponent of the Hamidian *regime* and equally bitter against the present Government." The writer adds that "in fact he was a man who seemed to have lived to be disillusioned of every hope that he had ever formed." In 1876 he had been elected a Deputy in Midhat Pasha's Parliament, and "he had been disillusioned with regard to that patriot." He then joined the party of Reform, was arrested, tried and exiled to Tripoli. Then came the constitution and he was in hopes that at last his dearest wishes were about to be realized. He was again disillusioned. Then came the Italian invasion of Tripoli, and he was assured by the Italian Consul-General that all the privilege of the Arabs would be maintained." But, as the reader must no doubt by now have been prepared to hear, this great patriot was again disillusioned. What brought about the disillusionment this time? The atrocities! Not a bit, for "he assured me that he had personally seen none," though he attests the general truth of the statements published about them. Iron entered into his noble soul this time because the Arabs were made by the Italian authorities in Tripoli to surrender the Mauser rifles which the Turks had distributed among them for a sum of money below the market price! This was an outrage too much for the tranquility of a patriot who had offered the following advice to the Italian Consul-General "with whom he was on the most friendly terms," with results far from encouraging to such selfless patriotism. He is related to have said. "The rifles are worth two francs in the open market, offer that and give me a week to collect them and I will guarantee to get in three fourths of the weapons recently distributed, or as alternative, enrol the Arabs as a local Militsia, and lead them against their hereditary foes, the Turks. Take them into Government employ, let them feel that you trust them, that you have come here to free them from the rule of the Turk, and not to substitute your rule merely for your own benefit. The Consul promised to lay my remarks before the General. The following morning I was arrested and told to prepare for immediate deportation, and in forty eight hours, I was on a steamer bound for Brindisi." We are sure, the *Pioneer* would have recommended such a great patriot for a Khan Bahadurship if not a G. C. I. E.

Our Allahabad contemporary's own comments are a masterpiece of friendly sympathy, which was shown not so long ago in its discrediting the Young Turks from having a larger Navy. It writes with charming naïveté that "in the circumstance, then, the pity of it seems to be that Turkey did not accept the situation from the outset and pocket the Italian indemnity while it was still on offer. The explanation our correspondent gives is simply that they dreaded the loss of prestige, to which, we suppose, must be added the spice of obstinacy that is ingrained in the Turkish character, sometimes degenerating into mere perversity." Perhaps, the Secretary of the Moradabad District Muslim League would now write to welcome the *Pioneer's* criticism of the Turkish character, and, taking it into his confidence, communicate to it his appreciation for having been "a friend of the Mussalmans for a long time" and ask it to help the Turks by advice in shaping their future policy. Whatever the *Pioneer* may think of the Turks, we are inclined to quote its own pregnant words about Mussalmans that we should imagine that the Turks in particular "are very well able to take care of themselves."

This view is confirmed by the *Pioneer* itself, which is compelled to recognise "the finer side of Turkish obstinacy" in the exhibition of "a wonderful example of military virtues." It writes -- "After the fighting at the beginning of December when Giraldas division moved forward against Ain Zara and dislodged the Turks with the loss of several guns, the Italians felt themselves able to announce that the oasis had been cleared and that the campaign on this side was practically at an end. Nevertheless, subsequent news shows that Colonels Fethy Bey and Nesbat are not disposed

off but are still holding on and managing to give considerable trouble to their enormously superior opponents. No reinforcements or supplies can be reaching them, presumably they are in want of everything that troops can need, they have no hope of ultimate success, nowhere to go, and perhaps worst of all they are fighting for a cause for which their countrymen have ceased to care, and yet they still maintain the struggle. It is not the first time that the great qualities of the Turkish soldier have come out most finely just at the time when other troops would have thought themselves justified in laying down their arms. In past campaigns, however, the worst enemies of the Turks have usually been their own officers, whereas this time they would appear to be excellently led."

After the "first information" from Tripoli, which gave a glowing account of a most perfect military machine designed by Europe and of the ragged misery of Arabs and Turks, we learnt some facts which startled Europe and put fresh life into the East. Then came the orders of General Caneva to the censor of the Press, and in the words of Hamlet, "the rest was silence." We learnt to regard no news as good news, and were somewhat upset when we heard of the clearing of the oases by the Italians. But our dictum and the statements of the Italians were both belied before long and news came from all sides of Turkish attacks on Derna, Benghazi and Tripoli. At first the Turks were "repulsed with great loss"; then, on the analogy of London's Eggs which are marked "Very Fresh," "Fresh" and then plain blank "Eggs ("")"--we heard merely of the Turks' retreat "when the sun went down." But the greatest was behind, and now we hear--and from Rome too--of the Italians being forced to retreat, though the losses mentioned are so remarkably slight that we could believe them to be accurate only on the supposition that the Italians are anything but brave. It is something, however, to have such an admission from Italy. But, in the words of the *Pioneer*, what a pity that "Turkey did not accept the situation from the outset" and pocket the insult as well as the indemnity while both were still on offer. We suppose it is too late to revive the offer of the indemnity. But what of the insult? Is Italy unwilling to press that on the Turks and Arabs--or only unable? We pause for the *Pioneer's* reply.

The ex Minister of Abdul Hamid who confided his opinions to the *Pioneer's* late Constantinople correspondent is--if he exists at all--a person worth cultivating. "He informed me," writes the *Pioneer's* correspondent, "that in his opinion, and in that of a number of even the most stalwart opponents of Hamidism, Constitutional Government was utterly unsuited for Turkey." This, we must grant, is not a very original remark. In fact it is too commonplace, and the speaker knew it well enough, for he appealed to the experience and sentiments of the writer. "You refuse it to Egypt and to India, asserting that those countries are not sufficiently advanced from the educational point of view to be entrusted with Self-Government." Not satisfied with this tame acquiescence in the shibboleths of the West, he breaks new soil in the startling statement that "Constitutional Government is utterly unsuited to our religion. We are Monotheists and believe in the rule of one." We can vouch for it that not one out of the three hundred million Mussalmans of the world, excepting the ex Minister of Abdul Hamid, ever suspected that monotheism in faith involved autocracy in secular politics.

After this rebellious originality nothing could shock us. The remarks about the Turkish Chamber are tame and trite. In his opinion it "does not in the least represent the people," and once more the analogy of England comes to his help and he likens it to "your own Parliament, at present 'constituted.' Well, if Turkish representation is just as bad as British, we have not much to deplore after all. In fact we do not know which to blame most, the Turks or the British, Islam or the political creed of Britain, for the ex Minister has as many "digs" at the English Radicals as at Turks. Here "a sample" -- "I quite agree that under the forms of Constitutional Government considerable progress has been made, but these improvements would have been equally possible under the autocracy of the Sultan, had we not always been subjected to the pin pricks of Europe and more especially of the English Radical party, who would see no good in the Sultan just as at present they are unable to see any evil in the present form of Government." Insinuations of all sorts are published and it is stated that *Tarcksheesh* does pass still and that "it is paid by the Germans to the Salomea Committee in order that German influence may remain permanent on the Bosphorus. But our readers would perhaps form their own opinions about the Germans and the Salomea Committee after reading the unassuming remark of the ex Minister that "in the days of Abdul Hamid there were a few men who absolutely refused to accept *Tarcksheesh*. I was known as one of them."

If this immaculate ex Minister is to be believed, Turkey and the Mussalmans of the world have no hope of salvation in this world at least. "As for constitutionalism being a farce, possibly it may be suited for some countries and for some religions, but in my opinion it is utterly unsuited for Turkey at the present time, and I think for all Moslems for all time." This is surely broad enough and clear enough, but the question is *does such an ex-Minister exist?* May he not be the writer's alter ego, the projection of the ideas and opinions of the *Pioneer's* late Constantinople correspondent himself? We wonder.

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

CONSUL SMART was wounded in the thigh in the recent attack on Indian sowars by the Road Guards.

Reuter wired from Teheran —Consul Smart has been taken to Kazerun. The Foreign Minister has expressed the Government's regret at the affair to the British Minister and promised that exemplary punishment will be meted out to the assailants of the sowars. The Persian Government is very apprehensive that a British punitive expedition will be undertaken.

Reuter wired from St. Petersburg —The *Narodnaya Volnya* foreshadows a provisional administration in Tabriz with a Russian Governor and Chief of the police, financial control in the hands of Russia, and exclusively Russian tribunals.

The cruiser *Zos* arrived at Bushire on the 30th December and landed 100 men of the Carnatic Infantry against possible contingencies.

Details of the incident in which Mr Smart was wounded show that in the second attack the British casualties were five sowars killed and ten wounded, and fourteen horses killed and twelve wounded.

The troops had to fight a rearguard action for eight miles under a heavy fire from 200 tribesmen armed with the latest magazine rifles.

Mr Smart fell from his horse unnoticed.

It is announced in St. Petersburg that 5,000 Russian troops are in Tabriz and two battalions of Cossacks at Resht. Two other battalions are proceeding to Resht from Kazvin. Three warships of the Caspian squadron are ensuring order at Erzeli.

The British Foreign Office announces that the wound received by the Consul, Mr Smart, in the recent fighting near Kazerun, was very slight.

Major Birdwood, with Mr Smart and a hundred men, is at present at Kazerun. Colonel Douglas with 120 men, is at Dashtbarjin, north east of Kazerun. The advance on Shiraz presents serious difficulties, but it is hoped that Major Birdwood and Colonel Douglas will shortly effect a junction.

Besides acting as escort to Consul Smart, the Indian sowars, at the time of the recent attack, were escorting stores and 500,000 kronas of specie. Lieutenant D. Fraser has been placed in charge of the wounded.

A telegram to the *Navarre Compte* from Kermanshah states that Salar ed Dowleh, the ex-Shah's brother, defeated the Government troops under Aramed Dowleh. The latter took refuge in the British Consulate. At the request of the Russian Consul General in Resht, reinforcements have been sent from Kazvin, consisting of two rifle regiments and a mountain battery.

The following telegram has been addressed by His Highness the Aga Khan from Karachi to the Russian Red Crescent Society, 4, Medical College Street, Calcutta:—"Hope another society formed everywhere. Legally subscribe Rs 5,000—Aga Khan."

The Pioneer's frontier correspondent report that the Amir of Kabul recently held a durbar of selected officials at Tellabatad in which Turkish and Persian affairs were discussed in connection with the war in Tripoli and the movement of Russian troops into North West Persia. Sardar Nasrullah Khan suggested that in view of the possible trouble in Dhorasan, the outpost on the Perso-Afghan frontier should be strengthened and urgent orders to this effect were sent to the Governor of Herat. There is no more news of importance from Southern Persia, and presumably the Central India forces are marching home at Shiraz. Reports of a general tribal rising are discounted. The Indo-European telegraph line was in working order again on Monday.

Authentic despatches from Tabriz show that the reports of Russian excesses are wholly unfounded. It is equally untrue that the Ark has been destroyed. There have been no casualties among foreigners. It is supposed that the Russian losses number from 100 to 200, but the mortality among native non-combatants is not large.

The Russian occupation is now complete and all Fidais have disappeared. The banks and European houses are resuming business. There are now 4,000 troops at Tabriz.

The Times, referring to the official British denial of the Russian massacre at Tabriz, and the Russian statement that those responsible for the onslaught were not Persians but Armenians and other criminals, says it is not wonderful that Russians should refuse to treat such adversaries, many of whom are Russian subjects, as ordinary

belligerents. The disarmament of the Fidais would be justified in self-defence and the destruction of places of resistance may also be justified if carried out without unnecessary harshness.

The Times, publishing a letter from an Englishman who was lately in Persia, opposing the appointment of Mr. Mornard as successor to Mr. Shuster on the ground of his identification with the anti-Shuster movement, says that the letter deserves consideration. The aim of England and Russia ought to be to discover a foreigner equally acceptable to both, and not unacceptable to Persians.

The execution of Sikaut Ul Islam, who was a high ecclesiastic, has perturbed the Persian Cabinet, which is apprehensive of the effect on the people.

The executions of Sikaut Ul Islam and other ecclesiastics at Tabriz are particularly resented because the Russians selected for the carrying out of the executions the most solemn Persian holy day.

News has been received at Allahabad that Consul Smart, with his escort of Central India Horse, left Kazerun on the 2nd instant, and joined Colonel Douglas party without incident. The tribesmen seem to have disappeared for the time being, and Colonel Douglas is now escorting Mr. Smart to Shiraz.

The *Pioneer's* correspondent at Bushire wired as follows —

A message has been received from Consul Smart in which he states that at the time of his falling into the enemy's hands he had left the convoy, and the Central India Horse escort were not in the faintest degree to blame. They behaved with the utmost gallantry and steadiness throughout.

Lord Lamington, speaking at Edinburgh on the 4th, discussed the present situation in Persia and declared that our interests were not imminent to those of Russia but that it would be criminal to blind our eyes to facts. Persia, said his Lordship, had not had a chance. Mr. Shuster had been accused of lack of tact. Upon this the invasion of the country was based. He believed there was a strong party in Russia opposed to the territorial aggrandisement of that country.

Lord Lamington said it would be to the interests of Russia as well as of Great Britain to maintain Persia as a Buffer State unless Russia were really intending to go to the Persian Gulf.

Lord Lamington concluded: Great Britain must exert herself to keep Persia a free Power for the sake of the safety of India.

Reuter wired from Tabriz —The Russians have hanged four more Persians at Tabriz.

Reuter wired from St. Petersburg —Four houses at Tabriz from which shots were fired at Russians have been blown up. Three more Persians have been tried by court martial and hanged.

News by the English Mail.

(From the "Times" Correspondent.)

TEHERAN, December 7.

REFERRING to the Russian semi-official *Khronika* regarding his management of finance, Mr. Shuster has made the following statement —

On June 13 I assumed charge of the Treasury and the Revenues, finding banking deficits amounting to £100,000 and not a penny in cash belonging to the Government. There was an unknown sum outstanding in cheques, drafts on the Treasury, promises to pay, etc., issued by previous Ministers of Finance. Since then in spite of the civil war, which consumed for extraordinary direct expenses alone over £300,000, in spite of the attendant disorders throughout the Empire, causing diminution of the revenues, I have paid the banking deficits of £100,000, furnished the expenses of running the Government, met promptly all foreign obligations accruing, and now have in the Treasury liquid assets to the amount of £160,000. The only extraordinary receipts were the net proceeds of the Imperial Bank loan, which, after liquidating the converted debt and other advances, amounted to less than £400,000. The ordinary expenses of the Government, therefore, have been met during a specially trying period entirely from internal resources and the balance of £100,000 accumulated, given a fair chance, would, I pledge my reputation, place Persia's finances on a solid basis within two years.

(From the "Near East" Correspondent.)

ODESSA, December 8.

The very grave development of the situation in Persia momentarily forms the all-absorbing topic of political discussion in the Russian Press, both metropolitan and provincial, and it is

abundantly evident judging from the consensus of their commentaries and forecasts, that all these organs have interpreted the recent public statements of Sir Edward Grey as a tacit approval and justification of Russia's aggressive action in Persia. It is not, of course, quite a correct or legitimate inference to draw from the British Foreign Minister's carefully and discreetly worded utterances; but it is agreeable to the Russian Press to regard Sir Edward's *obiter dicta* in that light. The chief argument urged in defence of Russia's high-handed procedure is that it is utterly and absolutely hopeless, in the increasingly chaotic and anarchic state of affairs in Persia, to look for an early establishment of a strong and durable Government at Teheran, and that it is in the vital interests of Persia's own national salvation that Russia and England, the jointly responsible protecting Powers, should actively intervene.

Such leading journals as the *Novoye Vremya*, the *Rossiya*, and the *Russkaya Slava* still maintain that Russia has no ulterior designs on the geographical integrity and political independence of Persia, assurances which may be taken for what they are worth, but the South Russian Press is less discreet and more honestly frank in its unreservedly expressed belief that this country's annexation of Northern Persia—or, at all events, of the Persian province of Azerbaijan—is an inevitable event of the very near future. Many of these political articles in the southern journals appear under such headings as "Delenda est Persia!" "The End of Persia!" "The Russian Incorporation of Northern Persia!" etc.

During the last few days these same organs have shown a similar candour in declaring, without any kind of reserve, that in certain and extremely probable eventualities, Russia will lend her moral and material support to the restoration of Mohammed Ali Shah, not with any preconceived idea of subverting the constitutional régime, but as the only means of setting up a really stable Government at Teheran. If that should indeed be Russia's intention, then the only possible result will be an indefinite prolongation of the internal chaos and civil strife which now obtain throughout the dominions of the youthful occupant of the Peacock Throne. The Bakhtiari tribes, it is certain, would never tolerate the royal rehabilitation of Mohammed Ali Shah. And here arises the moot question whether the eventual re-establishment of peace, order, and security under a stable régime at Teheran, which would leave Russia no valid reason or excuse for prolonging her military occupation of Persian territories, is a consummation very devoutly desired on the banks of the Neva. It is not in still and placid, but in troubled waters that Russia's "expansive" policy angles to the greater advantage.

The Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 in respect of Persia has, it is true, to a certain extent hitherto acted as a brake upon Russia's aggressive policy, but it has in the result committed England to grave responsibilities which our Foreign Office certainly do not foresee at the time of its ratification—or, more bluntly stated, it has involved England not only in a diplomatically delicate but in an altogether false position in the eyes of the Persian people and of Europe.

A military officer just arrived from Baku and Tiflis informs me that the total number of Russian troops now in Persia is 10,800. A Tiflis telegram of yesterday's date says that a further force of 4,000 is being mobilised in the Caucasus for despatch to Persia in case of need.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

St Petersburg. December 9th

The *Novoye Vremya*, in an article headed in English "A Criminal Conversation," says—"Lord Curzon is one of the last of the old school whose foreign policy is based on distrust of Russia. Russophobia in Persia is largely due to Lord Curzon, who has constantly held out to the Persians the hope of British support. Should the independence of Persia be threatened, it will be simply owing to the multifarious exhortations to resist the just demands of Russia. Lord Curzon's language is that of a petty demagogue, and all Great Britain's prestige and power would be unavailing if Russia decided to occupy Teheran. The only effect of such utterances is to excite the national *amour propre* of both Russia and Great Britain with no good results to Russia, Great Britain or Persia."

The *Novoye Vremya* welcomes the fact that Lord Curzon's sentiments have found no echo from the Government, adding that responsible British statesmen recognise that Russia has no aggressive intentions.

St Petersburg, December 13.

In an article on Russia's policy with regard to Persia the semi-official *Rossiya* to-day says.—

Russia has no intention whatever of forcing the ex-Shah on Persia, and will leave him to his own resources. She will refuse recognition to him unless a special agreement should be concluded between her and Great Britain on the subject. The Russian troops which are now being concentrated at Kazvin will not advance until after a lapse of eight days unless extraordinary events should force the Russian Minister to order them to proceed to Teheran earlier. Russian policy in Persia must continue to be based

upon full agreement and co-operation with Great Britain on the lines and principles of the Anglo-Russian understanding of 1907. Only the maintenance of this understanding will render possible the peaceful and regular development of Persia so important for the economic and political interests of the two neighbouring States, as well as for the establishment of permanent order in Persia itself. (*Reuter*.)

Teheran, December 10th.

In the meantime the internal agitation increases. The bazaars are still shut. The clergy of Nedjef have telegraphed that Persia must defend herself. The mere circulation of rumours yesterday that the Cabinet had agreed to dismiss Mr. Shuster, obtaining in exchange the withdrawal of the Russian troops and the appointment of another American with the same powers, was enough to fill the great mosque in the bazaar with an excited meeting, which protested against such an arrangement. It is considered probable that whatever form of government Russia and Great Britain agree to establish here the *Mejliss* will not find a place in it. Russia regards the existence of the *Mejliss* as incompatible with her interests, and Lord Morley's criticism of the Constitution is regarded as showing that Great Britain is disposed to agree.

It is reported that 4,000 Turkish troops have entered Salmas and that Turkey intends occupying the Urumiah district until the Russian troops are withdrawn. There is no official confirmation of this though the report is not inherently improbable.

Teheran, December 12.

It is possible that a serious Russo-Turkish situation may arise. There exists strong reason to believe that a mobilisation of the Turkish Army in Asia Minor is actually taking place. Five battalions, though not in Salmas, are on the frontier, with that place as their destination.

Russia recently founded a Consulate at Khoi and announced that she was sending there 200 troops as a Consular guard. It is now officially admitted that there are 800 Russian troops and ten guns at Khoi, and more troops have been ordered to Kushlu and Lake Urumiah.

In Turkish circles it is held that the occupation of Khoi by Russia turns the Turkish western flank, and Turkey's acquiescence is impossible. It is declared that the position in Asia Minor is more important than Tripoli, Albania, or Macedonia, and that it is vital to Turkey to maintain her proper home. It is believed, however, that Turkey desires to proceed by negotiation with Russia.

There has been a marked change in Turkish policy here. A new Ambassador has been hastily appointed and is expected to arrive without delay. There are signs also of a desire to effect a *rapprochement* with Great Britain on Persian questions.

Teheran, December 14.

A GRAVE situation exists at Shiraz, where the Chief Mollah, Mirza Ibrahim, has roused all the fanaticism of the people against the British. The shopkeepers, under the orders of the clergy, absolutely refuse to sell the smallest article to the British Indian troops. Mirza Ibrahim has also declared Imperial bank notes unclean. These are presented for payment at the rate of 15,000 tomans daily, which embarrasses the bank as a large caravan of specie is delayed on the roads. Ordinarily influential circles here are endeavouring to arrest the anti-British boycott, urging that although the British Government is acting with Russia, it is undesirable to alienate sympathetic British public opinion. The local public feeling, however, is entirely out of hand, as all the clergy everywhere are calling for resistance to Russia and are inciting a holy war. The Cabinet refuses to resign, although it has lost the confidence of the *Mejliss*. It still urges concessions to Russia, but is not likely long to withstand the torrent of public opinion.

The bazaar remains obstinately shut. The month of Muharem, a period of national mourning, now rapidly approaching, when the bazaars are ordinarily closed and when fanaticism is at its height, appears likely to see repeated the history of the famous Syed Ruete and tobacco concessions, when the Persian populace obstinately withheld all pressure and conducted a campaign of passive resistance.

The revival of the Anglo-Russian railway proposals adds fuel to the fire. It is difficult to see how Russia can obtain other than a Pyrrhic victory against a frenzied population in this stubborn frame of mind.

M. Poklevsky has informed the Cabinet that the Russian troops will remain for some days at Kazvin if there are no disorders in the capital and there is no anti-Russian agitation. If all the terms of the ultimatum are agreed to, the troops will be withdrawn provided also that the same conditions concerning disorder and agitation are fulfilled. Up to the present no Russian subjects have been molested in any way.

The death is announced of the Mollah Kazim Khorassani of Nedjef, the head of the Shute religion, when on the eve of leaving for Persia to preach a holy war. The event has produced a

great impression. He throughout sided with the Constitution, was responsible for the ex-communication of the ex-Shah, and largely inspired the tenacious resistance after the bombardment of the Majlis.

Moslem Feeling.

A largely attended meeting of the Muhammadans of Allahabad was held on Monday, the 25th December, 1911, at 4-30 P.M. The following resolutions were moved, seconded and passed:—

(1) That this meeting of the Muhammadans of Allahabad look with great abhorrence and regret on the high handed action of Russia in undermining the independence and integrity of Persia inspite of the solemn words of the Anglo-Russian Convention and earnestly hopes and prays that the British Government which is the greatest Muhammadan power in the world will use its good offices to safeguard the sovereign rights of Persia.

(2) That this meeting sincerely sympathises with their co-religionists in Persia and thoroughly approves of their patriotic resolve to maintain the integrity of their country and prays the Almighty to help them in their struggle.

(3) That this meeting is sincerely grateful to Earl Curzon, Lord Lamington, Professor Browne and the London Persian Committee for raising their voice in defence of Persia and her sovereign rights.

(4) That copies of resolutions passed at this meeting should be sent to the Viceroy, the Foreign Minister, Earl Curzon, Lord Lamington, Professor Browne, the London Persian Committee and the Persian Consul in India.

At a public meeting of Muhammadans held on the evening of the 4th instant, at Badshahi Mosque under the presidency of Haji Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Kazibash the following resolution was passed.—This meeting of the Muhammadans of Lahore and its environs emphatically protests against the unwarranted aggression of Russia in Northern-Persia and while regretting the unfortunate incident connected with the assault on Consul Smart and his Indian escort and in view of the vital British and Indian interests respectfully urges the Imperial Government to maintain the traditional policy of upholding the integrity and independence of Persia by preventing Russian usurpation of any portion of the Persian territory.

Appeal by the Persia Committee.

The following appeal is being circulated by the Persia Committee:—

SIR,—The fate of Persia hangs in the balance. It will be decided in the course of the next few days or weeks. The issue is: Shall Persia remain an independent kingdom or shall she fall into the plights of Bokhara and Khiva?

In this supreme crisis of the fortunes of their nation the Persian people, through their Parliament, have appealed to the friendship of this country. They remind us of our long traditions of liberty; of our spirit of justice and national honour. They ask us to make use of "the friendship which we have acquired in the family of nations" in order to secure for them the maintenance of their own liberties. We venture to commend this appeal to our countrymen.

Our national obligations are clear and definite. In the year 1834 we agreed in concert with the Government of Russia to maintain the integrity and independence of Persia. This engagement was formally renewed in the years 1838, 1873, and 1888, Lord Salisbury in the latter year giving an assurance to the effect that "the engagements between Great Britain and Russia to respect and promote the integrity and independence of the Persian Kingdom have again been renewed and confirmed."

The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 concerning Persia embodied this engagement in its preamble, and it was supplemented by a Declaration made to the Persian Government in September, 1907, by the British Minister at Teheran on behalf of both Great Britain and Russia from which we extract the following expressions:—

"Neither of the two Powers seeks anything from Persia, so that Persia can concentrate all her energies on the settlement of her internal affairs. This Convention between the two European Powers which have the greatest interests in Persia, based as it is on a guarantee of her independence and integrity, can only serve to further and promote Persian interests, for henceforth Persia, aided and assisted by these two powerful neighbouring States, can employ all her powers in internal reforms . . . The object of the two Powers—Russia and England—in making this Agreement is not in any way to attack, but rather to assure for ever the independence of Persia. Not only do they not wish to have at hand any excuse for intervention, but their object in these friendly negotiations was not to allow one another to intervene on the pretext of safeguarding their own interests."

Nothing could be more precise.

Persia was at that time in the throes of internal disturbance. The profigate extravagance of the Shahs had involved her in foreign

loans and the vices of their Government had deprived her sons of all opportunities for taking part in the conduct of public affairs. A Constitution was wrung from the Shah; but it was quickly suppressed by his successor, Mohamed Ali. The leaders of the new movement fled for their lives. Then came the national uprising. One army marched from the North, the other from the South, and the combined forces entered the Capital, restored the Constitution and deposed Mohamed Ali. The Parliament was summoned and the leaders set about the task of reorganizing the administrative departments. They frankly recognized that they did not possess within their own ranks men of sufficient experience to carry this task through. So they applied to Europe for foreign experts. Difficulties were placed in their way by Russian diplomacy without any effective help from England. More than one Great Power refused to assist them. They then had recourse to the United States, who sent them Mr. Morgan Shuster and a numerous staff of assistants for employment in the Ministry of Finance. Mr. Shuster set about his task with exemplary diligence and no Persian was sufficiently rich or powerful to evade payment of his legal taxes into the Treasury. A new era appeared to be dawning for Persia and the great project of a railway from North to South was brought to the stage of submission in detail to the Parliament.

But in the meanwhile Mohamed Ali had left his exile in the Crimea and, with the acquiescence of Russian officials, had crossed Russian territory and set foot upon Persian soil. All the resources of the reformed Government were required to resist his advance and the trade routes, especially of the South, were left at the mercy of bands of robbers. His signal defeat left the Government free to deal with these disorders. Then came the Shuster incident. Russia demanded the withdrawal of the Treasury Gendarmes from the property of a Persian Prince which had been confiscated. An ultimatum was issued by Russia and, when the Persian Government had complied with its terms, a second ultimatum was presented with fresh demands on the ground of delay in complying with the first. This second ultimatum requires the instant dismissal of Mr. Shuster and demands the right of veto by Russia over all future appointments of foreign experts. Such a demand is plainly incompatible with the maintenance of Persian independence.

As our Government have acquiesced in these demands, which were communicated to them before they were made, we are face to face with a most serious situation. Our national honour is involved and so are our national interests. Are we to leave our friends, our neighbours in India, to their fate? Are we to look on with indifference while their first efforts after national regeneration are being ruthlessly suppressed? In this case surely our national duty is not divorced from our national interest, for there are many reasons why the principle of the integrity and independence of Persia must, in Lord Curzon's words, be registered as a cardinal precept of our Imperial creed.

In the first place, the loss by Persia of her independence would produce the most painful effect upon millions of our Mussulman fellow-subjects. Indignant protests are already reaching us from all parts of India, where we are told that we are digging the grave of Mussulman loyalty. Mussulman feeling in Egypt and Turkey is rising up against us and, if the continuance of our Entente with Russia is to be purchased with the loss of Mussulman sympathies, the price will be a dear one indeed. Nor are these the only or even the most important consequences. Persia is to be deprived of the elementary rights of sovereignty, the way is paved either for her complete absorption by Russia or for a partition between Russia and Great Britain. Under the first alternative Russia penetrates to the shores of the Persian Gulf, under the second we lose the advantages of our insular position and become responsible for the defence of hundreds of miles of land frontier drawn across the open plains of Persia. Both alternatives bring us in sight of enormous additional expenditure.

We invite all those who are not insensible to these great issues to assist us in making good our national pledges.

Yours respectfully,

LAMINGTON, President.

H. F. B. LYNCH, Chairman.

E. G. BROWNE, Vice-Chairman.

F. WHALEN, Honorary Secretary.

THE PERSIA COMMITTEE, HOUSE OF COMMONS, 12th December.

Debate in the Commons.

December 14.

The debate on Sir E. Grey's motion "That the foreign policy of his Majesty's Government be now considered" was resumed.

Lord C. Beresford in the course of his speech said that there was a danger ahead. It would be a very serious thing for this country if,

during the wars or rumours of wars which were going on, the great Muhammadan faith should think we had deserted their people, or did not respect or sympathize with them in the troubles and trials they were undergoing. He hoped that the right honourable gentleman would make it clear that, though we might not be in a position to interfere, our sympathy with these great nations and that faith was not being ruined. If once the Muhammadans were allowed to think that, it was impossible to say what would happen to our Empire. Great Britain was the largest Muhammadan Power in the world to-day, and if anything in the nature of unrest or doubt arose thousands of additional soldiers would have to be sent to India and Egypt as a point of military expedite. To do that would at once put into the minds of the Muhammadans the idea that we were sending these men to overrule them and to keep them in order. The handling of the question, indeed, needed great tact, and he believed that there was no harm in mentioning the fact.

Mr. A. Herbert (Somerset, S., Opp.) said he had had the advantage of being wrecked in the Persian Gulf and of recovering from typhoid on the pearl islands of the Persian Gulf. In that quarter we had made the high seas safe and set up a standard of positive justice, but there were one or two things we had not yet done. We had never made our position clear in the Persian Gulf. Especially in regard to two islands our position had always been indefinite. These islands were claimed by the Porte as an integral part of the Turkish dominions, while the Government at Teheran declared they belonged to Persia. Great Britain in past history had incurred considerable responsibility there. The people were poor, and all they wanted was to be quiet and unopposed, there were no policies. It might seem a matter of small importance, but as a little thorn may make a great wound, the fewer causes of friction between England and the Porte the better for commercial and Imperial policy. As he regretted the indecision of our policy in the Persian Gulf, so he found it difficult to give his sympathy to the policy pursued at Constantinople. In 1908 Turkey made her own revolution, a revolution all men desired and no man dared to prophesy. It was a greatfeat, but he was not quite sure that the full significance was understood in this country. Great forces were opposed to the revolution, but suddenly, good-bye to the Arabian Nights, and there were county councils, rather cumbrous in their constitutions but upon modern lines and ready to accommodate themselves to modern conditions. We did not realize how the Middle Ages were in collision with the 20th century. Some friends of his in Constantinople at the time of the revolution noted one of the processions in the streets headed by a Bactrian camel and ending with a taxi-cab, a symbol of what was passing (Hear, hear.) The reform in Turkey was welcomed by England as its deserved to be, but very soon afterwards Turkey was punished by having two great provinces taken from her. From that time—he was not exaggerating when he said it—the attitude of this country had been, if not unsympathetic, stolidly indifferent such was the opinion of Englishmen resident in Turkey. It was inevitable that the Young Turks should make mistakes when they came into power, you cannot create a Constitution in a day and adhere to it. It would be asking too much from uneducated patriots that they should go on creating miracles after their bloodless revolution against ancient tyranny; they made mistakes, they were not experts in constitutional and diplomatic usage. From the beginning the Turkish Constitution was a great experiment and deserved more sympathy than it got from a Liberal Government, looking at it from the point of view of British interests. Everything was in a state of flux, and while nothing was certain we could not, with our vast and complicated interests, take either side definitely. But though it might be foolish to rush into unwise friendship, it might be wrong to rush into precipitate cordiality, it was even more wrong and more disastrous to assume an attitude of unwise, cold unkindness. (Hear, hear.) There was during the time of the ex-Sultan an acute dislike in this country towards his Government which the ex-Sultan reciprocated; the old Government thwarted our interests, the new Government came into life with them. It was worth our while to be on terms of friendship with Turkey, and had the Constitution failed our interests would not have been injured. Passing through the streets of Constantinople shortly after the revolution he was attracted by a crowd in the centre of which was a man selling buttons which he loudly proclaimed were British. There was great cheering, for Great Britain stood high in the sentiments of the Turkish people who bought his entire stock-in-trade. That was not the kind of spirit that animated a Mussulman crowd to-day. (Hear, hear.) But that spirit might be revived when the opportunity came, and it had not come yet.

As to the war in which Turkey was engaged he repeated what had been said that it would be a disaster, a calamity hardly to be contemplated, if we were to lose our traditional friendship with Italy. The situation was fraught with the deepest anxiety. The war might lead to disastrous consequences in the Balkan Peninsula and elsewhere, and any day might be the cause of the deaths of the poor Italian people in the Turkish Empire. It was to the credit of the Turkish people that up to now no Italian civil subject had been touched. (Hear, hear.) There were possibilities so horrible they were hardly to be thought of, but two things were certain, that

Italy would not retire from Tripoli, and that Turkey, however much she might desire it, could not face the humiliation of submission. The Turkish Government had to consider the feelings of Arab subjects in other parts of their Empire, and peace at this moment would mean half a dozen wars for Turkey. No one could say there was, just now, the possibility of peace, but the possibility would, he believed, occur before very long. There would be a chance for peace if Turkey could retire from Tripoli with honour. To retire with honour Turkey must have gained something. If Europe would consent to grant Turkey what every other civilized Power had got—namely, the right to manipulate and arrange her own tariff—then Turkey would not have struggled entirely in vain throughout this war. (General cheers.) Turkey's position was, he thought, absolutely different from that of every other Great Power except China. She could not alter her tariff on goods without the consent of Europe. A certain amount of her tariff revenue was hypothecated to certain questions, and naturally those amounts could not be touched. But if our Foreign Secretary would act as the champion of peace, his advocacy would have great weight with some friendly Powers in Europe, and it was widely believed that they were not entirely adverse, perhaps from other motives, from such a policy (Cheers.) He would appeal for a very cordial consideration of the whole Turkish question by His Majesty's Government, not only from motives of generosity and chivalry, but because King George V. rules over millions of Mussulman subjects, whose spiritual allegiance turned towards the Sultan of Turkey and the cordiality of our relations with Turkey must always be a matter of extreme importance to those millions of Mussulman subjects. (Cheers.)

Mr. Hugh Law (Donegal, W., Nat.) said the extremely brilliant speech to which they had just listened would, he felt sure, mark the beginning of a great reputation and a great career in Parliament (Cheers.) The hon. member for South Somerset had already done great public service in calling attention to a corner of Europe which in recent years had become somewhat obscured and forgotten. It was true our King ruled over many millions of Mussulman subjects, and in that sense Great Britain was a great Muhammadan Power. But he trusted it would not be forgotten we were also a great Christian country with very special duties towards the Christians within the Turkish Empire (Ministerial cheers.) Ever since the revolution in Turkey of July, 1908, the house of Commons had no official information as to how the new régime in Turkey was working out in practice, and whether the promised reforms had been put into operation (Hear, hear.) But there were many signs that all was not well in Europe in Turkey. The Young Turk régime had many virtues, but its very narrow patriotism became an essential vice. It was trying to suppress what evidence there were of separate races and separate religions. In Macedonia, as shown by the Correspondents of the Times, there existed a very serious state of things indeed, which was exceedingly perilous to the peace of Europe. Although the Constitution promised non-Mussulman subjects equal political privileges, it was made exceedingly difficult for Christians to make any use at all of their political rights (Hear, hear.) Organized bands were going about pretending to search for arms, and pillaging, torturing, and murdering. They had a right to be informed officially of the true state of affairs in regard to matters which involved issues of enormous importance, which might lead to a great European war, and in regard to which we had very solemn treaty obligations. He pressed particularly for the publication of the consular reports with regard to Macedonia and Albania which the Foreign Secretary had withheld.

Mr. Crawshay-Williams (Leicester, Min.) said he would like to congratulate an old school fellow the hon. member for South Somerset, on the impression created by his maiden speech. He and the hon. member had made their maiden speeches at the Oxford Union on the same day and he was pleased to see him in a nobler Assembly. He had travelled in Russia and had a great affection for the Russian people, but no affection for a people, or a country was sufficient reason for not speaking of matters of vital importance. Our sympathies and our honour were concerned in regard to the existence of Persia as a nation. The British Minister at Teheran in a supplementary declaration in 1907 had used the words, "The object of the two Powers in making this agreement is not in any way to attack but rather to assure for ever the independence of Persia. Not only do they not wish to have at hand any excuse for intervention, but their object in these friendly negotiations was not to allow one or other to intervene on the pretext of safeguarding their own interests." (Cheers.)

MR. MORRILL (Burnley, Min.): I shall be very happy to produce the original document if anybody likes to see it.

Mr. Crawshay Williams said it was almost vital to our interests to see that Persia maintained a strong vigorous independence. If Persia did not the only courses open were absorption or partition. Absorption was inconceivable and partition would mean that sooner or later we should have a land frontier coterminous with that of Russia. That would be almost a calamity, for it would affect not only the actual frontier of territory, but also sentiment. Any infringement of the Persian nationality would be most keenly felt.

by Mahomedans throughout the world. There was one other element which entered into this question. He did not think anybody could deny that, were any partition of Persia to take place, Germany would not be able to stand by and see it occur without a protest of some kind. If any step were taken to infringe the independence and integrity of Persia and to advance either our interests or those of Russia, Germany would, he thought, consider herself involved, and he could not say what the ultimate consequences would be to European policy. The situation they were discussing was not only delicate but very obscure, and, in his opinion, the object of the debate very largely was to elicit information as to the actual position in Persia and the position we had taken up in regard to the relations between Russia and Persia. Another purpose which he hoped the debate would serve would be to ask his Majesty's Government to stand firmly by two principles—first, the independence and integrity of Persia; and, secondly, that Constitutional government in Persia should be given a fair chance. (Hear, hear.) One of the declared objects of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 was to help forward the independence and Constitutional position of Persia, and they must see to it that both the letter and the spirit of the Convention were strictly and properly observed. Those who had taken part in the debate were not moved in any way by animosity towards the Government or their policy, and he thought they might hope that they would rather strengthen than encumber the hands of the Government by showing that here there was a real feeling that both our honour and our interests demanded that the independence and integrity of Persia should be strictly and fully maintained.

Tied with Red Tape



Morning Leader.
Suggested by some recent attempts to secure a discussion in the House of Commons on foreign policy.

Sir E. Grey's Speech.

SIR E. GREY : I must ask for the indulgence of the House, not because I am going to make a maiden speech but because I have already exhausted my right to speak in this debate. I have been appealed to very often to give information on certain points and a promise has been made that sonic information shall be given about Persia. I will ask the House first of all in discussing the Persian question to bear in mind that there is much more than the Persian question. It is quite possible if the Persian question is mismanaged or rashly handled by those who are concerned with it, either by the Russian Government or by ourselves, that the Persian question will disappear and larger issues of policy will obscure it altogether. That is the first thing to be thought of, and if that point of view is borne in mind the Anglo-Russian Agreement will be put in its proper light. It is being used in debate sometimes now for purposes for which it was never intended. (Hear, hear.) The Anglo-Russian Agreement was, in the first place an expression of a change of policy. It used to be supposed that the policy of this country and the policy of Russia were opposed to each other, that we opposed the extension of Russian influence or interests everywhere, with the result that Russian and British diplomacy was in opposition everywhere, and the question was constantly recurring between the two countries as to whether their diplomatic opposition might not some day become something more serious.

We wanted to get rid of that, and to substitute for that attitude of mind the attitude of mind that relations of confidence and friendship were established between the two countries if it would be to the mutual advantage of each of them, and enable them to overcome those occasions of friction between them which, neighbours as they are in Asia, were bound otherwise from time to time to arise. That is how the Anglo-Russian Agreement came into existence. It was never intended by the Anglo-Russian Agreement to destroy or diminish Russian influence in any part of Asia where it had already been obtained. The object of the Anglo-Russian Agreement was not to thrust Russia back, and, of course, not to deprive ourselves of any influence we had at the time in Asia, but to make sure that whatever influence either of us possessed in Asia should never be used to disturb the frontiers of the other country. Russian influence when the Anglo-Russian Agreement was made was already predominant in the north of Persia. & The Anglo-Russian Agreement was not intended, and, if it had been intended, would have been

absolutely useless to destroy that influence which already existed. It was intended to secure that Russian influence in the north of Persia should not be used, as it might have been used, to grab railways, concessions, or in any way to disturb our interests. In the same way we, by the Anglo-Russian Agreement, intended to guarantee to the Russian Government that we would not assume a frontier policy in Asia which would be adverse to their frontier interests. We made a declaration of policy after the Anglo-Russian Agreement was made, the object of which was to assure Persia that it was not the intention of the Anglo-Russian Agreement to threaten Persian independence or to embark on any policy which would partition Persia. We made that declaration to Persia because previously there was some reason to suppose that the prevailing feeling in Persia was that its independence and integrity depended upon playing off one Power against another. It was entirely a false idea, because the rivalry of the two Powers was the most dangerous thing for Persia, and it had the further disadvantage of being disagreeable to each Power. (Hear, hear.) Certainly by the Anglo-Russian Agreement we did not intend to impair the integrity of Persia. It was no part of the intention to do that, and we made that declaration to the Persian Government. But that is not the declaration which has been quoted in this House. The declaration quoted by my hon. friend seemed to me to be a quotation from something I have never seen. It seemed to imply that we had stated that by the Anglo-Russian Agreement we had undertaken the responsibility of protecting the independence and integrity of Persia. That is not what we said officially to the Persian Government. (Hear, hear.) That will be found from the Blue-book published officially to the House. We said that the two Governments in signing the Agreement had studiously kept the fundamental principle in view that the independence and integrity of Persia should be respected absolutely.

MR. PONSONBY.—The document quoted by my hon. friend just now was a *communiqué* sent by the British Minister at Teheran to the Persian Minister of Foreign Affairs. I have here a letter from the Persian Minister of Foreign Affairs giving a copy in Persian of the document, and stating that the translation in question is perfectly accurate.

SIR E. GREY.—My hon. friend must supply me with that document. I sent very explicit instructions as to the official communication to be made to the Persian Government, and the communication has been published. If my hon. friend will supply me with a copy of the document he has quoted I will make enquiries as to exactly what it is. I did not intend the Anglo-Russian Agreement to be any extension of our responsibility. (Hear, hear.) It did not mean that we were substituting the Caucasus for the Indian frontier. I would not have committed myself to that enormous extension of responsibility which, I think, would have been disastrous. The object of the agreement was not to interfere with Persian independence, and the hopes founded upon it were that it would remove the danger to that independence by removing the rivalry between Great Britain and Russia. What has been the course of events since? The Shah's Government in Persia went from bad to worse, and a state of chaos arose. There were risings against the Shah's Government, trade was blocked in the north, and some years ago Russia sent troops to Tabriz to protect their trade interests and to protect Russian interests against disorder. It is admitted by anybody who followed the particular sending of Russian troops into Persia at that time that they did not send them to interfere with the internal politics of Persia. As a matter of fact, although it was not intended, the incidental effect of sending the Russian troops was that the Nationalist cause at Tabriz, which was at that moment in very sore straits, was relieved. But the Russians did not send their troops to interfere in the Nationalist cause. Upon that followed a little time afterwards the deposition and expulsion of the Shah. Again, the Russians did not interfere in the internal affairs of Persia. The Shah had been, or was supposed to be, governing in their interest. They had their Russian officers at Teheran in the employment of the Persian Government, which had been before the Anglo-Russian Agreement and continued since. If they had interfered or lifted a finger and used their influence at Teheran, the Shah would never have been expelled. They did not, and they let the Shah be expelled.

They played perfectly fair with the Anglo-Russian Agreement in all that, and certainly, looking back to these days when there was every incentive for Russia to interfere, I am quite convinced that but for the Agreement there would have been much more interference than there was. (Cheers.) The effect of the Anglo-Russian Agreement was not to stimulate interference, but to discourage and restrain it. (Hear, hear.) Since the expulsion of the Shah measures have been exceedingly difficult, and often very unsatisfactory. Lord Morley, speaking in another place the other day, spoke of the difficulties of the Constitutional Government in Persia, and the comparative want of success that had attended it. There have been times, no doubt, when the Nationalists made things exceedingly difficult for the Persian Government—sometimes almost impossible—and more and more in recent years there has been a sort of chaos in Persia. Undoubtedly after the time the Shah was expelled there

has been constant friction with Russia, which has culminated in the present crisis. I am not in a position, and I do not think it is necessary for me, to go into the merits of all the particular disputes which have arisen between Russia and the Persian Government. We cannot investigate all of them. So long as British interests are not concerned in them, it is almost impossible, and if it were possible, I do not know that it would be wise for us, to attempt to pass an opinion upon their merits.

What we are concerned with now is the present crisis in Persia and the three demands which Russia has actually put forward to the Persian Government in an ultimatum, and what our own provision should be in respect of them. I will take the demands one by one. The first demand of the Russian Government is that Mr. Shuster, the Financial Adviser to the Persian Government, should be withdrawn. We have said the we cannot object to that demand, and I will explain why. A short time ago, to take only a most recent instance, I received news by telegram that Mr. Shuster had appointed three British officials in Persia as Treasury officials in important places. One was at Shiraz, one at Isfahan, and one was at Tabriz. Shiraz, of course, is outside the Russian sphere, and there could be no objection to that. Isfahan is just inside the Russian sphere, and I did not think the appointment of an official there would be acceptable to the Russian Government. But Tabriz is close up to the Russian frontier, and as soon as I heard of that and before the Russian Government had said a word about it, and for all I know before they even knew of it I telegraphed to our Minister at Tcheran, and pointed out to him that this sort of thing would not do, that it was absolutely contrary to the spirit of the Anglo-Russian Agreement. It was absolutely certain that Russia would object to the appointment of British officials at Tabriz, as we ourselves would have objected to the appointment of a Russian official in a corresponding position. I thought it would not do, and I sent this telegram on 6th November to our Minister at



Punch:

[London.]

As Between Friends.

British Lion (to Russian Bear). "If we hadn't such a thorough understanding I might almost be tempted to ask what you are doing there with our little Playfellow."

Tcheran—"The appointment of Mr. Leccofre will surely be displeasing and will cause much annoyance to the Russian Government, who may possibly take strong measures to defend their interests. You should point out to Mr. Shuster the probable consequences if he continues to provoke Russian Legation. It should be made clear to him that the Russian Government could employ means for the protection of their own interests which he would be unable to withstand. The appointment of British subjects to administrative posts in the North of Persia is certain to provoke measures by Russia to protect their own interests, and those are measures which we could not deprecate consistently with the Anglo-Russian Agreement. Russian influence is being substituted by British in Northern Persia, a change which we are pledged to avoid." (Hear, hear.) That was sent before I heard anything from the Russian Government at all. It produced no effect whatever. It was met by a *sous-pourpures*. In face of that, however great Mr. Shuster's abilities, however good his intentions, it is impossible for us to object to the Russian demands which have been put forward. I quite admit his ability and his good intentions, but you cannot have the spirit and intention of the Anglo-Russian Agreement upset and two great nations embroiled by the action of any individual, however well-intentioned. (Hear, hear.) What advice I could give to avoid this I gave at the earliest possible moment. That advice having

failed, I, of course, have been absolutely powerless to support Mr. Shuster's action. Had I supported him, I should have been supporting him in the appointment of British officials in the Russian sphere, and I should, at any rate have been breaking the spirit of the Anglo-Russian Agreement.

The second Russian demand is that the Persian Government should, in its appointment of foreign advisers, consult the British and Russian Legations. These demands are put forward on the responsibility of the Russian Government, and this second demand we certainly cannot object to. It is represented as a great interference with the independence of Persia. Of course, it is not an interference with the independence of Persia as it would be an interference with the independence of Persia if the Russian Government were saying that the appointment of Persian officials to the Persian Government must receive the consent of the British and Russian Legations. It does not touch the appointment of Persian officials. It does touch, no doubt, the appointment of foreign officials. Persia is weak and disorganized and the very fact that she requires foreign advisers shows that her independence is not that same independence which can do without leaning on some one else. She wants foreign advisers because she is weak and disorganized. But with foreign advisers there must always come foreign influence. It happens, of course, to be Russia that is complaining of the appointment of British officials in the Russian sphere. It might have been ourselves who had to complain of the appointment of foreign subjects of Russia or some Great Power close to the Indian frontier, or the appointment of Russian subjects, we will say, in the southern or the Gulf Ports. I think it is absolutely essential, after what has happened, that the Persian Government, having a perfectly free hand in regard to the appointment of Persians, in the formation of their own Government, should, if they mean to apply for foreign advisers from outside, at any rate consult the British and Russian Legations beforehand to avoid the recurrence of what has lately



Hindi Punch:

[Bombay.]

The Bear's Opportunity.

taken place. But I do say this also that, as foreign advisers are necessary to Persia, neither the British nor the Russian Government ought to put any undue obstacles in the way of Persia obtaining the foreign advice which will be efficient and capable. That I think follows.

The third Russian demand is that Persia should pay an indemnity. With regard to that I have to observe that, at the present moment, Persia cannot pay anything, and I do not suppose for a moment that the Russian Government is going to push for prompt payment. But, if prompt payment it is not pushed for, it is very undesirable that there should be a hanging obligation round the neck of Persia (hear, hear), which would remain like a lever which could be used at any moment; and the second thing I have to remark about it is this: If Persia is called upon to pay an indemnity to Russia at the present moment, it must be adverse to British trade interests. British trade interests have suffered in the south of Persia because the roads have been disturbed and blocked. The roads have been disturbed because there is no proper force to protect them. I trust a force will be created under the Swedish officers or others who are now in Persia, but you cannot have a force created, or, at any rate, you cannot have it

entitled without money. Persia is very short of money. She cannot at present pay a Russian indemnity, or any sort of indemnity, without the country being very seriously impaired of producing that order on the southern roads which is essential to our trade. I have brought these considerations to the notice of the Russian Government. (Hear, hear) Having put forward their demands, they will insist on those demands being conceded either in actual practice or in principle; but with regard to the indemnity, I have put forward these considerations, and I think it is not impossible that this difficulty will be got over if the Russian demands are complied with in principle, and when they are assured that there is a Persian Government that will not disregard British and special interests in those parts of Persia which specially concern each of us

As to the future. Of course, no progress can be made until this crisis is over, and the crisis will not be over until the Russian demands have been met. When that is over, what should our policy be? It must be a constructive policy with regard to Persia. The appointment of foreign advisers must be facilitated, if the Persian Government wishes for it, where they are necessary. Police and gendarmerie must be facilitated, and, of course, a loan is most important, on proper terms, to the Persian Government. When talking of the independence of Persia, people must bear in mind how much the independence of Persia is hampered already by the loans she has previously made. She is not free to borrow as a country which has made no loans hitherto is free. A great many of her best securities are pledged to the Russian or British banks already, and it is absolutely necessary that she should consult the creditors she is making fresh loans, and that their interests should be safeguarded. But I do hold that it ought to be a cardinal point in the policy of the British and Russian Government, I do not say actually to lend money themselves to Persia, but to make it easy for Persia to obtain a loan. Without that there cannot be any progress.

I have one more point. Their return of the ex-Shah would, undoubtedly, be very prejudicial to the progress of Persia. In the first place, it would give rise to apprehension that he would pursue a vindictive policy against those who had originally expelled him; and in the next place, as regards ourselves, I do not think it is consistent with our dignity to recognize the ex-Shah, if he regained the Throne, just after he has disregarded the warnings given to him not to return to Persia. I will tell the House exactly how I have put this to the Russian Government. I put before them these six points. I have said that (1) we recognize that the outcome of the present situation must be to secure a Persian Government that will not disregard the special interest of Great Britain and Russia respectively, and will conform to the principles of the Anglo-Russian Agreement; (2) that the restoration of the ex-Shah cannot be essential to this object. It will give rise to the apprehension of vindictive measures on his part against those in Persia who were instrumental in expelling him, and it would not be consistent with our dignity to recognize him now after his recent disregard of warnings given by both Governments not to return. I trust, therefore, the Russian Government will not add to the embarrassments of the situation by allowing his restoration to be the outcome of the present crisis. (3) It is most important that Mr Shuster shall be succeeded without delay by some foreign financial adviser, who is acceptable to both Great Britain and Russia. (4) The British and Russian Governments should, when the Russian demands have been conceded, co-operate in facilitating measures, such as a loan, necessary to prevent chaos and to enable the Persian Government to restore order. (5) The exactation of an indemnity by Russia would materially interfere with this object, and I trust the Russian Government will, after the crisis is over, find some way of avoiding this difficulty. (6) It is understood that the military measures and occupation of Persian territory by Russia now in progress are provisional, and not permanent, and will cease when the Russian demands have been complied with and order in Northern Persia is re-established. I give that to the House as what we have put before the Russian Government as our view. I would like to give to the House what we may take the Russian view to be generally. I take it from what has been published semi-officially in St Petersburg, because it agrees entirely with the communications I have had with the Russian Government, and it is the most convenient form in which to read it to the House:—"The Russian troops which are now being concentrated at Kazvin will not advance until after a lapse of eight days unless extraordinary events should force the Russian Minister to order them to proceed to Teheran earlier. Russia despatched these troops only owing to the force of circumstances and, of course, as she has frequently declared, without the least intention of violating the integrity or independence of Persia. As soon as Russia's demands have been complied with, the further stay of Russian troops at Kazvin will become superfluous, unless attacks should be made upon Russians or more serious disturbances or other complications should occur. Russian policy in Persia must continue to be based on full agreement and co-operation with Great Britain on the lines and principles of the Anglo-Russian under-

standing of 1907. Only the maintenance of this understanding will render possible the peaceful and regular development of Persia, so important for the economic and political interests of the two neighbouring States as well as for the establishment of permanent order in Persia itself." With regard to the ex-Shah, the Russian Government have told us that, "having repeatedly declared that the military measures to which it has been forced to have recourse in Persia have absolutely no connexion with Mohammed Ali Shah's aspirations to the Persian Throne, desires to reconfirm that declaration in the most categorical manner. It would not on any account wish that the intention could possibly be attributed to it of imposing a Sovereign on Persia and of acting contrary to the principle of non-intervention in the struggle between the ex-Shah and the Persian Government—a principle which it had proclaimed from the beginning. The Russian Government consequently declares that, if the ex-Shah were now to take advantage of the presence in Persia of a Russian expeditionary corps to realize his designs, the Russian Government would not recognize him as Sovereign in the country without a previous arrangement with His Majesty's Government."

These at any rate, provide lines of general policy on which, I trust, we may be able to co-operate in future. It is essential that the Persian Government should be put on its feet and maintained there. If that cannot be done, you will have continual chaos in Persia. Chaos brings outside interference, and interference brings, sooner or later, very difficult political questions. If Russian frontier and commercial interests in one part of Persia and British frontier and commercial interests in another cannot be preserved by Persian authority and the Persian Government, they must either be preserved by Russia and Great Britain respectively for themselves or be sacrificed altogether. Either alternative would be most disagreeable and most undesirable. And apart from that, we have to bear in mind that Persia is a Muhammadan country neighbouring India, and the last thing we wish to do is to pursue or to be parties to a policy in the neighbourhood of India that would be, or would have the appearance of being, harsh and aggressive to the Muhammadans of the country.

What is essential to the realization of the Persian Government keeping order in Persia, and helping it to that end, is undoubtedly co-operation between Russia and England. If they fall apart, if the Persians were put into the position of playing one off against the other, it would be the most fatal thing that would happen to Persia. I think I have said enough to the House to make it clear that if there is to be co-operation on our part it must be co-operation on some such policy that I have put forward. We could not co-operate in any harsh or aggressive policy which was aimed at the destruction of Persian independence. If we co-operate it must be on a constructive policy after the present crisis is over, it must be aimed at putting the Persian house in order in such a way that order may be preserved by the Persian Government in Persia, and that the present occupation, whether by British troops or Russian, may be only temporary. It is our hope that some such policy as that would be made successful. But it is essential that the present crisis should be got over first, and that it should be recognized frankly that Persian independence and Persian Government must be one which takes due account, as the British and Russian Governments themselves take due account, of their respective interests in certain parts of Persia, and that the Persian Government should do all in its power to carry out the spirit of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, by ensuring that those interests, Russian or British, which those two countries have respectively undertaken not to injure themselves should not suffer injury at the hands of the Persian Government either. I admit the situation is difficult. I do not want to conceal from the House any real difficulties there are but I do believe that a policy such as I have indicated is the only wise policy for Persia. We have been in close communication with the Russian Government; we do not find in them any difference of view as to what the policy should be after the present crisis is over, and it shall be our object and our ceaseless endeavour to secure that both Governments shall co-operate in a policy which will really be favourable to the Persian Government.

So much about Persia. I do not know that I can say much about the other subjects referred to in the debate. The honorable member for Blackburn introduced the debate in a speech with the tone of which I think no one can find fault, and which showed a real desire, while upholding the British view, also to understand the views of other Powers. He appealed to me for papers to be laid on the Moroccan question. I dealt very fully with the Moroccan question the other day. Nothing that I said has been challenged and nothing has been contradicted. It is, therefore, unnecessary, as far as my statement of the other day is concerned, that I should lay papers to support what is unchallenged. The history of what passed is there on the records of the House, to be read by everybody who wishes to know it. As to the publication of papers, the honorable member said that the French Government were going to have a large publication of papers. I do not know, but very likely it is so. Of course we must wait to see what papers are published by the two Governments who are the principals in this matter before we publish any papers of ours. So far as I am aware the German Government have not

published papers, but the German Foreign Secretary published a statement which, of course, is the counterpart of the speech I made the other day and that has been laid before the House. Certainly in a matter of this kind, we ought to see what papers those who are principally concerned in the matter publish before we publish papers which might possibly add to their difficulties, however interesting they might be to the House.

I would make this further comment on the publication of more papers. The German Chancellor spoke of the clean slate. I have not his actual words here as I had not intended to refer to Morocco to-night. But he referred to the clean slate on which there should be fair writing. If I published a great many papers dealing with these controversial matters of the last two months is it not possible that they would be taken as beginning to cover the slate with writing relating to past events instead of starting afresh? Of course it may be desirable and necessary to publish papers, but before I commit myself to the publication of any papers I think it is worth bearing those considerations in mind. The hon. member who opened the debate spoke of the great discouragement felt by the people both in Germany and here who are well disposed and desire good relations between the two countries. I would do anything I could to remove the discouragement. The hon. member said the feeling in Germany was not good at the present time. It may be that we must wait for a little time until the atmosphere is more favourable. But on the other hand remember that the Moroccan question is out of the way, and after what the German Chancellor said in his first speech and what I said in my speech I say again—if I am to repeat anything I said the other day—that the Moroccan question, if it be settled, ought to smooth the path of diplomacy in the future, and France and Germany having settled the Moroccan question for themselves, we shall be only too delighted to take advantage of anything that smooth path has made possible. This I say also as I said in my previous speech, and as the Prime Minister said in his speech, that whatever difficulties occur, jealousy of German expansion is not our motive. (Cheers.) I have been asked various questions on various subjects. There was a question about the Baghdad Railway. That depends on negotiations with the Turkish Government. Proposals of ours are before the Turkish Government, but as recent events have not been very favourable to the conduct of negotiations, there they remain at the present moment. Our proposals are under consideration. One feature of the debate of an interesting character has been the first speeches which have been made by more than one member. The hon. member behind me (Baron de Forest) made a very interesting first speech. He covered a large part of the human field, and I can only say that if he can succeed in affecting public opinion in the direction which he hopes he will have done a great deal to make Governments and diplomats less powerless than they are at the present moment. (Laughter and cheers.)

The hon. member opposite, the member for South Somerset, contributed a most reasonable and interesting speech as his first effort, and one which pleased the House. I will only say this about it, that it is really not right to state that we were unfriendly to the new régime in Turkey. We did all we could to show friendliness. That was our desire. The hon. member for West Donegal asked for the publication of papers about events in Turkey. It is quite true that there has been no publication of papers since the new régime came into power. If we had published papers about events in Macedonia and Albania at the beginning of the new régime we should have been told that we were not giving the new régime a chance. To publish them at the present moment, while war is going on between Turkey and Italy, would undoubtedly be taken as reflecting upon one of the belligerents. I do not for a moment wish to withhold information from the House, but I cannot publish papers without it being supposed that they were published for a purpose at the present moment. Here are two countries at war. You publish papers reflecting on the internal administration of one of them. Can it be supposed that with those two countries at war it will not be taken—not in this House, but outside—as meaning that you are taking sides? There is really no object in publishing papers at this time unless the state of things was such as to demand and require interference, and unless you must interfere. If we and other Great Powers of Europe are not going to intervene in Turkish internal affairs, then the publication of papers may be a provocation and will be absolutely useless. It is not that I have any desire to withhold information from the House that I depurate the publication of papers; it is because it would undoubtedly be taken that they are published with a purpose, and the effect will only be provocative and irritating, and it may be that at the present time it would be almost unfair to a country which is in great difficulties.

There is one thing more for comment, and that was in the interesting speech of the hon. member for South Donegal, on the subject of secrecy. This is an age of inventions, and perhaps some day something will be invented by which it is possible to publish papers in the House of Commons which shall not be known else-

where. (Laughter.) I can assure the House that the motive for secrecy in 99 cases out of 100 is not to withhold information from the House, but it is the difficulty of giving information to the House without giving it to the world at large, and the knowledge we give to the world at large may cause difficulties abroad which are unnecessary. The hon. member for South Donegal really does not do me justice in what he had repeated again and again to the House. He talks about the Anglo-Russian Agreement having been signed three days after Parliament rose. I have given the history of it before. I should like to give it again, but really, once a thing which is inaccurate in a statement has taken the floor it holds it against the truth for ever after. (Laughter.) We had been carrying on negotiations for a long time with Russia. I saw the end of Parliament approaching and I did my utmost to hurry the negotiations in order that the Agreement might be concluded and laid before Parliament before it rose. We got nearer and nearer to the end of the Session, to the time when Parliament would rise, and I got more and more anxious to conclude the Agreement. So far as my recollection goes back, we were within a fortnight or so of the end of Parliament, and even if the Agreement were signed before that it certainly would not be published until a copy of it had been communicated to the Persian Government. I was told that it would take weeks. It was not published until weeks after Parliament rose.

MR. MAC NEIL.—On 22nd August.

SIR E. GREY.—It was not published then; my recollection is that it was published much later, and if we had put the date of publication some weeks afterwards I would not have been exposed to this criticism. (Laughter.) But I was not clever. (Laughter.) I signed the document at the earliest possible date it could be concluded, knowing that it would not be published for some weeks afterwards, and the actual time of signing seemed to be a matter of indifference compared with the time of publication.

Then as to the practice in the House, I have never deprecated discussion in the House, but if I were inclined to do so it would arise, not from any want of good will on my part, but from the difficulties of House of Commons procedure. This Government has not been less free with its information than any of its predecessors. An hon. member complained that at the time when Lord Cranborne was in the House he did not answer any supplementary questions. I wonder whether the House realizes how embarrassing it is to answer these supplementary questions. It was easy enough if the House alone were concerned, but every one of these answers given by the Foreign Secretary is liable to be reported in foreign newspapers and accepted there as the deliberate and considered utterance of the British Government (cheers), not as something forced from the Foreign Secretary by a question put in the House, not as something given *impromptu*, but as the deliberate, considered, and designed utterance of the British Government. (Hear, hear.) It is not surprising that some years ago there had been found some difficulty abroad, and that an answer to a supplementary question, which may be quite naturally harmless in the House, should give rise to misunderstanding abroad. I believe that was a reason why the House had been led to discontinue the supplementary questions; but I think any hon. member who cares to inquire will find that during the last six years more supplementary questions on foreign affairs have been answered than ever before in the history of the House. (Cheers.) To allege that foreign policy is secret as far as the Government is concerned, that it is something carried on in the dark, not only in the House, but as regards the Cabinet, is absolutely untrue. The hon. member said that he had not been in the Cabinet; and that is very obvious. (Laughter.) The policy of the Foreign Office is the one Department about the main procedure of which the Cabinet is kept duly informed ("Hear, hear," from Mr. Asquith); and I can only say that if I were as well informed about the business of the Departments of all my colleagues as they are about mine I should be a great deal wiser than I am. (Laughter.) I make this comment on what the hon. member said, and I frankly admit that he said it in the most courteous way as well as in a way which was interesting to the House. But I will ask the House to believe that we do not oppose or desire to stop discussions in the House, and if there is reticence and difficulty in communicating information it is because in foreign affairs we have to consider not alone the effect of publication here and how it may be taken and understood here, but also because in a great many cases we are dealing with matters in which we are only one party to matters which may be communicated confidentially to us by other Governments. Were we to embark, therefore, on a procedure of as much publicity as the hon. member desires I think we should land ourselves in the position that other Governments would cease to have communication with us and that we should have very little to communicate. (Laughter and cheers.)

Mr. Ponsonby (Stirling Burghs, Min.) referred to the Persian question and the Anglo-Russian Agreement, arguing that we seemed to disregard what Persia wished. The Russian Government had declared that it wished to respect the integrity of Persia, but reading the assurances of the Russian Government and placing

them in contrast with Russia's recent action, he thought it justified a suspicion of Russian intentions in the future. (Hear, hear.) The Russian Government had not possibly the means of carrying out their intentions even if their intentions were good. But the traditional policy of Russia was to sow discord near her own territory in order to have an opportunity of stepping in when government of the country became impossible. The Foreign Secretary did not take into account the fact that Persia was trying to work out her own salvation. Our attitude as to Persia was being regarded as weak and undignified because we were playing second fiddle to Russia. We had considered Russian opinion and we had entirely disregarded the needs of Persia. Mr. Shuster might not have been accustomed to diplomatic methods, but it was weakness on our part not to have insisted on his maintenance at Teheran for the sake of the rehabilitation of Persian finances. The policy of the balance of power was at the root of all our international difficulties. It meant a continual readjusting of the scales, and the arousing of suspicion and jealousy in other nations. Until the policy was abandoned it was hopeless to think we could get on better terms with Germany. He preferred Lord Salisbury's policy of the Concert of Europe. It was impossible to preserve absolute secrecy in foreign affairs under modern conditions. Leakages would occur, and he thought it would be well if the country were allowed to know more about our foreign policy. He hoped this debate would form a precedent for the future, and that the Foreign Secretary would do his best to give time for discussion whenever any considerable number of the members wished it, as he thought it desirable to give information to the House. To make negotiations possible foreign affairs must to a large extent be conducted in secret. They did not wish to see the cards in the hand of the Foreign Secretary, but inasmuch as the people would have to pay for mistakes made, it was not too much to ask that they should know what game was being played and no Minister, were he frank and open, would command more confidence from the country than the present Foreign Secretary.

Mr. Wedgwood said however much it might be true that a Liberal Ministry in power was disastrous to Liberal foreign policy from want of criticism, it was certain that the disaster was the worse with the present Secretary for Foreign Affairs in office. It was difficult to attack him, but it was necessary, for the policy of the Government was not a Liberal policy, during the past six years it had been not only a continuation, but an accentuation of the policy of their predecessors. The "balance of power" had been raised to a sort of fetish which the Foreign Office had worshipped, and when it was not the balance of power in view it was material British interests. The pursuit of these two aims had not been until the last few years the Liberal policy. It was antagonistic to the policy of Canning, Palmerston, and Gladstone, and the people who sent the present Government to power were anxious to have the old Gladstonian tradition observed in foreign policy. They did not desire interference with details, but had a genuine right to expect that certain broad Liberal principles would be followed. The majority of Englishmen put the moral results of foreign policy before material results. They would rather have the influence of the Foreign Office directed to the extension of justice and freedom among the nations. How had the Foreign Office influenced the politics of the world on Liberal lines? Not in Turkey, when the revolution gave promise of a bright future, not in Finland to prevent loss of autonomy, not to prevent an Italian attack on Turkey, not to prevent the French going to Flanders, not in the Belgian Congo, not in Persia, had British influence effected anything in a Liberal direction. If England had any influence it had failed. But did the Government try? He had a horrid suspicion that they did not try to use influence.

There was no previous Liberal Government which had not used its influence to secure freedom, liberty, and justice. The whole trouble was that the Foreign Office and the Foreign Office staff were too aristocratic in tone and too liberal in principle. The fact that a man must have a private income of £400 a year before he could receive a salaried appointment ensured that there would be Conservative sympathies throughout the Department. It was notorious that there was a very large anti-German feeling throughout the Foreign Office. It was also notorious that Sir Fairfax Cartwright, the British representative at Vienna, held anti-German views, and he could not understand why he should have been appointed to that position. All the recent international troubles had been caused by concession hunters, and people were becoming tired of that kind of game, particularly now that it was becoming dangerous. We were moving now, not towards internationalization of capital alone but towards internationalization of labour also and that would do more than even the diplomacy of the Liberal Government to make our foreign policy more Liberal in the future.

Mr. Barton (Oldham, Min.) said the speech of the Foreign Secretary had left a feeling of complete disappointment, for the Anglo-Russian Agreement had always been regarded as a guarantee of the independence and integrity of Persia. Their fear in Lancashire was that Russian domination in Persia would in the end mean the loss of their trade with Persia. It would be said that even in the event of Russian domination some arrangement such

as the open door could be made, but when they had a manufacturing country like Russia in such close proximity to Persia the trades would be captured entirely by Russian traders, whatever arrangement might be made. From what the Foreign Secretary had said it was clear that we could make no friendships with European Powers which in any way interfered with our friendship with France. That policy was not one which commended itself to him as a Liberal. If we were to have special friends he was desirous that Germany should be included among them.

Mr. Whitehouse (Lanark, Mid. Min.) believed that friendly feeling towards the other existed in both the German and the English nations, and that what was now needed was that the forces on the side of an international understanding should be developed and strengthened.

Mr. Morrell (Burnley, Min.) said in the very interesting speech of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs the right hon. gentleman had assured the House of his anxiety to co-operate with Russia in securing Persian independence and in giving Persia fair play. But the events of the past few weeks were calculated to give the Persian people grave doubts as to his ability to carry out that intention which he had expressed. The British Government had advised the Persian Government to comply with Russia's demands when the first Ultimatum was received. When the second, and even more unjust, demand was made by Russia our Government encouraged the Russians and told the Persian Government that it was their own fault because they had employed British subjects in Northern Persia. As an Englishman he could not feel any pride in the honour of his country. Over and over again they were told that it was all the fault of Mr. Shuster, and that he had made things impossible. When it came to dismissing a man instantly at the point of the bayonet, with the approval of the British Government, he would like to know what Mr. Shuster's fault was. All that Mr. Shuster had done—this was the beginning and end of his offence as publicly narrated by the Foreign Secretary—was to transfer Mr. Lecoffre, who happened to be a British subject, from one place to another, both places in the sphere of Russian influence. Because of that, the Persian capital was to be invaded with our consent. A poorer excuse than that for taking away the independence of a people to whom we were bound—for that was what it came to—he had never heard put forward in that House. He would like to know how far we were going in our efforts to drive out Mr. Shuster. He was in favour of the preservation of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, if it could be preserved consistently with the honour of this country; but it could not stand unless the Foreign Office made it clear to the Russian Government that the action they had taken against Persia must not be persisted in. (Cheers.)

Sir W. Byles (Salford, N., Min.) pleaded for more intimate relations between the House of Commons and the Foreign Office. At present they were hardly on speaking terms. (Laughter.) He complained of the system of keeping the nation in the dark as to foreign policy, and said that a feeling existed that the Liberal Party was being hustled along in an anti-Liberal policy. The action which we had sanctioned in Persia was due to the lack of an understanding with Germany. The continued strained relations with Germany, the consequent maintenance of crushing expenses on armaments, and the advance of the Cossacks in Persia with our connivance, were loosening the allegiance of many supporters of the Government.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND COLLECTIONS OF INDIA.

Name of Place	Name of person in charge of the Fund	THE WEEK'S PROGRESS			PROGRESS UP TO DATE		Remarks
		Amount collected	Amount forwarded to Turkey	To whom forwarded and through what agency.	Amount Collected	Amount forwarded	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Karachi	Seth Haji Abdulla Hanum.	Rs 568-13-0	Rs. --	Rs. --	Rs. 4,372-13-6	Rs. 3,500-13-4	
B.I.A.O. College, Alligarh.	J. H. Twiss, M.A., Principal.	Rs 4,942-10-9	Rs. 500	Thomas Coote & Sons to the British Ambassador to pay to the Grand Vizier.	Rs. 3,862-10-9	Rs. 500	The amount collected consists of the deposit of the original, and of other who, and the savings effected in remitting expenses by the students offering to give up all rich food supplied to the dining-hall so long as the war lasts.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Reuter wired from Rome.—It is asserted here that the Turkish casualties in the fighting near Benghazi, on the 25th instant, were 500 and included some leaders.

Reuter wired from Rome.—An Italian column on the 26th instant advanced up the Derna river to protect the Engineers engaged in repairing the aqueduct supplying the town with water. The column came into contact with a large force of Turks, who possessed many quick-firing guns. The Italians failed to effect a turning movement and after a sharp fight retired to their entrenchments. They lost three killed and seventy-seven wounded.

The cruiser *Suffolk* has been ordered to proceed to Egypt. She sails under sealed orders and goes to preserve the neutrality of Egypt.

The Turkish Cabinet has resigned owing to the obstruction of the Opposition, which prevented the Chamber of Deputies from discussing the modification of the Constitution proposed by the Grand Vizier.



Lev. Burd.

Paris.

L'Enfant Terrible

Said Pasha has been appointed Grand Vizier. He is endeavouring to reconstitute the Cabinet.

Reuter wired from Constantinople.—The Ministry has practically been reconstituted on the lines of the Committee of Union and Progress.

Reuter wires from Rome.—The principal sources of revenue during the last six months of 1911 show an increase of 30,625,000 lire. The *Tribuna* remarks that the financial resources of Italy are capable of withstanding every adverse occurrence marvellously.

A message to the *Times* from Salonica states that the correspondent has reason to believe that the general conditions of peace have already been arranged between Italy and Turkey and that the near future will see the termination of hostilities.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

CONSTANTINOPLE, December 13.

Much anxiety has been aroused by the news that the Grand Vizier is about to submit a Bill for the modification of Article 85 of

the Constitution respecting the dissolution of the Chamber. The present form of the Article in question acknowledges the Sultan's right to dissolve the Chamber with the consent of the Senate in consequence of reiterated conflict in the Cabinet. According to most accounts the new version does not contain any reference to the Senate's powers. Its immediate adoption in the Chamber by the necessary two-thirds majority is problematical, and the timid anticipate that its introduction will be the signal for a yet fiercer outbreak of party strife.

It is also asserted, though less confidently, that the Government proposes a further alteration in the Constitution to enable the Sultan to suspend Parliamentary debates in war time. The fact that similar proposals engaged the attention of the recent Committee Congress at Salomika, where a majority of the delegates pronounced in favour of the limitation of the powers of the Senate, strengthens the perhaps erroneous but general assumption that the Central Committee, realizing that it is losing ground, has made up its mind to precipitate a General Election while still sure of support from the great majority of the officials of the Ministry of the Interior, whose influence is expected to determine the course of many provincial elections. I may also record the theory that Said Pasha, with the consent of the Committee, wishes to strengthen the power of the Crown.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Smyrna, December 2.

NEWS of a rather conflicting nature is continually being received about the threatened Italian naval raid in the Aegean. The native population views this proposed action with equanimity, if not indifference. The inhabitants of the Aegean Islands are overwhelmingly Christian, the Turks in but few cases numbering as much as 10 or 15 per cent. Consequently the Christian element, mainly Greek, will be the sufferer. An attack against the ports of Smyrna or Salomika is not considered probable, but in the event of hostilities being directed against these towns, which number a large and wealthy European population, far more economic mischief would be caused to the European colonies and foreign interests than to the Turks. As for the Dardanelles, the forts there are considered impregnable. Meanwhile military preparations go on apace, both by land and sea. General Ismail Fazil Pasha arrived this week to inspect the troops concentrated round Smyrna. The Pasha was formerly military commander here, and he was received with full military honours.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Jerusalem, November 23.

THE war continues to be the all-absorbing topic of conversation, and here, as elsewhere, rumour seems to have things all its own way. The local papers quite naturally dilate upon the Turkish successes, and the reports they publish are received somewhat sceptically by cautious folk. An official report, however, lately reached the Commandant here, stating that the Turkish troops, aided by their Arab allies had driven the Italians out of Tripoli. This, of course, gave rise to great jubilation. The guns in the Kishlekh were fired, and many proposals for a public celebration of the victory were put forward. Jaffa took the lead in the matter, and Nablus followed suit.

Nothing worth reporting occurred in connection with these demonstrations, but at Ramleh, a town to the north-west of Jerusalem the excitement unfortunately led to some rioting and disturbance because the Christians did not take part in the celebrations. The Christians left their houses and took refuge in the Latin Convent, and the disturbance lasted for three days. There was, however, no loss of life, and no cases of robbery have been reported. The British and French Consuls, the Kaimakam of Jaffa, and the Commandant of Jerusalem visited the scene of the trouble. As a result of the outbreak, the authorities have declined to allow any demonstrations at all in Jerusalem.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, November 8.

A GREAT sensation has been caused here during the last few days by an article in the *Yeni-Gazete* announcing that the Russian Ambassador had presented a Note to the Grand Vizier demanding the opening (to Russian warships only) of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. This news, coming on the heels of the tidings that the Russian troops were on the march towards Teheran, caused the utmost uneasiness here, and its impression has not altogether been dispelled by the numerous official or semi-official *dementies*, which have pounced, like hawks, on the newly fledged canard. It seems that there has been no Note, and that no official communication of any kind has been received from the Russian Government in this connection, but it is not denied by the Turks that

6th January.

the Russian Ambassador—or some other representative of his Government—has sounded the Porte with regard to the possibility of an arrangement with regard to this very important question. There are rumours that high Russian officials discussed it with members of the Turkish Special Mission which recently visited the Tigris. But whether the Russian Government, as our German friends and the German Jewish Press in Austria would have us believe, really contemplates a new treaty of Hunkiar-Skelessi with the Turks without the knowledge of her Western friends and allies, or whether M. Tcharykoff, who is known to be a strong advocate of a Russo-Turkish understanding, simply wished to know what Turkish statesmen thought with regard to the opening of the Straits, and found that his attempts to sound the Turks were "given away" by some indiscretion, who can say? In any case, the reception given to the news by the Ottoman public is not of a nature to encourage those who believe that a formula can be found whereby the secular cause of Russo-Turkish hostility or suspicion can be banished from European politics. Needless to say, the occasion has not been lost by the friends of Germany here, and it is unfortunate that some support has been given to their views by the Russian advance in North Persia, which is believed to have provoked something like a protest from the Porte. Although the Turks who have been encroaching on the Persian borders for years past are not perhaps morally entitled to object very strongly to Russia's action, their annoyance is none the less natural. Turkey does not

the laws of neutrality, ammunition is being sent to the Turkish forces from Egypt, and that "the Red Crescent Mission, which went from Egypt to the Turkish camp, was composed of officers disguised as surgeons, and carried boxes of cartridges instead of medical comforts." It is unnecessary to say that there is no foundation whatever for statements of this nature, which can only be accounted for by the fact that in the absence of authentic news the sensational newspapers in Italy find it necessary to pander to their readers by drawing upon their imagination.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

SOFIA, December 5.

Some sensation was caused yesterday in the Sobranje during the debate on the Budget, when Mr. Nicola Constantini, a former Minister and now Leader of the Opposition, moved the increase of the war Budget from 40 million to 50 million francs, because, as he said at the conclusion of his speech, "our road to Macedonia lies through Bucharest." He referred, doubtless, to the supposition that Roumania would resent, if not prevent, any hostile movement by Bulgaria against Turkey.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST.")

We referred in a recent number of the *Near East* to the revival of the old Internal Organisation among the Bulgarians of Macedonia. That was a fortnight ago, and since then a whole series of dynamite and other outrages have been perpetrated, evident-



Nebelwetter. 1

Will It Come to This?

desire to have to defend a longer frontier than her present one in Asia, and "occupations of a temporary nature" have a way—*vide* Egypt—of transforming themselves into something suspiciously like permanent tenure.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

I Zurich.

Cairo, December 3.

PROBABLY never has a war been carried on in the immediate neighbourhood of Egypt that has created less interest here than that now being waged under such strange conditions between Italy and the Ottoman Empire. Of rumours there are many, the latest being that Hunter Pasha of the coastguard service has been taken prisoner by the Arabs on the Tripolitan border while in the execution of his office, namely, that of maintaining the strict neutrality of Egypt by watching the frontier for contraband of war. There is a far greater inclination to discredit such a rumour than to give it credence, and a *démenti* is expected in due course. From time to time it has been whispered that heavily laden caravans have left the Nile valley travelling in a westerly direction, but it is considered far from likely that their destination should be the seat of war.

Equally incredible is the strange rumour which has been circulated in the Italian Press and published in a letter from a correspondent in Rome to a Cairo newspaper that, in violation of



Glebbichter 1

A Disturbed Idyll.

1. The Italians begin peacefully to load sand in Tripoli to send to Italy.
2. Suddenly some interfering Turks interrupt this happy occupation, and the Italians are obliged to retire.

ly with the object of goading the Turks into reprisals, which would provoke a Bulgarian insurrection, and afford an opening for foreign intervention. The worst of these outrages took place at Ishtib, the centre of a district of mixed Turkish and Bulgarian population, both sections of which are organised in mutually hostile secret societies. On a market day, when the town was crowded with country folk of both nationalities, bombs were exploded in the mosque and in a grocer's shop. The mosque was destroyed and a number of people killed and injured. A riot followed, and many Bulgarians were killed or wounded before order could be restored. In addition to this outrage, various attempts have been made to blow up trains, and some Turks have been killed by Bulgarian bands outside Salonika. Happily, the Turkish Government and the Turkish Press have kept their heads under this provocation. The *Tanin*, the leading Committee organ, exhorts the public to remember that panic-stricken reprisals could only injure Ottoman interests, and the Porte seems to be taking precautions to prevent the natural indignation of the Mussalmans finding a vent in persecution of the Bulgarian population. Another reassuring feature of the situation is the pacific attitude of the Bulgarian Government, which is warmly appreciated even by the more Chauvinist of the

Turkish newspapers. In Constantinople there is a tendency to attribute the outrages to Italian instigation, but there seems to be no evidence to support this improbable theory. Those who remember the outrages of seven years ago will have no hesitation in ascribing these to the same source. But even if the Internal Organisation receives no help or encouragement from outside, its baneful activities are only too likely to bring about a state of civil war in Macedonia.

In spite of the calming effect of the speeches made by M. Venizelos, supported by M. Dragoumis and others, and in spite of the warnings of the Powers, there is a possibility that an attempt will be made to send certain deputies, accompanied by armed followers, to the Greek Chamber. The Cretan statesman who is now Prime Minister in Athens is, however, more than a match for his fellow-islanders. He has hit upon a method of meeting the emergency which is likely to be as effective as it is original. He has imposed a quarantine period of five days on all vessels coming from Crete, with the exception of those coming from the parts which are guarded by the warships of the protecting Powers. The shipping companies have been warned, both by M. Venizelos and by the Consuls of the Powers, not to convey the deputies, and the Greek Government has even notified them that the carrying of armed Cretans will be regarded as piracy and punished as such. If, in spite of these precautions, the would-be deputies succeed in reaching Athens, M. Venizelos is resolved to close the Chamber, so as to prevent them attempting to take their seats. The development of the affair, which, thanks to M. Venizelos, has lost most of its elements of danger, will be followed with interest and amusement.

News from Turkish Sources.

Telegrams received in Constantinople state that Arabs gained a signal victory at Tobruk. A reconnoitring party of Italians had advanced towards them from Tobruk, but Arabs from some tribes of Barca surrounded them in such a manner that all were caught alive after a little fighting and not one was allowed to escape. The number of prisoners thus secured was more than 205. On hearing this a larger body of Italian troops attacked the Arabs and hard fighting lasted for two hours after which the Italians began to retreat and at last fell back on their defences near the shore whence the guns of the warships opened fire on the Arabs and prevented their further advance. In this encounter 50 of the enemy were killed and the Arabs seized several guns and much ammunition. (*Al-Alam*, 15th December.) News received from the seat of war show that the Ottoman forces are shelling Derna from several well-selected quarters and the Italian authorities are anxious to embark their forces on the ships to escape the fire of the guns. It is expected that when the ships move farther from the shore the capture of Derna would become easier. The Arabs attacked the Italian forces at Derna so vigorously that in spite of larger numbers the latter could not withstand it and were compelled to seek the shelter of the shore. Much booty fell into the hands of the Arabs, including several large stores of grain, 45 Italians were also made prisoners. —(*At Tarqiqi, Constantinople*, 11th December.) The Ottoman Parliament came to know through some sources that a number of spies were trying to discover the internal affairs of Turkey, the intentions of Parliament and the dissensions of its members. On investigation the police succeeded in arresting an Italian who could not conceal his espionage and confessed. A search is being made for his accomplices. —(*Tarun*, 13th December).

Our Special Correspondent in Tripoli informs us that up to the 2nd December the situation was thus. —

"All was quiet again, but the enemy was busy in the vicinity of Hamidieh, which portends a severe encounter at an early date. Yesterday there was a little skirmishing and we captured 40 men. Other losses are not accurately known. We came out scathless. For attacking from the side of the Hamidieh our forces are ready and anxious and their numbers and enthusiasm are daily increasing. The new Commander-in-Chief of the Italians had intended to attack vigorously from the Sidi-Misr side, but the courage of our men proved too great an obstruction. This was the severest encounter and lasted till the Zuhri prayers. Our losses were slight, in fact about 8 or 10 men. Their casualties were numerous, and though correct figures are not known, the numbers must exceed hundred. The Ottoman forces in Ain-Zar are making a counter attack on the enemy who numbers more than 40 thousand. We have little but the mercy of Allah." —(*Alamdar, Constantinople*, 12th December).

Our Special Correspondent sends news of a severe encounter which occurred on the 4th December. The Turkish troops and the Arabs made a vigorous onslaught and in a few hours compelled the enemy to vacate the temporary fortifications and defences that the Italians had raised. We lost 200 killed and the losses of the enemy could not have been less than a thousand. Much booty fell into our bands. —(*Alamdar, Constantinople*, 25th December.)

The *Tarun* publishes letters and news showing that the defensive *fatwa* proclaimed in Africa has kindled a conflagration throughout

Africa. *Mujahids* from Tunis and Algiers have reached the field in large numbers and the efforts of the French Government have proved unavailing in preventing their participation. Algerians have specially taken considerable part in recent encounters.

The Italian Commander had sent a strong force to a place some two hours' journey from Benighazi in order to attack the Arab tribes that had gathered there. But the Arabs surrounded them and in a short time captured many. This victory was gained on the 3rd December. An other encounter occurred the same day. A large force of the Italians had advanced from Benighazi to attack the Arabs and come into conflict with them at a place where the enemy had strong temporary fortifications. For two hours the Arabs fought valiantly and then throwing themselves vigorously on the Italians compelled them to retreat to Jalinana, a place on the coast. They lost about 100 killed and 75 captured. Large quantities of arms and stores fell into our hands. After this battle all those important strategical points which had slipped out of our hands on the recent advance of the Italians have been regained and now our forces are besieging Benighazi from the side of the land. Excessive and incessant rainfall has embarrassed the enemy and caused much loss. The battleships are in great peril and there is confusion in the camps. —(*Tarun*, 13th December).

The *Tarun* publishes in its issue of the 13th December a strong indictment against the Italian's "revival of the Middle Ages," referring specially to the ill-treatment of Ottoman prisoners of war and the open and unashamed breach of all international rules on the subject. It says that they are given hard and intolerable tasks to perform every day. When they are unable to perform them they are punished most brutally and in an unspeakable manner. It adds that such newspapers and political groups in Rome as are opposed to the Italian raid are themselves attacking the Government on this score. "But" adds the *Tarun* bitterly, "Europe demands from the spectators of this degrading scene nothing more than the ticket of Neutrality."

Francis McCullagh and the Atrocities.

In 1876 an Irishman in the service of the British and American Press paralysed the policy of Lord Beaconsfield, destroyed the traditional alliance between Great Britain and Turkey, and created Bulgaria. His name was MacGahan.

In 1911 we have again the apparition of an Irishman in the service of the British and American Press who has exercised and is exercising a potent influence upon the policy of Great Britain, and who may yet make as notable an imprint upon the pages of the history of the Near East as his great predecessor. I refer to Francis McCullagh—McCullagh of Tripoli.

MacGahan three months after the atrocities in Bulgaria visited the decaying remains of the victims of the massacre. He described what he was accurately, vividly like a photographic camera with a heart in it, and the picture which he held up before the eyes of a shuddering world rendered possible Mr. Gladstone's great campaign.

McCullagh had the advantage over MacGahan that he saw the atrocities in progress. Not three months after the event, but as an actual eye-witness on the spot, he saw the massacres as they were being carried out. He had a photographic camera and photographed the murderers and their victims. A host of other correspondents had reported the facts briefly. McCullagh reported them in detail, and backed up his narrative by handing in his papers, as he refused any longer to be associated with an army which had degenerated into a band of assassins. Hence the immediate and far-reaching effect of his testimony.

It is illogical, no doubt, but the fact is indisputable that the atrocities committed by the panic-stricken Italian soldiery in the oasis of Tripoli created a greater popular revulsion of feeling against Italy than was roused by her buccaneering expedition to Africa. The real crime, of course, was the war. The atrocities were only an incident of the war. A burglar breaks into my house and incidentally kills one of my children in trying to avoid capture. The murder was only an unanticipated corollary of the housebreaking. But the burglar would be hanged for the murder, whereas he would only have been sent to penal servitude for the burglary. So it is in the rough and ready tribunal of public opinion. The Italians are execrated throughout the world for the massacre, which was merely a collateral and undesired accident resulting from their raid on Tripoli, just as the British public revolted against the Turkish Alliance merely because they suddenly realised one of the normal and constantly recurring incidents of Ottoman rule in Europe.

It is this fact which has invested the personality of Mr. McCullagh with such interest both in the Old World and the New.

Francis McCullagh was born in Omagh in the year 1874. He comes of a good old Tyrone Catholic family, and was educated by the Christian Brothers and at St. Columb's College in Derry. As soon as he left college he took to journalism. After a brief apprenticeship in Scotland and in Bradford, he decided he would try his fortune further afield. After twelve months' newspaper work in Britain he started on his adventurous career by going to Ceylon

The Comrade.

and it was hard to see whether he could find the lowest rung on the ladder which would lead him to fame and fortune. He landed in Siam, attached to a local paper, on which he worked for about a year. Colombo was deadly dull, however, so he went on to Siam.

In those days—now some twenty years distant—Siam was one of the Tom Tiddler's grounds of international politics. Lord Rosebery, it will be remembered, was within an ace of declaring war on France over the Siamese question. Francis McCullagh had gravitated by a process of natural law to the centre of the danger zone for the time being. He accepted the post of sub-editor of the *Siam Free Press*, which at that time was edited by an Irishman, Mr. Lillie, who also filled the post of correspondent of the *New York Herald*. Within a month of Mr. McCullagh's arrival in Bangkok he had the good luck to find himself in sole charge of the paper.

When the Siam question was settled amicably between England and France, Mr. McCullagh scented news in the Farther East. Japan had just concluded her victorious campaign China, and although peace had been signed, there was still a smell of powder in the air. Leaving Bangkok, Mr. McCullagh made his way to Tokyo in the hopes that he would find a berth of some kind. It was not disappointed. He obtained a situation as the only European on the staff of the *Japan Times*.

McCullagh remained on the *Japan Times* for four years. Then he felt the time had come for another change. War was brewing in Manchuria. Russia was certain that she could prevent it. McCullagh knew better, for he knew the Japanese, and it was Japan, not Russia, that decided the issue of peace or war. He went to Port Arthur and for six months served on the staff of a Russian paper, the *Nova Kraj*. He soon saw that war was close at hand, and that when war came his chance would come with it. He wrote to several London papers,



Der Wahre Jacob.

The Christian World of 1911

and to the *New York Herald* pointing out that a conflict was certainly coming. None of the English papers replied, but the *New York Herald* with whom he had already had some connection, believed him, engaged him, and wired him one thousand pounds to go on with.

The result justified their enterprise. The *New York Herald* had a man on the spot from the first, and it was able to beat all its rivals. Mr. McCullagh was the only man to report the first Japanese attack on Port Arthur. He attached himself to the staff of the famous Russian Cossack General Mischenko, and rode with the Cossacks through all the battles of the war until he was captured after Mukden and taken prisoner to Japan. Mr. McCullagh told the story of his adventures in a book published by Eveleigh Nash in 1906 entitled "With the Cossacks; being the Story of an Irishman who Rode with the Cossacks throughout the Russo-Japanese War."

After his release Mr. McCullagh came to Europe, and accompanied Count Witte to Portsmouth, in the United States, where peace was signed. He returned with Count Witte to Russia, and witnessed the later scenes of the Russian revolution. He acted as Russian correspondent of the *New York Times* for three years. Russia then became too quiet for his restless spirit. The Turkish revolution attracted him to the Balkan peninsula, where he travelled through Bosnia, Montenegro, Servia, and Bulgaria. His usual good luck never failed him, for he found himself in Constantinople when the counter-revolution was engineered from Yildiz Kiosk. He wit-

nessed the triumphal entry of Mahmoud Sheket Pasha at the head of the Macedonian army. He was then corresponding for the *New York Times*. In 1910 Methuen published his book, "The Fall of Abdul Hamid," to which Mahmoud Sheket contributed a preface. This also was well received. It is one of the best narratives of the end of the Hamidian reign.

Soon after he returned to London he was off to Lisbon to describe the Portuguese revolution. On behalf of the *New York World* he thrice visited Spain and Portugal, keeping watch on the Royalists, who were intriguing for a restoration.

Then he was despatched to Agadir, after the *Panther*. Mr. McCullagh described his adventures on the Morocco coast in the *Westminster Gazette*. On his return from Africa the *New York World* sent him off to Tripoli to report the Italian invasions. Hence he was on the spot when the massacres of October took place.

Of what he saw and heard and did in Tripoli it is best to let him tell his own story as he told it in the Memorial Hall, London, on Monday night, 20th November.

I was in the chair, or at least on the platform, for owing to the excitability and volubility of the Italians present I was as often on my legs appealing for order as in the chair.

Mr. McCullagh (received with loud cheers), said.—

"I am not going to deliver an oration. I came here as a witness. I have been brought here by two policemen. One is my own conscience, the other is the chairman.

"I am not pro-Arab nor anti-Italian. I went to Tripoli from Morocco, where the Arabs had given me no reason to love them, and when I got to Tripoli my imagination was powerfully impressed by the return of the Italians to their old colony after an absence of some one thousand five hundred years. Tripoli was for a long time a Roman colony. One of the Caesars was born there. In the town



De Amsterdamer.

The Burglars and Their Booty.

The Pots in background are called the Kasche black.

of Tripoli is a triumphal arch of Marcus Aurelius. It has, by the way, been converted into a shop, over which is displayed a signboard indicating that it is a cinematograph show. The only business carried on inside, however, is the sale of intoxicating liquor.

"At the corner of every street there are splendid Roman pillars built into the walls. My imagination would indeed have been sluggish if it had not been excited by the return of the race which had built those eternal Roman roads, raised those tall and lonely aqueducts in the desert, erected those splendid temples to the Roman gods. I was so impressed that I did the most risky thing I ever did as a war correspondent: I wrote poetry. (Laughter.)

"A man with such feelings cannot be described as anti-Italian. Judging, however, by the fact that a few moments before I came here I was challenged to a duel by an Italian gentleman, it is evident that I am regarded in some quarters as a bitter enemy of Italy. (Italian interruption.) Ladies and gentlemen, it is love of Italy which makes me speak as I do and makes me write as I do. (Loud cheers.) The worst enemies of Italy are those who try to hush up these horrors—(loud cheers)—and would leave such a man as General Caneva in command of a gallant army.

"The Italians say that the Arabs fired upon them from the rear. If a man meddles with a bee-hive, and, being stung by the insects, calls them treacherous scoundrels, I only laugh at him.

"But the Italians say the Arabs swore allegiance. Since the world began it has always been the same story. When a strong nation crushes a weaker, there is always somebody in that weaker nation ready to swear allegiance in the name of all his fellows. As a rule he is some discredited and derelict politician.

"Who is the disreputable Arab politician who swore allegiance to the Italians? His name is Hassan Kammani. He had been bought body and soul years ago by the Italians. When Admiral

Rice landed in Tripoli. Hassan gesticulously presented Tripoli to him. What right had he to speak for the Arabs, or even for his own family? He has one son, who is to-day in the desert in charge of the Arab cavalry. (Loud cheers.) A few days before I left Tripoli the father sent a message to his son to come back and accept honour and wealth at the hands of the Italians. What was his answer? He said, 'I will come back, but it will be at the head of my Arabs, and when I come you will be the first man I shall hang!' (Loud cheers.) And yet General Caneva accepted as spokesman of all the Arabs a man who could not answer for his own family. It was very simple of General Caneva to have done so. He seems to have done it in good faith. But the Arabs cannot be blamed for taking advantage of such simplicity, no more than Cromwell can be blamed for taking similar advantage of the Scotch at Dunbar. It was not the peaceful villagers who fired on the Italian rear on 23rd October, it was the Arabs from the desert who had slipped in and taken advantage of the simplicity of General Caneva. Those men lost their lives, and were glad to lose them.

"I do not blame the Italians for what occurred on the 23rd. Many women and children were accidentally killed then, but that was one of the chances of war. I blame them for what occurred on the 26th. Early in the morning of that day, at five o'clock, I heard a very heavy artillery and rifle fire round the Italian lines. I went out and found that at one place on the east the Italian line had been broken. The men had left the trenches and were lying behind sandbags. I noticed blue jackets landed from the ships. The last man was evidently in the firing line. Half-way between the citadel and the Italian front is a large Esparto Grass factory belonging to the Banca di Roma. Round this factory is a village inhabited exclusively by the employés of the mill. They were miserable people, living in a very poor way. While some Italian reinforcements were passing this village on the way to the front on 26th October several shots were fired. I do not know who fired them. It is said that one Italian soldier was wounded in the leg. I never could find that soldier. For those shots over four thousand people lost their lives. (Loud cries of 'Shame!') The massacre began in that village. It lasted for three days, and extended through the oasis. (Italian voice: 'Where do you get your figures?') I have my figures from various sources, including French and German sources. (Sarcastic cries of 'Ah! Ah!') It was a sudden transition from criminal negligence to criminal severity. I shall tell you what I saw. When the village was surrounded and burned down the soldiers were allowed to wander about without supervision and shoot anybody they saw. I saw them do it myself. In the village I found two old bedridden women. They had never in all probability seen a rifle in their lives. It was murder to kill them. I saw a little boy lying on the ground, ill. He had evidently been taken from the house in which he lay. I also saw three other women. Assistance had been refused to them. They were left to die on the bare ground like dogs. And they did die. Gentlemen, I do not call that war. (Loud cheers.)

"For three days the butchery went on. The Italians made a rule of sending messages to the relatives of those who were killed. I was seated one day in the Hotel Minerva. In front of that hotel is a shipping office. A policeman came and called the Arab clerk of that shipping office. He told him his brother had been shot. The grief of that man was terrible to witness. He disappeared next day. Where is he now? He is where every Arab should be, where every man and boy in this audience would be if they were Arabs—he is in the desert with a rifle in his hands. (Loud cheers.)

"The Arabs were declared to be guilty on the flimsiest pretexts. For instance, if a house were searched and a knife found there the owner was put to death. All over North Africa the men wear knives as commonly as men in this country wear socks. Men were put to death because razors and empty cartridges were found in their houses. The proclamation of the admiral calling upon them to give up their arms was ineffective. It was ineffective because no Arab knew of it. I employed an Arab to get information for me, and he knew nothing of this proclamation; and yet for disobedience to it Arabs were shot. That I call most unjust.

"General Caneva speaks of the Arabs mutilating the Italian soldiers. Well, every second officer in the Italian army has a camera and generally spends most of his time in photographing the murder of little boys. I have seen one refuse to help a boy who was dying at my feet. I have seen one photograph a boy of fourteen placed against a wall to be shot." ("Shame!") Interruption from Italians present. An Italian officer standing on a chair, asks his compatriots to give order, as he will speak later.)

The Chairman, addressing Italians present: "If you are so indignant at what is said, you cannot be surprised that we are indignant at what was done!" (Loud cheers.)

Mr. McCullagh: "General Caneva says the Arabs mutilated the bodies of Italian soldiers. I could never find any photographs of such mutilation. I think the Italians would have been very glad to have shown them to me. I have been in Tripoli and outside the Italian lines, but have never seen anything of the kind. Even if it were true that the Arabs violated the rules of war, must General

Caneva do the same? General Caneva does not understand the dignity of that mighty name,—Rome. If the Bedouin of the desert does wrong, must Rome follow suit?" (Loud and enthusiastic cheers.)

Mr. Ashmead Bartlett, representing Reuter's, said that he had come only out of friendship for Mr. McCullagh, a gentleman for whom he had the greatest admiration and esteem. "I am glad to support him on this occasion. I have no hostility towards Italy. I am in favour of forgiving and forgetting where it is possible to forgive and forget. The foreign war correspondents in Tripoli would have been glad to forgive and forget all that has been done. If General Caneva and the Italian Government had come forward and said: 'We have erred and regret it, and it shall not occur again, we would have accepted it and would have done our best to quiet it down. But they would not do so. They called us liars. They say we are animated by hostility, which is utterly ridiculous and absurd. Every war correspondent always does his very best to be on good terms with the army he accompanies. It makes his stay very pleasant. He has means of obtaining information and has a good time. I am glad to support Mr. McCullagh. The wisest course under the circumstances and for the sake of international friendship is that these things should be forgiven and forgotten. And I will tell you why. I found a more general feeling among the Italian officers that they had erred. They admitted that they had done wrong and regretted the occurrences. Pass a vote of censure on the Italian Government and on General Caneva, but in fairness spare the rank and file of the army, who are sorry for what has occurred." (Loud cheers)

The Chairman said—"No one can listen unmoved to an appeal for forgiveness and forgetfulness. We will respond. We will forgive and we will forget when the crime has been repented of and security taken against its repetition" (Loud cheers.)

SLIDES SHOWN BY MR. McCULLAGH.

1. Tripoli and district.
2. Comparative map showing relative size of Tripoli, Turkey and Italy.
3. One of the forts.
4. Same fort, with view of one large Krupp gun which was left behind by the Turks. "The Italians have been capturing this gun for the last month."
5. The English officer, Lieutenant Montagu. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)
6. Shows tank in which Italians are engaged. They are bombarding the desert. It is expensive work. Every ten-inch shell costs £100. Could Italy not find some better way to spend this money at home? They are bombarding the desert. The only answer they get is the whistling of the Sahara wind and the crack of the Turkish rifles out among the distant sand-hills.
7. Trench. Soldiers facing both ways so as to be prepared for an attack from the town as well as for an attack from the desert.
8. Edge of oasis. Italians in trench firing at enemy.
9. Soldiers hunting through oasis, shooting every Arab they see. (Interruption from Italians. The Chairman: "They have not seen it before, and are wincing under the exhibition of the barbarity of their countrymen.")
10. "All the men in this crowd were shot." (Interruption from Italians.) The Chairman: "My dear Italian officer, you are under my orders. I am colonel of this regiment." (Cheer.)
11. Number of prisoners. "These people were collected by private soldiers, placed against a wall, and shot. There was no sign of justice, there was no trial. The *New York American* says that there was justice, that there were trials, and, to prove its point, publishes a photograph of an Arab being tried. This was the only formal trial that took place. It was held because the accused was a kavass of the German Consulate, and the Italians had therefore to consider the feelings of their great ally."
12. Number of Arabs led out to be shot.
13. Group of Arabs being led out for execution.
14. Same thing again. (Renewed interruption. The Chairman: "If we may judge from the cynical brutality of these interruptions we must consider that if he had been in Tripoli he would probably have been as brutal and barbarous as anybody.")
15. Two prisoners. These prisoners were not well treated. An Italian soldier struck one right in the face with all his force. They may have deserved to die, but ought not to have been treated like dogs.
16. Young men. Led to edge of desert. Told they could go into the desert. They walked slowly forward, and the Italian soldiers shot at them from the trenches. Sometimes a soldier went to finish them off with his bayonet.
- (More interruption. The Chairman again remonstrates, adding, "I have given you fair warning, and I shall have to send for the police to have you removed.") Continued interruption. "It is understood that anyone who feels aggrieved can come on this platform and say what he has to say."
17. Arab prisoner. Notice how he laughs as he is being led out to his death.

The Comrade.

Editor's Note

18. Fifty men and boys who were shot. "Most ghastly business ever I witnessed. This is whence I get my figures!"

19. "Two corpses of men killed by an Italian private soldier. I do not like mentioning it, but the soldier uncovered one in such a way that the photographer could not take it in any other direction. The bodies lay there on the street for twenty-four hours. Arab women and children were afterwards led along this road by the Italian soldiery, so as to enjoy, I presume, the view of their dead bodies."

20. Arab ladies being led by Italian soldiers down a road littered with corpses of their own countrymen. Procession headed by a boy twelve years of age. Mr. McCullagh wished to photograph this boy on account of the fact that, though a Mahomedan, he carried in his hand a little white flag whereon was embroidered a red cross. When Mr. McCullagh approached, the boy fell into a panic, dropped on his knees, and thought Mr. McCullagh was an Italian who was about to murder him.

21. Mr. Grant of *Daily Mirror*, expelled from Tripoli. Took the picture last shown—the picture where Arab women are being led past the bodies of their dead fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons.

22. More dead Arabs.

23. Another dead Arab

W. T. STEAD IN THE
Review of Reviews.

Letters to the Press.

The Mutilation of Italian Soldiers.

To THE EDITOR OF THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN."

SIR,—Allow me to express my horror at the mutilation of Italian soldiers by the Tripolitan Arabs, reported this morning; and I am sure my horror will be shared by every Mussulman throughout the world. At the same time I desire to protest against the use of the word "Moslem" in connection with the atrocities which the *Times* correspondent says he saw at El Henni. No Mussulman called the Italian "blood-lust" or "military exigencies" Christian atrocities.

In Islam the mutilation of the dead and of prisoners is emphatically prohibited. I shall only quote here the injunctions of the first Khalif of Islam to his soldiers, going to war against the Byzantines, to show how utterly abhorrent these savage practices are to the Mussulman conscience—

"See," he said, "that thou avoidest treachery. Depart not in any wise from the right. Thou shalt mutilate none, neither shall thou kill child or aged man, nor any woman. Injure not the date-palm neither burn it with fire, and cut not down any tree wherein is food for man or beast. Slay not the flock or herds or camels, saving for needful sustenance."

I ventured to predict before the actual invasion the ferocious character this war was certain to assume, and as it proceeds I fear the passions that are being aroused will become more and more vindictive on both sides.

Will not the British nation even now raise its united voice against the continuance of a war to subjugate a people who have shown themselves so repugnant to submit to alien rule? Yours, &c.,

AMER ALI.

Reform Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.

The Powers, and Islam.

To THE EDITOR OF THE "NEAR EAST."

SIR,—To any observer the present state of those regions with which your valuable paper deals must give cause for the very gravest anxiety and disquiet. There is one general aspect—which reflects very seriously on the destinies of the British Empire—to which I should be glad to be allowed to draw attention.

I will take only one general consideration—the present tendency of things in Persia, in Tripoli, and in Morocco suggests to the mind that within a few years the last independent Moslem State will have ceased to exist as such, and that within a short time no Moslem will be able to say that there is any region in which his co-religionists have a predominant share in the matter of government, although in vast areas of Asia and Africa they form an overwhelming majority of the population.

This consideration alone is one which fills me with alarm. Islam is compact, yet international, whilst strongly united by bonds of simple ceremonial and even simpler dogma.

Islam since its first inception has always been liable to sudden simultaneous movements, which have hitherto only been limited by the slowness of the communication of news. To-day this factor has been changed, it would now be possible and easy for one sermon to be preached in every mosque from Bokhara to Agadir on a given Friday.

If the remaining Moslem States are partitioned by the Powers of Europe, the day on which the last is dissolved Europe will light a fire of discontent in a large section of the human race, already united and sympathetic. Even now a Moor is more at home in

Shiraz than a Spaniard in Berlin or a Rumanian in Vienna. Although there are many Germans in London and few Afghans in Cairo, although it is a question of fewer hours' travel from Hamburg to Hull than it is weeks from Kandahar to Suez, yet the Afghan is less of a stranger within the gates of the Al Azhar than is the waiter of Gambrenus in the Soho lodging-house.

In England politicians and statesmen are ever apt to take a view biased by the immediate straits of the hour and to disregard the less mutable problems of the world. Our attitude towards the questions of Tripoli and Persia is undoubtedly influenced by fear of vexing those Europeans who might support Germany. I suggest that if in the future we regard such developments with equal passivity we may be preparing for ourselves, our Empire, and the world a terrible catastrophe of immeasurable proportions.

MARK SYKES.

House of Commons December 11, 1911

The Dardanelles Question.

To THE EDITOR OF THE "NEAR EAST."

SIR,—Keen interest is being evinced here with regard to the delicate question of the Dardanelles. Rightly or wrongly, many Germans seem of opinion that the attitude assumed by Great Britain in this matter will also enable them to determine her future role in international politics; that it will, in short, be taken either a *rapprochement* between England and Germany or a further drifting asunder. The *mot d'ordre*, as it were, is here to uphold Turkey's interests in this question. Von der Goltz has lent the weight of his experience and opinions to this end by contributing a special article to the well-known weekly *Die Woche*, while from conversation with some army men, as well as others whose interests are about the Bosphorus, I gather as a general opinion that any endeavour made by Great Britain towards forwarding and favouring Russia's ardent hope and desire would be to pursue a policy of opportunism, such as would inevitably reap the reward of the hand now licked being bitten on the first convenient opportunity.

To some extent the views here expressed tally with the opinion held by the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, from whose yesterday evening's leading article (7th December) I quote as follows:—

"If it be possible (before they have become history) to judge dispassionately such questions of counter interests as those here involved (Russia's and Turkey's), we would be inclined to say that this matter is one in which not Russia's, but only Turkey's vital interests are concerned. And what is more, it so happens that in this instance the interests of all the other Great Powers come into line with those of Turkey, whereas they diverge from those of Russia. It is the rarest thing for any of the Great Powers to want to send their fleet either to the Black Sea or to the Sea of Marmora, while, on the other hand, they cannot but all unite in their wishes to keep Russia out of the Mediterranean." Taking the "immediate situation" into consideration, this journal is of opinion that "all things considered," Russia's fleet might possibly be welcomed by the members of the Triple Entente, its addition serving to strengthen their naval position in those waters. Yet the addition in point of quality and quantity is no great thing, and the value becomes considerably lessened in view of the risk this run by Great Britain in connection with her overseas interests. "For the past century," the *Frankfurter Zeitung* observes, "England's veto against this opening of the narrow straits has been a fundamental axiom of her foreign policy, and the veto gave safety to both her roads to India—to the oversea route via Constantinople and to the sea route via Suez." Should she, therefore, now reconsider this question, and reconstruct her policy with a view to Russian interests, such a determination would (so thinks the paper in question) be regarded as the outcome of a desire to link the Muscovite Power closer to her—a determination which, seeing how many clashing interests stand in the way, could hardly fail to once more raise the suspicion that the policy pursued was aiming at Germany's isolation. "It would," remarks the *Frankfurter*, "be difficult to discover any other motive which could induce England to consent to an opening of the passage of the Dardanelles." —I am, Sir, yours, etc.

LONDON.

Berlin, December 8, 1911.



La Silhouette.
France, Spain and Morocco
Paris.
France: "Be careful, Alphonse, it is pretty hard, and your teeth might be broken."

6th January.

The Comrade.



دہلي کاروںیشن دربار
ڈسمبر سنہ ۱۹۱۱ء
جس طرح سنہ ۱۹۱۱ء میں کاروںیشن دربار
کی تاریخ میں اُن میں کاروںیشن دربار
کی وجہ سے ایک زرین موقع اور لاٹی
زمانہ اس طبق طلسات سائنس میں
سے عجیب ترین طلس سار باز کھفت کی
ایجاد ہے اور سازمانہ باز کھفت میں
بیشترین وہ سازش جسکو آپ کریموفون
کے نام سے جانتے میں —
منہستان کی مریضان میں اور مر
مشہور عورت یامود کافے والی کے
رکارڈ میں لے محض آپ کی تفریح
و تفنن طبع کے واسطے تیار کئے ہیں۔
منہستان میں علم موہیقی عام
طور پر جس کروڑہ میں معمور ہے
اس سے آپ نا والیں لہن ایک
میٹی سے اس کی ترقی مددوہ
لہن اور الہ بندہ تباہ ہو کچھ موجود
ہے رفتہ رفتہ وہ ہوں لابوں لہو جال
مکر صاریح ان تک کوشکرن اور
تفریح صرف زرے ایسے ایسے نادڑ کارہ
دیک اور راگھوں کے تیار کر لئے میں
کہ ہو کل اصل منہ کے واسطہ مایہ نہرو نہ
اور صمارے واسطہ موجود امتیاز میں —
کریموفون اب سامان عیش میں
لہن بلکہ فردریات زندگی میں داخل
ہے اور اس بنیاد پر یہ ہر کھر حسن
ہوا جائے۔ فہرست دکارہ کا قسمیہ
ماہ ڈسمبر کے واسطے حصہ معمول
ہائی ہو گیا ہے فردا رکارڈ وہ کہنے
ستھان کرنا نہیں ہے۔ ہو رکاری
رُجواب ہے اور ہر کافا
ستھن ہی کی قابل ہے۔
پس وقت کی فخر فرمائے اور ہوا ہی
دیک یا بیٹر ہوا ہے ہمارے
با صابھہ لوکل اجنبی کی
کوتھی پر تشریف لیجا کرنا زہ
ترین رکارڈ خود سنتھ کا —
العلیٰ

دی کریموفون کنہنی لیں۔



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Old Boys of Aligarh and Others.
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**Address:—General Stores,
Civil Lines, Aligarh.**

The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal.

Edited by Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere,
They only live who dare!

-- Morris.

Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 2. Annas 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, January 13, 1912.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1.

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After their Imperial Majesties had witnessed the finals of the jumping competitions the Queen-Empress was graciously pleased to hand the prizes to the successful competitors in the various classes and competitions. The King-Emperor and Queen-Empress attended by their suite then returned to Government House by motor.

Calcutta, January 5.

The King-Emperor last night held an Investiture.

The following gentlemen were then severally introduced into His Imperial Majesty's presence when the King-Emperor conferred upon them the Honour of Knighthood and invested them with the insignia of the Division of the Order into which they had been admitted

To be Knights Commanders of the Royal Victorian Order —

The Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, Major-General B. T. Mahon, Major-General Sir A. A. Barrett, Major-General G. C. Kitson

To be Knights Bachelor —

Mr David Yule, Hon Mr F. L. Halliday

To be Commanders of the Royal Victorian Order —

Hon Mr C. J. Stevenson-Moore, Mr C. B. Bayley.

To be Companions of the Order of the Star of India —

Mr J. H. O. Walsh, Mr E. V. Levinge

To be Companions of the Order of the Indian Empire —

The Hon Mr W. C. Madge, Colonel B. W. Marlow, Major

I. Rogers, Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri, Mr J. H. Kerr. To be Members of the 4th Class of the Royal Victorian Order — Captain G. H. Willis, Lieut Colonel R. Bird, Major the Hon. H. J. Fraser, Captain the Hon A. C. W. Weld Forester, Captain V. A. S. Keighley.

To be Members of the 5th Class of the Royal Victorian Order —

Mr C. Stead, Mr F. C. T. Halliday, Mr C. A. Legart, Mr.

H. S. H. Pilkington, Capt Mir Ahmad of Bhopal. To be Companions of the Imperial Service Order —

Mr H. L. French, Shaik Shadi, Babu Upendra Nath Chatterji, Rai Bhadur Rala Ram, Mr T. W. Payne, Babu Narayan Kissen Sen, Mr G. C. Drake, Mr C. W. Custon, Mr J. E. Lacey, Mr Ahsan-ud-din Ahmad and Mr G. W. Marshall

The Karski-Hind Medal of the 1st Class —

Mr J. T. R. Stark, Rai Hari Mohan Chandra Bahadur and Mr. E. G. Barton.

After the Investiture the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress held a Court

In the forenoon the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress visited the Belvedere Jute Mills. Sir David Yule had the honour of conducting Their Imperial Majesties during the visit and Mr. Richard Duncan (Superintendent) had the honour of being presented.

This afternoon the King-Emperor and Queen Empress drove from Government House to the Amphitheatre.

The Pageant consisted of the Nawroz Procession and the Dasehra Procession and the dance of the Orissa Paiks.

After taking tea the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress left the dais and were conducted to their carriage.

Maharaja Sir Prodyot Kumar Tagore and the Maharaja of Natore, held the State Umbrellas, and the Maharaja Kumar of Mourhbanj and the Mirza of Murshidabad acted as Pages to the Queen-Empress.

Their Imperial Majesties then drove in Procession making a circuit of the grounds on which the Pageant took place.

The Week.

The Royal Visit

The following are extracts from the court circular, issued during the week :—

Calcutta, January 4

Last night the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress honoured with their presence a military tattoo and also witnessed the illuminations and a display of fireworks, which took place on the *mar sham* between Government House and the Fort.

In the forenoon the King-Emperor motored to the site of the Victoria Memorial. His Imperial Majesty was received by the Hon. Sir William Duke (Vice President) and the members of the Executive Committee who had the honour of being presented to His Imperial Majesty. Sir William Emerson, the architect, and Mr Vincent J. Esch, Superintendent Architect, also had the honour of being presented. After inspecting the site of the memorial the King-Emperor proceeded to the Calcutta Museum where His Imperial Majesty was received by Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee, the President and the Trustees of the Museum.

The King-Emperor inspected the Victoria Memorial collection and the art collection.

The Queen-Empress this morning also visited the Calcutta Museum and inspected the Victoria Memorial collection. Mr. Percy Brown had the honour of conducting Her Imperial Majesty during the visit.

This afternoon the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress honoured the Tollygunge Horse Show with their presence.

13th January.

This evening the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress honoured the Governor-General and Lady Hardinge with their presence at a dance at Government House.

Calcutta, January 6.

This morning at 8-30 the King-Emperor mounted his charger and left Government House. The King-Emperor inspected some military camps on the Maidan. His Imperial Majesty then rode to Kidderpore and Alipore and inspected the Camps of the Detachment of the 2nd Lancers, 4th Cavalry, 16th Cavalry, and 27th Punjabis.

The King-Emperor returned from Alipore to Fort William, where the 2nd Rifle Brigade and 88th Carnatic Infantry were drawn up in line on their parade grounds.

In the forenoon the King-Emperor received a deputation from the University of Calcutta. Dr. Ashutosh Mukerjee, Vice-Chancellor, on behalf of the University, presented an address to the King-Emperor, to which His Imperial Majesty was graciously pleased to read a reply.

Before entering the Throne Room the King-Emperor was graciously pleased to present to Dr. Ashutosh Mukerjee portraits of Their Imperial Majesties to be preserved by the University as mementoes of the King-Emperor's visit to Calcutta.

This morning the Queen-Empress visited the Young Women's Christian Association, the Presidency General Hospital, the Dufferin Hospital, the Medical College Hospital.

This afternoon the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress honoured the Tollygunge Steeplechase with their presence.

The King-Emperor and Queen-Empress visited St. Vincent's Home and St. Catherine's Home for Incurables *en route* to Tollygunge.

The King-Emperor and Queen-Empress witnessed some of the Races, including the Indian Grand National.

This evening the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress honoured the Governor-General and Lady Hardinge with their presence at a dinner party. After dinner Their Imperial Majesties witnessed the illuminations of the City from the Dome of Government House.

Calcutta, January 7.

The King-Emperor and Queen-Empress attended Divine Service at the Cathedral this morning.

In the forenoon the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress honoured the Governor-General and Lady Hardinge with a visit at Government House, Barrackpore. Their Imperial Majesties remained to luncheon at Barrackpore and returned to Government House in the afternoon.

Calcutta, January 8.

The King-Emperor and Queen-Empress proceeded from Government House to Prinsep's Ghat at 11 A.M. After leave-taking, the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress entered their carriage and drove in procession from Government House to Prinsep's Ghat.

On arrival at the Ghat, the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress were received by the Governor-General and Lady Hardinge.

The Hon. Mr. Slack, Vice-President, then, on behalf of the Legislative Council of Bengal, presented an address to their Imperial Majesties, to which the King-Emperor was graciously pleased to read a reply.

The King-Emperor and Queen-Empress then proceeded on board the steamer *Hercules*, where Their Majesties were received by the Vice-Chairman of the Port Commissioners, the Port Officer of Calcutta and the Deputy Conservator of the Port of Calcutta.

As the steamer left Prinsep's Ghat a salute of 101 guns was fired by H.M.S. *Hedgehog*.

The steamer, escorted by six ferry boats, manned by the Calcutta Port Defence Volunteers, proceeded up the Hooghly River to Howrah Landing Stage, where Their Imperial Majesties disembarked and were received by the Commissioner of Burdwan Division, the Magistrate of Howrah and the Agent of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. The procession was then re-formed and the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress proceeded to Howrah Station.

The Governor-General and Lady Hardinge then had the honour of taking leave and Their Imperial Majesties entered the Royal train which left for Bombay at 2.15 P.M.

Nagpur, January 9.

The King-Emperor and Queen-Empress with the suite in attendance arrived at Nagpur at 2.15 P.M. to-day and on alighting from the train were received by the Chief Commissioner, the Lord Bishop of Nagpur and the General Officer Commanding the Jubulpore Brigade. Their Imperial Majesties paid a visit to the fort and proceeded again at 3.15 P.M. by special train for Bombay.

His Imperial Majesty's reply to the University address was as follows:—

"I recall with pleasure the occasion on which, six years ago, I received from the University of Calcutta the Honorary Degree of a Doctor of Law, and I am glad to have an opportunity to-day of showing my deep and earnest interest in the higher education of India. It is to the Universities of India that I look to assist

in that gradual union and fusion of the culture and aspiration of Europeans and Indians on which the future wellbeing of India so greatly depends. I have watched with sympathy the measures that from time to time have been taken by the Universities of India to extend the scope and raise the standards of instruction. Much remains to be done. No University is nowadays complete unless it is equipped with teaching faculties in all the more important branches of the sciences and the arts and unless it provides ample opportunities for research. You have to conserve the ancient learning and simultaneously to push forward Western science. You have also to build up character, without which learning is of little value. You say that you recognise your great responsibilities. I bid you God-speed in the work that is before you. Let your ideals be high and your efforts to pursue them unceasing and, under Providence, you will succeed. Six years ago I sent from England to India a message of sympathy. To-day in India I give to India the watchword of Hope. On every side I trace the signs and stirrings of new life. Education has given you hope, and through better and higher education you will build up higher and better hopes. The announcement was made at Delhi by my command that my Governor-General in Council will allot large sums for the expansion and improvement of education in India. It is my wish that there may be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges, from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens able to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations in life. And it is my wish, that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge with all that follows in the train, a higher level of thought, of comfort, and of health. It is through education that my wish will be fulfilled and the cause of education in India will ever be very close to my heart. It is gratifying to me to be assured of your devotion to myself and to my House, of your desire to strengthen the bonds of union between Great Britain and India, and of your appreciation of the advantages which you enjoy under British Rule. I thank you for your loyal and dutiful address."

His Imperial Majesty in reply to the Bengal Legislative Council's address, said:—

"The Queen-Empress and I are deeply moved by the words of your address. And they are not empty words. They have been amply and visibly proved by the enthusiastic reception accorded to us on our arrival here, and no less by affectionate demonstrations with which we have been greeted everywhere and by all classes in Calcutta and its surrounding neighbourhood. For the remainder of our lives we shall remember with feelings of pride and emotion the stirring experience of these past eight days, we shall recall the warm-hearted greeting extended to us on our arrival in your capital, and the sight of those patient and sympathetic multitudes which had assembled from all parts of the province to testify their loyalty and devotion to my Throne and person. And I am gratified by the assurances given in your address that these outward proofs of allegiance and affection reflect the general sentiments of your fellow-subjects throughout the length and breadth of North Eastern India. Nor shall we forget the striking scenes and brilliant displays which have been so successfully organised and carried out to celebrate our visit. The people of Bengal offer us as a farewell gift their 'overflowing love and gratitude.' Rest assured that the Queen-Empress and I could ask for nothing more precious to us and to our children. We take it back to them to be cherished by them as a priceless heirloom. Our hearts are too full to express adequately the gratitude for all you have done to welcome us at home amongst you. In bidding you farewell, the Queen Empress and I fervently pray that all my subjects in Bengal, of whatever race or creed, united by the ties of sympathy and brotherly love, may, under Divine guidance, ever strive towards the advancement of their common happiness, contentment and general wellbeing."

Their Imperial Majesties the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress left Bombay on the evening of the 10th instant on board H.M.S. *Medusa* after being the recipients of most enthusiastic farewell demonstrations from the vast crowds as they passed from the Victoria Terminus to the Apollo Bunder.

On arrival at the Apollo Bunder the King and Queen were received at the pavilion by Sir Richard Lamb who presented an address on behalf of the people of the Bombay Presidency.

The following is the text of the King-Emperor's speech in reply to the address:—

I thank you sincerely on behalf of the Queen-Empress and myself for the kind and generous terms of the address of farewell which you present in the name of the people of the Bombay Presidency. The cordial welcome which we received on our arrival in your Capital was the prelude to that display of warm-hearted loyalty which has characterised every stage of our progress during the past five weeks. And now we have listened with mingled feelings of gratification and sorrow to your touching words of farewell and Godspeed. Your hopeful forecast as to the benefits which India will derive from this visit deepens our thankfulness

at having accomplished the earnest wish of our heart. It has given me infinite pleasure to be once more among my faithful subjects in India and the Queen-Empress and I have been touched beyond words by the genuine love and devotion towards us which we feel have entered into the spirit of the people. Our one and only cause of regret during these past happy weeks has been our inability to stay longer in this country and to visit the ancient Presidency of Madras and the States of the many Chiefs who have offered us their generous hospitality. On leaving the shores of India we carry lasting memories of experiences made pleasant by every means that thoughtful care and affectionate regard could devise. We fervently trust that our visit may, by God's grace, conduce to the general good of the people of this great Continent. Their interests and wellbeing will always be as near and as dear to me as those of millions of my subjects in other quarters of the globe. It is a matter of intense satisfaction to me to realise how all classes and creeds have joined together in the true-hearted welcome which has been so universally accorded to us. Is it not possible that the same unity and concord may, for the future, govern the daily relations of their private and public life? The attainment of this would indeed be to us a happy outcome of our visit to India. To you, the representatives of Bombay, who have greeted us so warmly on our arrival and departure, I deliver this, our message of loving farewell to the Indian Empire. May the Almighty ever assist me and my successors in the earnest endeavour to promote its welfare and to secure to it the blessing of prosperity and peace.

In a press communiqué the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal forwards copies of the following telegrams.—

From the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to the Private Secretary to His Majesty the King-Emperor (Jan. 9)— "The Lieutenant-Governor, on behalf of the people of Bengal, tenderis respectful and devoted homage. The prayers of all lives are offered for Their Imperial Majesties' safe journey, long life and increasing happiness."

From Lord Stamfordham (King-Emperor's Camp, Kriyan) to Lieutenant-Governor, Bengal (Jan. 10)— "Their Imperial Majesties heartily thank you and the people of Bengal for the kind message of good wishes which you send on their behalf and for their prayers for Their Imperial Majesties' safe return home. Their Imperial Majesties most earnestly trust that the future may bring to the people of Bengal all possible happiness and prosperity."

A meeting was held on the 10th instant in the Strachey Hall of the Aligarh College in which Their Majesties' portraits were shown to the audience amidst great acclamation. The portraits have been graciously presented to the College with Their Majesties' autograph signatures. The following resolutions were unanimously passed.—That the Trustees, Staff, Students, Old Boys and Friends of the College assembled in meeting humbly offer Their Majesties' their most sincere and hearty thanks for the gracious gift of their portraits to the College. They beg also to offer their best loyal wishes for a happy voyage and the safe return of Their Majesties to England. That the Trustees, Staff, Students, Old Boys and Friends of the College assembled in large meeting convened on the re-opening of the College after five weeks' Durbar holidays offer their most sincere and heartfelt congratulations to the benevolent chiefs of India, Muhammadan leaders, distinguished supporters of the College, kind benefactors of the community and honored members of their own Staff upon whom Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to confer well deserved distinctions and honours on the occasion of the Durbar and afterward.

The following Press Communiqué has been issued—

Raja Bahadur Ram Ranjan Chakraborty of Haldibari in the district of Birbhum, who has made a gift of Rs 50,000 for charitable purposes to the Queen-Empress, has received the thanks of Her Imperial Majesty for his signal act of generosity. Her Imperial Majesty has graciously decided to distribute this sum as well as Rs. 20,000 received from the Bengal Government as the proceeds of the ground rent for spectators' stands on the Calcutta maidan to the following charitable institutions—Dufferin Hospital Rs. 10,000, The Refuge, Hindu Widows' (Mylane), St. Vincent's Home, Albert Victor Hospital, St. Andrew's Colonial Homes, Oxford Mission, Little Sisters of the Poor, Hospitals in Suri (Birbhum District), Rs. 5,000 each; Young Women's Christian Association, Young Men's Christian Association, St. Mary's Home, Missions to Seaman (Church of England), Missions to Seaman (Baptist), Rs. 4,000 each: total Rs 70,000.

China.

Reuter wired from Peking:—The Imperial troops have completed the evacuation of Hankow.

The Powers have occupied the line from Peking to the sea in accordance with the plan recently desired. Foreigners are gratified at this demonstration.

Reuter wired from Shanghai on January 6th:—The Republicans have issued a long manifesto to all friendly nations reciting their grievances against the Manchus. The manifesto declares that it is the determination of the Republic to respect all treaties, loans,

and obligations entered into by the Manchus with foreigners prior to the revolution and to repudiate all others. Further, it is the aim of the Government so to reform the laws, administration and finances as to promote the prosperity of the whole country, to abolish restrictions on trade, to ensure religious toleration and to promote better relations with Foreign Powers, to whose support the Republic appeals.

Reuter wired from Peking.—Consular telegrams from Chinkiang state that the revolutionaries have executed Chaofeng, Vice-roy of Szechuan, and the imperialist General Tien.

Discussing the Chinese revolution, the *Times* remarks that Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen's curious manifesto does not bring matters any nearer to a practical solution and excludes a pacific compromise. The sole wish of Great Britain, says the paper, is the re-establishment of China as speedily as possible of a form of Government both stable and progressive. It is absolutely indifferent to Great Britain what that form of Government may be. The *Times* nevertheless cannot help doubting whether the Republicans, for all their Western education can succeed in setting up a system of Government in a setting alien to the most deep-rooted traditions and prejudices of the Chinese nation. The *Times* welcomes the Foreign occupation of the Peking Railway, which is "authorised by the protocol of 1901 and justified by the uncertainties of the situation."

Sir Robert Fulton (formerly Mr. Justice Rampur of the Calcutta High Court) writing in the *Times* on the future of Tibet urges that it would be greatly to the advantage of England for the Dalai Lama to resume rule. Sir Robert says that the Dalai Lama is indebted to us for asylum and means of subsistence and sees that Great Britain does not want to annex the country. His feeling towards China, continues the writer, must be exactly the opposite. It would surely be easy, therefore, in the present upheaval in China to arrange that Tibet should be an independent State under the joint protection of Great Britain and China but unfettered with internally by either.

Reuter wired from Shanghai.—An Englishman named Felgate, an ex-missionary, has been murdered by robbers at Makanshan Chinkiang, where he was a storekeeper.

Reuter wired from Peking.—The Armistice has not been renewed and negotiations are at a deadlock. Government expects and hopes that the revolutionaries will move northward and thus give an opportunity for a pitched battle, as owing to the want of funds, Government is unable to send southward a sufficient force to secure victory. Merchants at Tientsin complain that the Imperial troops are needlessly side-tracking goods traffic and declare that the foreign trade of Tientsin is imperilled.

Russia has notified China that the latter must recognise the independence of outer Mongolia as far as internal affairs are concerned under a dignitary of the Lamaite Church, who was recently proclaimed autocratic sovereign at Urga. Russia will assist the Mongolians in the maintenance of order and will construct a railway from Kiakha to Urga. Henceforth China will not be allowed to maintain troops nor colonies in outer Mongolia but external affairs will be permitted to remain in China's hands. China has not yet replied.

The Russian Charge d'Affaires has informed the Chinese Government that a reply is expected to the Russian Note regarding Mongolia without delay.

The report of the Russian demands to China with regard to Mongolia and that she is preparing to occupy Mongolia are officially contradicted in St Petersburg. The denial has caused surprise in London in view of the positive statement from Peking.

A detachment of Russian troops destined for Mongolia is approaching the Kiakha frontier in order to clear the adjacent Mongolian territory of wandering Chinese, who will be transported to Manchuria. Several hundred Chinese immigrant, have attacked a Mongolian official at Minusinsk who asked the Russians to assist him.

A further detachment of Baluchis and artillery have been despatched to Canton.

The American Government is sending five hundred troops to assist in guarding the railway from Peking to the sea.

M. De Krupensky, Counsellor to the Russian Embassy at Vienna, will shortly replace M. Korostovets, Russian Minister at Peking. M. De Krupensky is a distinguished expert on Far Eastern affairs and was Secretary to the Legation at Peking during the Boxer outbreak.

Russia's move in Mongolia excites little interest at Tokio as it has been expected. It is presumed that Russia previously obtained the consent of the Powers. The Government organ *Ciao* assumes that the action will be counterbalanced by similar British action in Tibet, thus leading to the internationalisation of the Chinese question.

The Japanese papers are unanimous that the Russian action in Mongolia explodes the theory of the territorial integrity of China.

certainly with regard to the outer provinces. They declare that the move will lead inevitably to a change of the policy of the Powers and to international dissensions which will result in similar action being taken in Tibet, Yunnan and elsewhere.

A long semi-official statement is issued in St. Petersburg on the subject of Russia and Mongolia. The statement says that the Mongolians, after declaring their independence, asked for the protection of Russia, who advised that efforts be made to come to an understanding with China. At the request of both parties Russia undertook to mediate. She pointed out to the Chinese Government that Mongolia's individuality must be safeguarded against violation, such as the organisation of Chinese troops and the settlement of Chinese in Mongolia. Russia had no aggressive designs on Mongolia, but should Mongolia break her bonds with China, important interests of Russia would compel her to enter into business relations with Mongolia.

The Revision of Bengal.

The following resolution was adopted at a meeting of the Anjuman Islamia held at Manikganj on the 10th instant:-

"Since Islam preaches loyalty to the Sovereign and loyalty consists in implicit obedience to his will, resolved that not even a feeble voice be raised against the announcement of His Imperial Majesty regarding the partition, fatal though it is to our cause, but that His Excellency the Governor General may be approached by our leaders and impressed with the justice of our demand for the removal of our grievances."

At a large and representative meeting of Muhammedans of Feni held on the 9th instant the following resolution was unanimously adopted:-

"The heart-rending news of the modification of the partition of Bengal was received by the Anjuman with a considerable amount of disappointment and despair, but our Islamic loyal feeling dictates to us to accept the announcement of His Imperial Majesty, which is considered to be irrevocable. The injury done to our cause, however, necessitates our leaders to move the Supreme Government to favourably consider our critical situation and safeguard our interests."

The following resolution was adopted at a meeting of the Gribandha Muhammedan Association held on the 10th instant:-

"That the Muhammedans of this part have received the proclamation of His Imperial Majesty modifying the Partition of Bengal with grave concern and demands acquiescence, and they therefore accept it, while they consider it high time, since this administrative change seems prejudicial to their interests, that their leaders lay bare the situation to His Excellency the Governor General and do all they can to protect Muhammedan interests."

The Imperial Legislative Council.

At the meeting of the Supreme Legislative Council, held on the 10th instant, the Hon. Sir S. H. Baier in reply to the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's question re expenditure on primary education, said:- "The sum of 50 lakhs for 'promotion of truly popular education' announced by His Excellency the Governor General on the day of the Coronation Durbar at Delhi will be an Imperial grant in addition to the existing expenditure on primary education and will be an annually recurring grant."

The Hon. Mr. Syed Ali Imam in reply to the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's question re Elementary Education Bill said:- "All communications which have been received on the Elementary Education Bill have been printed as papers relating to the Bill and copies thereof have already been sent to all hon. members. A set of such of them as contain opinions or summaries of opinions of Municipalities and District Boards or Councils is laid on the table. The information which the Honorable Member desires will be found, so far as it can be obtained, in those papers."

The Hon. Mr. MacLagan in reply to the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's question re the position of Provincial Engineers of the Public Works Department said:- "The despatch on the subject of the position of Provincial Engineers of the Public Works Department was sent to the Secretary of State by the end of the 10th August last. It is expected that his reply will be received at an early date."

The Hon. Sir Archdale Faule in reply to the Hon. Mr. Subba Rao's question re recruitment for the Executive Branch of the Provincial Service said:- "The necessary information has been obtained from Local Governments and a statement is laid on the table which answers the first part of the question asked by the Hon. Member on the 2nd September 1911."

"As regards the second part of the question the Hon. Member is informed that the only province where the executive branch of the Provincial Service is filled exclusively by promotion from the subordinate service is British Baluchistan. The reasons why such a course is adopted are (1) that residents of Baluchistan are not yet fitted for the work of an Extra Assistant Commissioner without considerable preliminary training in subordinate posts and (2) that residents of other provinces can only obtain knowledge of the special conditions of Baluchistan by working in subordinate posts."

TETE À TETE



With the departure of the *Medina* on the homeward voyage, one of the most significant and fruitful events in Indian history has come to a close.

The Royal Visit. The visit of Their Imperial Majesties to this country has been, from start to finish, a triumphal progress, carried out with superb grace and brilliance of ceremonial and amidst the unbounded enthusiasm and acclamations of the people. Conceived no doubt with the best of goodwill, the visit was in its nature a unique political experiment, and there were not wanting some in England who felt a little uneasy as to its final results. To-day both England and India are the richer for the visit, and the experiment has been a success such as even the most sanguine optimists could not have dreamed of. It has been to the Indian people a symbol of the union and beneficence of the Empire. It has not only brought Indians and Englishmen nearer together in loving homage to a common sovereign, but has also lifted Indians of all races and creeds out of petty differences and rivalries to a higher plane of self-consciousness and unity of purpose. These are the significant results of the visit which we hope will endure for ever and keep its memory alive as a great landmark in the history of British Rule. Much of the unique success of the Imperial Mission of sympathy and goodwill has been due to the personality of the King-Empire. Every function in which Their Imperial Majesties took part was a brilliant spectacle, but the personalities of Their Majesties always imparted to it an eminently human note, which rendered the ceremony gracious, benevolent and wise. They have said farewell to their Indian people with a "message of hope" which will keep their memories enshrined for ever in hearts full of gratitude. It seems as if a new spirit has come to dwell in the land, and we believe our rulers are beginning to address themselves to the government of the country with ampler sympathy, courage and confidence. With the dawn of a new era the memories of the past racial strife and communal antagonisms may well be buried in oblivion and all should turn to the problems of the future in a spirit of mutual tolerance, co-operation and regard. Although the recent administrative changes announced at the Durbar have hit the Mussalmans rather hard, they have, nevertheless, quietly bowed to the decision of the Government communicated through their Sovereign. They have no desire to embarrass the Government by the sort of agitation which success has so remarkably justified. Let us hope that the Government will take the earliest opportunity of restoring confidence to millions whose only asset in the bitter political struggles and paliaques of the last decade has indeed been their confidence in the pledged word and sense of justice of their Government. We are sure His Imperial Majesty, while thinking of India, will not forget the hopes and fears of a community of 70 millions whose loyalty and devotion to his throne and person is second to none in this country. If His Majesty's ministers could be induced to infuse a wider element of sympathy in their relation with the Musselman races of the world, it would lift a heavy weight of sorrow from the hearts of His Majesty's Musselman subjects and earn their undying gratitude.

"THE FRIEND and biographer of the late Sir Syed Ahmed", who has obviously secured an active patron in Wanted Known. the Associated Press reporter of Lahore, has rushed into print once more, "strongly condemning the advice given by Nawab Vicar-ul-Mulk to Muhammedans in the *Alligarh Institute Gazette* as regards the revocation of the partition of Bengal." Not very long ago this "friend and biographer" had figured in a vernacular paper of Lahore "strongly advising" the Mussalmans to have no sympathy or interest in the affairs of their brethren abroad. Now he has advised them to cease meddling in

their own affairs at home. Perhaps the only decent occupation now left for about 70 millions of poor souls is to furnish a silent background for the evolutions of the self-advertising gentry. To take this ubiquitous tribe seriously is to give it the much-desired notoriety which is the vital breath of its being. The only dignified method of dealing with its virulent manifestations is to treat it with silent contempt. But the ways of the charlatan and the quack are inscrutable, public credulity is sometimes amazing, and then, there is the sensational press. That is why to expose sham and imposture becomes sometimes a public duty. Now, this "friend and biographer" of Sir Syed has thrown out no original idea of a great dynamic force that the Associated Press of India should have been busy telegraphing it to the four corners of the land. The only sensation about his effusions has been that they are paltry, presumptuous and futile. Of course it is open to every notoriety-monger to set about to lecture a whole community or traduce its accredited leaders whose shoes he may be unworthy to unloose. It is, however, little short of the scandalous that this impudent flapdoodle should be industriously advertised about by a responsible press agency. We do not know who told the press reporter that the author of these precious communications on Moslem affairs and policy is the "biographer of the late Sir Syed Ahmed," unless it be the writer himself. That distinction belongs to General Graham in England and the great Hali in India. As to his being a "friend" of the late Sir Syed, all we need say is that never was the privilege, if at all enjoyed, more shamelessly abused. It is indeed a matter of humiliation and shame to all genuine friends of the great reformer that the community for which he laboured so unsparingly and so hard should have fallen on the type of "advisers" who have begun to exploit the prestige of his great name in serving their own ends. "This friend and biographer" of Sir Syed is not the only gentleman who is, in these anxious times, fishing in troubled waters. Let us hope he will catch, if nothing more substantial, at least a stray Khan Bahadurship, and thenceforth cease from troubling the Mussalmans. It is a characteristic weakness of the community that it suffers fools gladly. The only way of getting rid of them is to pray that they may speedily get what they want. That is their only punishment.

The Statement showing the proportion of appointments of Rs 500 and over held by Indians and Europeans in 1910 as compared with 1903 and 1867 which was promised in reply to a question put by the Hon. the Raja of Dighapatia was laid on the table of the Viceroy's Legislative Council on the 10th instant. It shows the following interesting results —

Community	1867		1903		1910	
	Number of posts	Per cent	Number of posts	Per cent	Number of posts	Per cent
Europeans and Eurasians	2,048	93.8	3,254	94.3	4,466	82.8
Hindus ..	99	1.5	455	13.1	782	14.5
Mussalmans ..	35	1.0	98	2.5	142	2.6
	134	6.1	606	15.6	924	17.1
Total ..	2,182	99.9	3,860	96.9	5,390	90.9

It is some consolation to think that more Indians are securing higher posts in the administration of their country every day, but when the rate of progression is taken into account, it appears that instead of advancing we are retrogressing. An increase of 9.5 per cent. in the 36 years that intervened between 1867 and 1903 gave hopes that in 30 years from 1903, Indians would hold about half the number of such posts. But in the seven years that have elapsed since then the rate of progress of the previous 36 years has not been maintained, and even if there is no further falling off and the rate of the last seven years is maintained, it will take 153 years to arrive at that devoutly to be wished consummation. In 1910 exactly 153 years had elapsed since Clive won at Plassey, and at this rate the same time must elapse again before the fast multiplying three hundred millions of Indians secure an equality of high posts with half a hundred million of His Majesty's white subjects. But unless every five years similar statistics are compiled, and a searching inquiry takes place into the progress of Indians in sharing in the administration of their country, there is grave danger of their lagging behind. A hundred and thirty years was in all conscience a long enough time to wait, but it has been prolonged by an additional thirty, or the life of a whole generation. The fear is that after another seven years the interval of waiting may be prolonged by an added generation or two. But while we deplore the reduced speed of the advance of India as a whole, we have to mourn in a greater degree the slackening speed of Moslem advance. In 1867, the Hindus held 4.5 per cent. and the Mussalmans 1.6 per cent. of such posts. That was something like proportionate misery, and although in 1867 it was felt specially severely by the Mussalmans, who had been ruling for all practical purposes until

a decade ago, it could well be explained by the suspicions entertained of them by panicstricken and nervous officials and by their own backwardness in western education. But in the next 36 years, while the Hindus improved their position from 1.5 per cent. of such posts to 13.1, or nearly trebled their share, the Mussalmans advanced from 1.6 to 2.5 per cent. merely. This rate of progress was only a sixth of that with which the Hindus advanced, and had it not been for the efforts of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan the Mussalmans would have totally disappeared from the higher branches of the administration. But what shall we say of the advance made in the last seven years? It is true that the Hindus advanced from 13.1 to 14.5 per cent. or merely 1.4 per cent. in seven years. But even this low figure gives them a rate of .2 per cent. of advance every year, while the Mussalmans, who have been making rapid strides in higher education for some time past, advanced from 2.5 to 2.6 per cent. or 1 per cent. in the whole period. It cannot be said that the Moslem advance in education in the last seven years has been only half of the improvement that has taken place in the condition of Hindus every year, and if that is not so, may we ask those good people who are never tired of accusing the Government of unduly favouring the Mussalmans to explain this demonstration of tender regard for the "favourite wife"? We hope this is the last that we have heard of favouritism towards Mussalmans. But we have still a word to say to those estimable leaders of the Mussalmans who have been most strenuous in hushing Moslem cries for justice with counsels of patience and moderation. Are they sure they are satisfied with a dividend of 1 per cent. in seven years on their precipitate investments in the Bank of Contentment? Possibly they have been favoured with bonuses and private perquisites in the shape of titles. But they have been purchased rather dearly at such tremendous cost to their community and, even at that, what are they but trifles and gewgaws? In the last 13 years while Indians have advanced from 6.1 to 17.1 per cent., the Mussalmans have progressed from 1.6 to 2.6 per cent. Out of an increase of 11 per cent. the shares of the "favourite" is a paltry 1 per cent. Such is "favouritism" and such the fruit of contentment. Could the Dead Sea apple of the fable be fairer to the eye and more like ashes in the mouth?

The foretaste of what Russian "provisional occupation" means in reality has been supplied in unstinted measure to the credulous world that still pinned its faith on the hopes of Sir Edward Grey and the solemn phariseism of the *Times*.

After expelling Persian officials, shelling down prominent buildings to the ground and occupying Tabriz, the Cossack legionary was let loose on peaceful inhabitants who were massacred indiscriminately in cold blood. As if this was not enough to satisfy the blood-lust of the invader, a regular court martial was set up to hunt out and put to death all the most prominent and self-respecting Persian patriots who had by chance escaped death in the general massacre. This codified institution of murder has since been doing its work of execution with unsparing thoroughness and despatch. The "military exigencies" with which the *Times* sought to condone the Italian atrocities in Tripoli have again been invoked by this abject admirer of Russian methods, though naturally in this case the phrase is more decisive and the tone more relentless. "It is not wonderful that Russians should refuse to treat such adversaries, many of whom are Russian subjects, as ordinary belligerents. The disarming of the Bidas would be justified in self defence and the destruction of places of resistance may also be justified if carried out without unnecessary harshness." We have never yet known any aggression, tyranny, international iniquity or crime — be it the suppression of a just and humanitarian cause or the destruction of a struggling nationality — for which the *Times* has failed to find justification. If Russia were to crush the whole Persian nation under her iron heel, the *Times* would perhaps still justify it as a measure necessary in the interests of "peace and order," and in the silence of death it would thank the Russians that the destruction was "carried out without unnecessary harshness." As to the many adversaries being "Russian subjects," we imagine the theory is not at all a novel one in view of the Russian pretensions over the whole of Northern Persia. All Persians may have been claimed as subjects of the Tsar, but leaving aside the sickening humbug of the *Times*, even the "semi-official *Rossiya!*" admits that fifteen Persians have been executed, though it considers the murders as "a mild satisfaction." As a matter of fact the best and noblest of Persians, devoted patriots, men of intelligence and courage, and venerable and pious leaders of faith, have been picked out and shot one after the other for the "satisfaction" of the Russian soldiery. Their only crime was that they had yet some spark of self-respect and manhood left in them and could not see unmoved the humiliation and enslavement of their motherland. They are martyrs in the cause of liberty, surely the noblest cause that ever moved man to death-defying heroism. Yet Europe is silent, Sir Edward Grey is, ostrich-like, denying that anything of the sort has happened, and the *Times* is by its cynical effusions tarnishing the most glorious chapter of English history. Europe may have lost

its moral sensibilities but the murders have created immense horror and disgust amongst the nations of the East. The consequences of the Russian action and Sir Edward Grey's shuffling will be, in pursuance of the modern practice of statecraft, visited on Persia. Every possible device has been resorted to in order to render the establishment of peace and good government in the country impossible. And now that the desired chaos has been created, the Persian Government is being accused of incapacity and impotence. The *Times*, therefore, thinks itself "justified" in recommending "the immediate occupation of the harbours of the Gulf". It is needless to trace the successive links in the diplomatic chain, from the faint growls of "correspondents" to military intervention, with which territorial aggrandisements are accomplished in these piping times of peace. The history of some of the recent transactions about Morocco and Tripoli furnishes the classical examples of the modern method. What we are concerned with for the present is the hope that British statesmen may yet recognise the supreme danger that threatens the most vital interests of the Empire before it is too late. We know that the Indian Government was from the very outset opposed to the policy hitherto pursued by Sir Edward Grey. But in view of the recent misadventure of Consul Smart, it is quite possible that the central facts of the situation may be ignored and the passion for revenge or vindication of British prestige may become predominant. It has not unoften happened that a measure or a policy of the British Government was condemned by overwhelming public opinion, but that when some untoward incident occurred as a direct consequence of that policy, the initial blunder was for the moment forgotten and the cry went up to punish those who happened to be the mere secondary and incidental causes of the incident. This is characteristic of the British public whose tiger qualities the Jingo Press never fails to call into play. We hope the British Government will look upon the Smart incident in its true proportion and would be satisfied with the reparation promised by the Persian Government without taking undue advantage of its weak and helpless condition. In the present helpless state of Persia does the prestige of the mighty British nation need any vindication? It is some consolation to think that the Liberal Press has at last awakened to the terrible muddle into which the British Foreign policy has been allowed to drift by the incapacity of Sir Edward Grey. The fall of this weak minister may or may not come soon, but he would leave behind a mortified Persia bleeding under the heels of a ruthless enemy and a heavy responsibility for British statesmen. If any prediction can at all be safe in the nebulous atmosphere of modern diplomacy and international relations, it may be confidently asserted that the Middle Eastern problem is only just entering the stage that will tax all the resources of British statesmanship. It has in it all the elements of becoming the most formidable danger to the British Empire in the East. It has already changed the whole trend of Middle Eastern questions and it will call new and formidable forces into play in the near future. Turkey is directly concerned in the Russian aggression in the North West of Persia and Afghanistan is equally involved in the advance of the Russians in the North and of the British in the South. Is the British Government prepared to embitter Turkish feeling still further, and to weaken the position of Afghanistan, which it has ever sought to strengthen, simply relying on the good faith of the Muscovite and trusting that British complaisance in Persia will purchase Russian indifference if not hostility towards Germany? Then what of "the Moslem feeling in India and elsewhere"? We are glad that the *Englishman* regards it as a "difficult and delicate situation" but we doubt whether the difficulty or the delicacy could be diminished by the publication of such leaders as the one that appears in this morning's issue of that journal, which betrays in every line scissors-and-paste and perhaps the hand of the office-boy in revising the proofs. Surely the transfer of the capital is not but our contemporary so hard that it cannot afford to ask someone to write in leading articles who understands the difference between Dar ul Harb and Dar ul Salam. We do not know what class of Musselman speaks of Dar ul-Harb as if it was the same as "Islamistan". But the office-boy of the *Englishman* knows better, and we bow to his omniscience.

M. TOSAII AHMED SAHEB, an 'Old Boy' and Trustee of the Aligarh College, a short time ago to compile a Directory giving the names, addresses and some other particulars of all those who had received their education at Aligarh. The labour of M. Tosail Ahmed Saheb have almost

been completed and the Directory is now in the press. The task has been rather heavy and it is quite possible that several names may have been missed. We have, therefore, been asked by the Honorary Secretary of the Old Boys' Association to request all gentlemen to communicate to the compiler their present addresses with particulars about their respective residence, date of admission in the college and the class they joined. We hope the information will be supplied without delay to M. Tosail Ahmed Saheb, Manglaur, District Saharanpur.

The Comrade.

The Recent Changes and the Indian Member.

WE PUBLISH elsewhere the letter of a correspondent who takes the Hon. the Law Member of H. E. the Viceroy's Executive Council to task for not having seen things eye to eye with us and our correspondent. We are rather sorry for the Law Member, for it is not customary here, as it is for Cabinet Ministers in England, that individual members of the Government take up cudgels on their own behalf. A Member of the Executive Council in India must suffer in silence, for he cannot defend himself individually, and it is for this reason perhaps that individual members are not generally singled out for attack. With this opening remark we must leave the Hon. the Law Member to discover what procedure he can find to defend himself. We are, however, chiefly concerned about ourselves, for our correspondent also tells us that we have been "strangely silent" on the subject of the Law Member's attitude. Our position is easily explained. In fact our correspondent has already explained it for us. When the Government of India has been criticised by us as a whole it is clear that the Hon. the Law Member has not escaped scot-free. We certainly expected and still expect from him a good deal more than from his colleagues, whose knowledge of India cannot be half as intensive as his own, even if it be regarded as equally extensive. To that extent his share of blame must be greater, for he cannot plead ignorance as easily as his colleagues, though we have yet to discover a bureaucrat who publicly relied on that plea and acknowledged, like one ex-Minister of England, his "colossal ignorance of India". These considerations appeared to us to be too obvious to need emphasis. But if "Azad" thinks it necessary for us to admit all this, we can have no hesitation.

Soon after he had taken over charge of his new post, the Hon. Mr. Ali Imam had an opportunity of explaining his general attitude to his fellow countrymen at the public dinner given in his honour at the Town Hall here. He said on that occasion that "it has to be remembered that he is first and above all a minister of the Crown". In view of the difference in the constitution of the Government of India and the British Cabinet, this reminder was, we think, a word in season, for we were apt to imagine that the Indian Member of the Viceroy's Council was a representative of the people, and as such responsible to them precisely in the same manner as a Member of the British Cabinet returned to Parliament by a constituency of the people. We are glad that the correspondent whose letter we publish has not fallen into that error. But we trust the Indian Member of the Council will not fall into the opposite error of regarding himself as nothing beyond a limb of the bureaucracy which, with the best of intentions, knows, alas! so little of what passes in the heart and the brain of India.

Like "Azad" we, too, cannot conceive that the Indian Member knew so little of India as to think that the scheme of the Government of India which on the face of it has his full approval, would also meet with the approval of all communities and classes in India, including the Moslem community of which he is so distinguished a member, and which he led so ably at a very critical juncture at spite of the insurgents. If the supposition that he did not know this cannot be correct, one of two things must have happened. He may either have considered the case of the Mussalmans of Bengal and Bihar too weak to merit his support, or he may have consented to his colleagues' scheme with the assurance that some "compensation" would be offered later on to the Mussalmans as well. We do not know which of these suppositions is true, and we have no means of knowing either. The published despatch bears clear evidence in every line that it was written more in order to be published to the people of India than with a view to convince the Secretary of State in England. The papers display a remarkable unanimity of opinion not only in the Viceroy's Council, but also between the Secretary of State and the Government of India. It is inconceivable that changes so tremendous and so sudden could have been conceived, discussed, elaborated, and decided upon without giving to the various Members of the Viceroy's Council, who may be presumed to think each for himself, many occasions for differing from their colleagues, and to an independent Secretary of State innumerable opportunities for legitimate criticism and for referring repeatedly to the Government of India. But so far as the Secretary of State is concerned, his despatch betrays an abnormal degree of complacency. Are we to believe that a masterful Viceroy, or some other individual Member of the Government of India, carried all before him in the Viceroy's Council as well? Such complacency as Lord Crewe has shown was unthinkable in the case of Lord Morley. But it was after all the tradition of the India Office in the days of Sir Henry Fowler and Lord George Hamilton, and also of Mr. St. John Brodrick before he quarrelled with the Government of India over the Kitchener-Curzon affair. As for the Viceroy's Council, it is well known that there was far too much of the Viceroy and far too little of the Council in the days of Lord

Curzon. In Lord Minto's Viceroyalty the Secretary of the State was much more assertive than he had been in recent times, and what initiative and control the Government of India retained is supposed to have been the dear possession of the secretary. A Bombay contemporary rejoiced not so long ago at the fact that India possessed under Lord Hardinge a real and not only a nominal Council Government. If that be true, there must be many interesting papers relating to the new changes which are not yet published, and which may never be published at all, and we trust that somewhere among them there are clear and emphatic minutes written over the signature of the Hon. Mr. Ali Imam displaying his "distinct individuality."

All this, however, is mere conjecture. All that we are permitted to know is that the Government of India found discretion to be the better part of valour and sought refuge from Bengali agitation and the consequent bureaucratic repression in the flight to Delhi; that they knew only too well that the transfer of the capital would mean a terrible recrudescence in Bengal of the agitation and anarchy that were only just subsiding, that the reunion of Bengal alone could prevent this; that a mere reversal of the policy of Lord Curzon would be too great a triumph for the Bengalis and too great a humiliation for the Government, while creating a province too big to be well administered, that this could be prevented, and the face of the Government saved to some extent, by making Behar a separate province, and adding to it Orissa and Chhota Nagpur; that the triumph of the Bengalis, who are discontented, would be tempered by the greater triumph of the Brâhmins, who are sturdy and loyal, and that their sorrow would be drowned in the greater sorrow of the Mussalmans, who are only loyal and contented.

This chain of reasoning is indeed so well linked together that once the flight to Delhi was decided upon no other conclusions could have been possible except those arrived at by the Government of India. We are not, therefore, able to guess what the Law Member, or any other Member of Council, has done for the "loyal and contented" Mussalmans. It may be that he took a leading part in inducing his colleagues to transfer the capital and, if so, the Mussalmans of India as a whole owe much to him. But, as we have explained in an earlier issue, the "restoration" of Delhi . . . in itself no "boon" to the Mussalmans. Moslem Delhi is, perhaps, beyond the skill of the restorer. Even a quarter of a century ago when a Hindu-Moslem riot took place at Delhi, a Musselman rowdy caught a Hindu merchant, who was driving in a carriage and pair, and began to blabber him. Thanks to the social assimilation of the Moghals, the Hindus of Delhi can hardly be distinguished from their Moslem brethren, and this astute Hindu at once cried out that he was a Musselman. "Do you think I am a fool?" said his assailant. "My good fellow, there are no Mussalmans in Delhi who could afford to drive in a carriage and pair!" What a commentary this on the thoroughness of the revenge that was wreaked in 1858 for the wickedness of a few and the weakness or folly of many. Sir John Tenniel then drew a powerful picture of the "Revenge of the British Lion on the Bengal Tiger" for *Punch*, but more than 50 years afterwards it appears that it is the Bengal Tiger that has frightened the British Lion, while the descendants of those on whom the vengeance was wreaked in the madness of excitement and in utter ignorance more than fifty years ago are now expected to find comfort in their vainly-hoped-for resurrection. Well may Moslem Delhi say with the Poet of Delhi,

کی سرے اللہ کے بھی اوس لے جتا سے تو رہی

لے اوس زرد پیغمباں کا پیغمباں جو رہا

(He has resolved to give up oppressing his friends after having killed me. Oh the premature repentence of the penitent!)

But while Moslem Delhi is dead, Islam is not yet dead in India, and the transfer of the capital to the North, where Moslem rule lasted for eight centuries, and which is even to-day the seat of their culture and the nerve-centre of 70 million Mussalmans, will give to them at least one fair chance of competing with other communities of India which they sorely needed, but which they could not have secured from a Government too much under the influence of Bengal. The rest lies with them, not with the Government. We do not mean to suggest that the Government has no duty to Mussalmans left unperformed. The interests of the minorities are safeguarded in the Councils to some extent, but the pledge of Lord Minto to give to the Mussalmans separate and adequate representation in the local bodies is still unredeemed, and Lord Hardinge as well as Mr. Ali Imam would be judged by the way they honour the pledges of their predecessors. There is still a great disparity between the proportions in which Hindus and Mussalmans share administrative appointments, and this too must soon be removed. Last, but in point of usefulness the foremost, is the question of Moslem education. The Moslem University is not yet an accomplished fact. Mussalmans have yet to secure the removal of hampering, and in some cases humiliating, restrictions which the Government would impose on them, and even those good folks who had such a tender regard for

the position of the Government and its difficulties and possible embarrassment must have by now been convinced that the Government for which they have always been so abnormally solicitous has not the same tender regard, at any rate, for their position, their difficulties and their certain embarrassment. Moreover, the Mussalmans must agitate—though not exactly in the now approved fashion of Bengal—for a *pro rata* allotment of the educational grant for the education of the Mussalmans. With as full a control of their education in their own hands as possible under the altered circumstances, the Mussalmans can yet work out their salvation without waiting for the tardy doles of Government, which are extorted from pity not unmixed with contempt. In everything must they guide their actions according to enlightened self-interest, and in everything must they be self-reliant. As "Azad" well puts it, they must be "loyal" to the core, but not "contented." In the words of the *Zamindar*,

آسمان سرپہ اور گا لو تو کھلنا در لطب
تھا اور عقیدت کی بچانے آج

(Move heaven and earth with clamour and the gates of kindness will be opened unto you, for to-day clamour is the surest sign of loyalty and faith)

But, although to our infinite regret the Government failed to utilize the presence of His Majesty the King-Emperor in India at this juncture for restoring its equilibrium to Moslem feeling, which is, for obvious reasons, far from normal, we have still reason to believe that the universal grievance of the Mussalmans of Bengal has attracted the notice of the Secretary of State and of the Government of India and that their claims are receiving serious consideration at the hands of the Local Government of Eastern Bengal and the Imperial Government. We do not know to what "safeguards" "Azad" refers as "promised in the Despatch of the Government of India." We have failed to discover any such promises, and perhaps the writer is misled by the hope expressed by the Government that the existing provisions for safeguarding the interests of minorities would prevent any untoward results that may follow the extinction of a Moslem majority in Eastern Bengal. Be that as it may, we are led to believe that the "compensation" is the subject at present of the fullest deliberation. But we may be permitted to ask if such deliberation could not as well have been bestowed on the "compensation" to other interests before the bolt was hurled from the blue a month ago? Are we to understand that sins must always be committed in a hurry but that repentance alone must come at leisure?

In the whole situation there is, however, one redeeming feature. Since "the most commendable departure in throwing open the Councils preserve to the people of this country" was made, two great questions have come up before the Government, the Reform of the Councils and the modification of the Partition; and it is significant that while the former, which received the wholehearted support of the Mussalmans, was carried out when a Hindu was a member of the Government, the latter, which receives the universal approbation of the Hindus, comes into effect while a Musselman holds his portfolio. Apart from the merits of both measures, it is a great source of satisfaction to us to feel that both the eminent Indians who were entrusted with such unique responsibility have acquitted themselves in a manner which may or may not deserve the applause of their co-religionists, but which cannot, and does not receive the least opprobrium from those of the other faith. This must give the quietus to the prophecies of evil that emanated from such Cassandras as the *Prophets* on more than one occasion. To the Hon. the Law Member we wish to say only one word and no more, and we trust we may say this without casting the least reflection on his character or actions. Lord Minto rightly said that a strong man was he who was not afraid of being called weak. It is our belief that, similarly, a just man is he who is not afraid of appearing a partisan.

Europe and the Muhammadan World.

SIR HARRY H. JOHNSTON has contributed an article under the above heading to the December issue of the *Nineteenth Century* in which, taking as his text the Italian invasion of Tripoli, he discusses the general situation in the Moslem world and more particularly the bearing of Islam on human development. The theme is vast beyond imagining, and Sir Harry has approached it with the blusque assurance of a dilettante nurtured on agnostic philosophy. Naturally enough, his treatment of a most complicated subject is a powerful illustration of the absurdities characteristic of the method. An impressionist study of the character and influences of Islam, based on *a priori* assumptions that are no better than, for instance, the vexatious vanities of a dandy about his smart appearance, cannot furnish even a faint suggestion in regard to the true nature and import of the dynamic forces of ethnology, race, climate, social and political environment regulated by the religion of Islam. As it is, the writer has addressed himself to the discussion of this tremendous

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problem with a mind singularly intolerant, untrained to complex sociological reasoning, reflecting the worst illiberalism of doubt and obsessed by Christian bias.

We need not, even if we could, traverse the illimitable field of inquiry that Sir Harry Johnston's wild assumptions might naturally tempt one to explore. The utmost that is possible at present is to state his central thesis with reference to the nature of Islam as a force in the secular development of mankind. He proceeds with the hypothesis that religion, like any other important factor in human progress, is a secular force, that it must grow and develop and undergo necessary modifications in order to adapt itself to growing human needs. From this he argues that Islam, a very imperfect creed at best, became atrophied in process of time, and has since then kept its followers weighted down with the burden of dead formulas and "narrow mentality." That the writer has scant belief in religion as Divine revelation, absolute and immutable, would be amply borne out by the following passage :—

Perhaps, indeed, Islam may never precisely range itself under the banner of Christ just as the Jews will go on for a century or so pretending to ignore the greatest Jew (*If He was a Jew*) in history. Similarly, during the same period much that is extraneous, outworn, pagan, open to doubt, will drop off from European Christianity. At the rate at which the world is now advancing all civilised peoples in the Old and New worlds may be agreed fifty years hence on a common basis of religion, the Service of Man.

To outward seeming the language used in this passage might well delight the soul of a Christian zealot, if there were any difficulty in reading the standpoint of the writer between the lines we have italicised. Christianity has for him the attractions of a heirloom, he loves it as one loves his cat, his trim garden or his native atmosphere. All the same it is not a creed fixed and ordained for eternity. It will "drop off" what does not suit the secular needs of the times. With this attitude one need hardly quarrel, as it is mainly a matter of temperament and no discussions about the nature of religion and the root-purpose of creation can avail in changing a fixed habit of mind. All we need say is that Mussalmans believe in a different philosophy of life, that they recognise in the main doctrines of their faith a series of laws, universal, immutable and Divine, comprehending human nature in its entirety and indicating the direction of human endeavour. Differences of opinion about the ultimate purpose of life are as old as human life itself. They will exist, in spite of the onslaughts of bigotry, shallow puerilities of Atheism and the agnostic cant about "the Service of Man."

If, however, Sir H. H. Johnston had definitely formulated his arbitrary principles and applied them with logical consistency, we could have dismissed him as a harmless faddist, only playing at the old game of recreating the universe after his own image. But he does nothing of the kind. It is only his style that has betrayed his intellectual mood and bias. Perhaps he does not know it himself. His arbitrary assumptions are honeycombed with logical errors and inconsistencies. Along with his tacit belief that it is only the temporal affairs of man that matter and that religion is a mere servant of humanity and not a guide, it is infinitely amusing to see him turn again and again and hold up Christianity to the wonder and admiration of the world. When Christianity has been "dropping off" its excrescences and will continue to do so till it is entirely reformed out of existence, when there is hardly a permanent thing in it that may abide, it is a strange mental perversity that can see in this evanescent creed "the only real value yet discovered in religious development." By his own fundamental assumption the evolution of modern Europe has proceeded at the expense of Christianity. It is, therefore, not a religion conducive to the progress of civilisation. It was, so to speak, a fortuitous development in human affairs against whose pernicious influences, according to the writer, other secular human agencies have had to fight. Yet in the same breath we find the writer breaking forth in a cocksure vein and holding forth on the unique achievements of Europe under the inspiration of Christianity. The Christian creed is everything, at once the symbol and source of European power, and all Christendom is solemnly warned against taking any step which "should diminish the power for common action of Christianity against the non-Christian world." Here is a supreme example of the exaltation of a mere race-prejudice through self-deception. After this one is fully prepared for the following balderdash, conceived, it may be, in the spirit of "the actual teaching of Christ and of some amongst His immediate disciples," and unredeemed even by a narrow nationalism. —

The only hope of ultimate reconciliation between Christianity and Islam and of the raising of the peoples now Muhammadan to absolute equality, intellectual and social, with the leading Christian Peoples, lies in the "deification of Islam to a pure transparency" through which may penetrate the only real value yet discovered in religious development: the actual teaching of Christ and of some amongst His immediate disciples. The greatest foe of Islam is undenominational secular education, and at present this is impossible of attainment in any professedly Muhammadan school, college or university. All human knowledge, especially the most marvellous develop-

ments of the human mind in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, have to be subjected to the intolerable sieve of the narrow mentality of Muhammad, an illiterate, uneducated, bandit-mystic of the seventh century, A.C.

We have nothing to say about the last lines of this presumptuous deliverance, except that the incredible ignorance about the life and teachings of the purest and most unselfish man the world has ever known could at least be tempered with good taste if not with Christian charity. The Prophet of Arabia lived in the light of history; and no monstrous myths and legends have grown round his personality. It is, therefore, all the more unpardonable in a man who loves to pose as a student of sociology to call him a "mystic-bandit," whose career was one long protest against spiritual sham and humbug, who scorned delights and lived laborious days, whose life was clean of all worldly dross, who was called "Amin" because he was honest, and died so poor that his funeral expenses were defrayed by his friends. As regards the general condition of the Mussalmans, the writer seems to think that their only hope lies in their conversion to Christianity, and that they cannot be educated as long as they are Mussalmans. "Undenominational secular education" has been imparted in India to Hindus and Mussalmans alike for upwards of 50 years, and yet Islam is not only believed in but practised by the educated members of the community. The Christian missionary has more than once confessed to his sense of failure in converting the educated Mussalmans. "The greatest foe of Islam" is not "secular education" but the Christian and racial prejudice of some of the pseudo-scientists of Europe who affect agnosticism and consider the social practices and moral conventions of a materialistic civilisation as the last word in human felicity. Race, convention, and religious prejudice have come to be invested with all the sanctions of divine right.

The writer has made some fugitive excursions into history and come to the conclusion that the backward condition of the Muslim races, of the Turks, the Persians, the Arabs is due to a general, intellectual paralysis brought about by Islam. He doubts if the Moslem woman is supposed to possess a soul. She is kept under tyrannical subjection and enjoys no status in society. Whether Islam is unmical to secular progress is a vast question with which we will deal in a separate article. As regards the status of women in Islamic society, it is perhaps the best, most equitable and humane that any religious system of the world has yet prescribed. This, too we will consider at a later date. For the present we may only say that the laws of human progress are the same all over the world, that initiative, intelligence and strength of character and mind are not the sole monopoly of the Christian races in Europe, that if the present and the immediate past have witnessed unparalleled ascendancy of the West in human affairs, the East shall not fail in the ultimate balance of human achievement.

European civilisation, which Sir Harry Johnston is pleased to designate as "Christian," is in fact a secular process carried on in the teeth of what is usually styled as Christianity. The teachings of the Evolutionary Philosophy and some of its moral implications have made short work of the story of creation as disclosed by the Gospels and of the Sermon on the Mount. The heresies of Darwin, Wallace, Russel, Huxley, and Herbert Spencer—undisputedly "the most marvellous developments of the human mind in the nineteenth century"—must have made the early fathers move uncomfortably in their graves. To boast, therefore, of European achievements in Science, Art, Philosophy and Politics as the direct result of Christianity is strangely to misread history. It would have been far incomprehensible, though hardly less irrelevant if the writer had elected to swear by geography or ethnology. As it is, he indulges in a sort of mad war-dance round the fact that Europe is great. It has completely obsessed his mind: the rest is a mere carnival of tall talk and vainglory. It is a matter of supreme satisfaction to him that Europe is so rich, so powerful, and so wise. The rest of the world appears to him to be a miserable and a sheer impertinence; and it seems as if he would like to accuse Providence of a primeval error of judgement in creating coloured humanity to "multiply and replenish" so large a portion of the earth. This attitude is common enough among a certain type of Europeans, though it is not a new phase, characteristic only of Europe. Self-sufficiency and arrogance of temper have marked every dominant type of civilisation in history. Ancient Egyptians considered their achievement so perfect that they daily propitiated their gods lest they should grow jealous. The Chinese felt that they had realised their heaven on earth. The Greeks imposed constitutional checks even on divine prerogative, and safely imagined that they had reduced such an incomprehensible thing as life to a system for all eternity. Rome thought itself to be the hub of the universe. It is now the turn of Europe to do the same. We did or follow the examples of Egypt and ancient Rome. The foolish may laugh and the wise may shake their heads, but when that day comes Sir Harry will have their day. They would consider the world, the bullock teams and the life-purpose gather together again for a new battle, for another cycle of change.

CORRESPONDENCE



The Recent Changes and the Indian Member.

To THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR.—I am sure I cannot be guilty of the least exaggeration when I say that in no newspaper in India, whether Anglo-Indian or Indo-English, have the recent administrative changes been so admirably, exhaustively and dispassionately dealt with as in the last three issues of the *Comrade*. While bowing to the Imperial Decree and accepting as a "settled fact"—if indeed such nomenclature can henceforth be justly used for anything under the British administration, except for the sure success of a particular kind of agitation—you have successfully dissected and laid bare the hollowness of the principal arguments contained in the now memorable State documents in favour of the amendment of the partition of Bengal. There is, however, one point about which you have been strangely silent so far, and that is the part played by the Hon. the Indian Member of His Excellency the Governor-General's Council. I take it that this gentleman was selected for his present post not only for his legal acumen but also because he was a representative Indian in close touch with the ideas and aspirations of his countrymen. He could not, therefore, have been ignorant of the arguments and facts so ably marshalled in the *Comrade* against the unsettling of a settled fact and the injury that this act is bound to cause, not only to a large section of His Majesty's subjects, but also to the hitherto unsullied reputation of the British Government for keeping its word when once vouchsafed to a people. It will be simply uncharitable to suppose that he was not cognisant of all this. But if he was cognisant of it all, why is there no indication in the despatches published that the above point of view was pressed before the Council and successfully defended against the probable onslaught of the rest of his colleagues? In every Cabinet in the world the role of the majority obtains in the transaction of business entrusted to its care, and the same must be the case with the Viceroy's Executive Council. Unless, therefore, the Hon. Mr. Syed Ali Imam's arguments were completely demolished by the other Councillors and he was won over to their side, which is unthinkable, we have a right to have expected a note of dissent from him in respect of so much of the proposals of the Government of India as adversely affect the interests of the majority of the population of the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. The Government scheme would have even then been carried out by the force of a majority, but such action on his part would have raised him at once in the estimation not only of his own countrymen, but also in that of the Government. To say that, because the Government was bent on seeing its scheme through, his dissent was practically of no use, is no argument at all, and overlooks the great moral advantages which always attach to such a procedure. It would not have averted the catastrophe but would most probably have minimised, if not quite taken away, the sting of it by the introduction of the doctrine of "give and take" in the case of the poor Muhammadans also. It may be that Mr. Ali Imam did not press his dissent on account of the "safeguards" promised in the despatch of the Government of India and that he has had satisfactory assurances in regard to the details of such safeguards, which for some reason or other have not so far been made public. If this be so, it was, I am bound to say, a serious tactical blunder to have given up this coign of vantage. In these days of the doctrine of compensation he would have secured better terms when the *Panther* of dissent was in full steam than after the steam has been let off. I do not for a moment suggest that if there has been any such compact between the Hon. Member and his colleagues the Government will not abide by its promises; but, I must be excused if recent events have made me somewhat sceptical on the point. I am indeed one of those who, while regarding our remaining "loyal" to the core, think it absolutely necessary not to remain "contented". Englishmen with

all their anxiety to be just and impartial to the Oriental races under their sway cannot, owing to the peculiar traditions of their own upbringing, but look at things through an Occidental medium. It is but right, therefore, that in asking them for our dues we should employ their own weapons of strife. They cannot—from what I think of them—but appreciate and respect such a proceeding, and it is from this point of view that I think the Hon. Member has intentionally or unintentionally missed a great chance.

I do not overlook the fact that in criticising Government as a whole you have not spared the Indian Hon. Member who is a part of the Government and is thus covered by your criticism. This is no doubt perfectly true, but we expect a good deal more from the Indian Member than from any of his colleagues, unless his distinct individuality ceases to exist as soon as he enters the charmed circle of officialdom. No thinking person can, however, for a moment agree to such an effacement, as the mere fact of allowing Indians an increased share in the administration of the country clearly implies that the Indian point of view should henceforth be better represented than has been the case hitherto. This is the whole *raison d'être* of the most commendable departure in throwing open the Council preserve to the people of this country. We have, therefore, a right to watch closely the doings of our representative in Council and to see to it that he does not fail to put forward the Indian point of view in matters which spell life or death to a community. This can only be accomplished by clearly pointing out to him any mistakes of commission or omission which he happens to make, and as he, to my mind, does not appear to have risen to the necessities of the great and momentous occasion, it is nothing but right and proper that the matter should be thoroughly ventilated in the Press.

AZAD.



Verse.

After Hafiz.

The Nightingale in verdant bowers
My soul with song of Love inspires ;
The Roses bloom with vernal showers ;
My Heart with Passion Flora fires.
Then let yon liquid ruby flow,
Taza ba taza, nau ba nau.

What gladness whispering Love can bring !
What bliss can Beauty's charms unfold !
Then seek at once the bowers of Spring,
And think no more of sordid Gold.
In sparkling Goblet drown thy woe,
Taza ba taza, nau ba nau.

What Casuists preach and Zealots pray
Ah ! none but Fools and Clowns admire,
When Roses bloom, the Bulbul's lay
Is all that can the Soul inspire.
Thy ears to whispering Love bestow,
Taza ba taza, nau ba nau

I love and I must die for Love ;
This passion I can ne'er forego.
My fate's decreed by One above.
It cannot change. Let Mentors know
The One above is friend, not foe,
Taza ba taza, nau ba nau.

All, all must yield to Beauty's power ;
No Hermit can resist its charms.
Observe Zuliekhā's fatal hour,
When first she flew to Yousuf's arms.
How Beauty rules the Heart all know,
Taza ba taza, nau ba nau.

The lays of Hafiz are so sweet,
But those of Imdad sweeter still.
Then Minstrel sing his notes and greet
My ears with all thy songster's skill.
In cadence sweet let music flow,
Taza ba taza, nau ba nau.

IMDAD IMAM.



The Council.

BY THE HON. MR. GUP.

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please."

—As you Like It

After the April showers of the reform controversy, the full bloom of summer came with the regulations published by the Government towards the end of 1909, and early in 1910 followed the autumn of the new Councils, full of a gold and red glory, when the first-fruits of the Morley-Minto orchard began to ripen on the branches. Well, horticultural critics may now be inclined to liken them to a medlar which, in the expressive phrase of Rosalind, is rotten before it is half ripe. For there January was no life in the Councillors when they met on the 10th to commence their last winter session, and the first of H. E.'s Hijra, the year of the Flight to Delhi.

There was a total absence of colour also, and the Council Chamber, unredeemed even by the bright silk of Maung Bah Foo from the Silken East, resembled the Hades of Sir Herbert Tree which the half a dozen Enrydices in the Viscom' Gallery in company with the big blue bottles of Olympus feebly endeavoured to relieve. The sugar-coated Pandit was there, of course, in his customary suit of angelic white. But the Kunwar Sabeb had discarded the fourteen yards of dove-grey silk for a creamy confection, and the Gates of Burmah did not hoist the usual danger signal, having exchanged it for the white flag of Maung Oh My! The solemn black was, however, a relief after the Field of Cloth of Gold of which the world and his hobble-skirted wife had seen such a Durbarbaric display.

His Excellency is the possessor of a name familiar enough to the students of India's long annals; but His Excellency's Council includes the possessor of a still more historic name. It is not exactly a saintly name, but a namesake of the Hon. Finance Member has one day out of the three hundred and sixty-five (with a bittock) consecrated all to himself in the British Calendar. If he could thus have a portion of the year earmarked for himself, why could not the Finance Member budget one all to himself? Yes, why not? Fired with this ambition he arranged with St. Vincent that the Council should meet when His Excellency should be wishing Godspeed to Their Majesties, and, while Sandow II. was still indisposed. It was thus that the 10th of January became Sir Guy's Day, and as the most senior member of the Supreme Government he presided on the opening day of the new session. With a becoming apology, Sir Guy entered upon his responsible duties and in the solemn tones of the Ghost in Hamlet called upon new members to swear. First came the Honourable Gurguri who hobble-bobbled his allegiance. Then came St. Vincent who stiffened himself up in a manner appropriate only to the eminent Service of India's mandarins. The Cart of Juggernaut rushed headlong in his unchecked career till he reached the steps of the Presidential dais, and halting there turned and faced the officiating functionary who feared being run over. When he had done his awe-inspiring duty, the British Lyon was seen to approach the reporters' table. All were prepared for a leap and a roar; but evidently afraid to fright the ladies and his colleagues out of their wits, he aggravated his voice to

that he roared as gently as any sucking dove—he roared an 'twere any nightingale.

Then came the rest, Maung Oh My!—who gave promise that this time at least Burmah shall be heard—and Beethoven and Drum Major Fyffe. But the most graceful entry was that of the Khan Bahadur, the clirging ivy round the sturdy British oak, who walked smilingly like a French Count getting out of the tumbril to go to the waiting guillotine. When he swore allegiance the Council recognised the true accents of loyalty and the unmistakeable ring of the *plus royaliste que le roi*.

Thereafter Sir Guy rose and commanded the Hon., "Mr." J. S. Meston to lay on the table on his behalf the statements promised to Dug'er-patty and Mud-Hukkar. Many a time a king has made a plain "Mister" kneel before him and then commanded, "Arise Sir Such-and-So-forth." That's how Knights used to be clubbed in the brave days of old. But in these braver days of Sir Guy, Knights dubbed by the King are undubbed by the President of the Council, and "Sir James" Meston is once more the Hon. "Mr" Meston. Not much of a loss though, for there's such a plethora of Knights gracing the carpet on the floor of the Council to-day that if a jubilant journalist throws a paperball from the Press Gallery into the Council Chamber below, ten to one it would perch on the bald pate of a Knight and, sliding down that declivity, would drop into the lap of a Companion. The only distinction to-day is to have no titles before or behind one's name.

The interpellations were few, but the replies were not without interest. Sir Spencer, or—if the Faery Queen is discarded for the undying fame of the Death Duties—Sir Harcourt, hitherto ye-clept Bootlaik Sabeb, informed the Mild Hindu that the half a crore announced at Delhi for "truly popular education" was to be a recurring decimal fraction of the Budget and elicited cheers from the non-officials and tears from the others. When the Mild Hindu asked for the opinions of the local bodies on his little Bill received by Local Governments, the absent-minded Moslem Dowager, eager to deliver his speech on the Delegation Bill and be done with it, rose to move that "the Bill to provide the delegation of executive powers and duties is certain cases be referred to a Select Committee." St. Vincent, the prompter, promptly fed him with another printed paper; but even a saint can sin sometimes and this one had handed somebody else's answer to his Chief to read out. The Dowager essayed again, then stopped short when the gay irrelevancy of the answer dawned on him, and at last found the proper reply for the query of the Mild Hindu. But the latter was not satisfied and hurriedly framed a supplementary question, which in fact was not a question but an explanation. More used to cross-examining others than being cross-examined himself, the Dowager took refuge behind the plea of "further consideration." Sobraon, the Pantaloop, sent a reminder to the Belied Earl, who immediately laid a statement on the table. But Sobraon thought Supplementary Questions had come into fashion in India when Sir Edward Grey had boycotted them and dumped them, but had hasting followed the example of the Mild Hindu. The Belied Earl in his turn asked for notice and stumped the chamber of Sobraon.

Then come the Committee-appointing stage and Sag-Sabzi Macigan added a couple of names to the Select Committee on Co-operation. Thereafter the Halted Earl enumerated the experts in lunacy and the name of the Hon. Hooda with its ponderous prefix cost Sir Guy many a pang of effort before he was finally delivered of it.

The Moslem Dowager then moved that the Delegation Bill be referred to a Select Committee and in doing so sighed mournfully that the desire to centralize authority was no longer capable of receiving gratification, and delegation was the necessary consequence of the growing complexity of the administration. And yet foolish people think that such matters as the reversal of the Partition and the transfer of the Capital which were disposed of so easily by the eight Patriot Kings of the Government of India and the Secretary of State without reference to a single Local Government were indeed difficult and complex. Oh, the *santa similitudines* of the sceptics—and the affairs referred with becoming and much appreciated emphasis to "the legitimate aspirations of the people to take intelligent part in the concerns of their country." But the people could well exclaim, "Country? What country? We have no country," when it can be parted and united and its capital can be shifted without as much as a hint thrown out to three out of three hundred millions. Also mentioned "the development of her moral and material resources" as "evidenced by the ponderous bulk of her Statute book," meaning no doubt the hastily enacted repressive laws of the land, and dangled sub-clauses 6 and 7 which gave "the first glimpse in India" of "mutual help and co-operation" and opened "a new chapter in the public life of the country in its relations to administrative reform."

The Mild Hindu did not wish to offer any opposition to day, but wished it to be understood that he and his friends had kept their peace "without prejudice." He had a mortal horror of giving a blank cheque to the executive, which showed that there was a respectable balance at the People's Bank.

Other Select Committees were proposed and, once he had successfully negotiated the stiff gradient of the Hon. Hooda's prefix, Sir Guy had no difficulty in rushing over the rest at Mail train speed without the stoppages due to the Durbar. In spite of the Official Secrets Act, it had indeed leaked out that the Registrar of the Legislative Department used to write the names of all Councillors on little chits, make paper pills of them, and then drop those of the non-officials into one clerk's hat and those of the officials into another's. It is now generally known that he used to invite the most unintelligent office-boy to draw lots, taking care that he drew two or three more pellets out of the latter than out of the former, and it is believed that he used to note down the results as the most appropriate names for the various Select Committees. But with eight Committees to appoint he had some difficulty this time, and it is suggested that a mathematician was sent for from the Calcutta University to make permutations and combinations of non-officials and officials taking five of one and seven of the other at a time. But a careful analysis of the Committees shows distinct traces of unusual skill. The selection of the Committee of Lunacy is worthy of a Napoleon selecting his Marshalls or an Akbar choosing his Nauratans. But even then Man's work is imperfect, and there is a divinity that shapes the ends of Select Committees, rough how them as he will. For what was it but the unavoidable hand of Providence which prevented the Local Administration of the Central Provinces from sending their opinion on their Excise Bill and thus forced the Administrative Orphan to withdraw his motion for yet another Select Committee? Witness the consequence. All have a few Select Committees to sit on, except those that are mere birds of passage, but Melancholy Madge is impeded on only one, and that solitary Select Committee the one connected with Lunacy! And what, again, but Providence could join with Madge the necessary complement of Madge-Vincent—the two Mr. Vincent! For he is the only Councillor who shares with Melancholy Madge the splendid isolation of a single Select Committee, and that the one for Lunacy.

When the Council had met all had looked out for the "Coming of Arthur." But Arthur did not come. Namesake of a king himself, he felt doubts about the necessity of his owing true allegiance to another. So, at the time of the swearing in of new members he had slipped away, and when all were busy with quibbles and the formation of Select Committees, Arthur had quietly slipped in. But Sir Guy, whose very name betrays some respect for kings, could not tolerate such behaviour in the modest King Arthur, and had lain patiently in wait for him. When all business for the day was over, Sir Guy jumped up from the Presidential Chair and called upon the unsuspecting King Arthur to come up to the Reporters' table and swear. And by George he

Anecdote.

IN A recent sitting of the House of Commons a certain M.P., after elaborating in a speech of two hours a statement that would have been better made in a speech of two minutes, concluded:—
"And that's the situation in a nutshell."
"Gracious!" said Winston Churchill, *sotto voce*. "What a nut!"

SIR ERNEST SHACKLETON, in New York, said of a piece of geographical ignorance:—

"It was incredible. It reminded me of a little waiting-maid As she brought me my tea and toast and bloater one morning I said to her:—

"What a rainy morning, Mary! It's almost like the Flood."

"The Flood, sir?" said the puzzled maid.

"Yes," said I. "The Flood—Noah, you know—the Ark—Mount Ararat."

"She shook her head and murmured, apologetically: 'I ain't had no time to read the papers lately, sir.'"

MR. HARDIE is noted for the carelessness of his attire. Not long since, when some repairs were being done to the House of Commons, Mr. Hardie was lounging in the library, when he was accosted by a friendly policeman, who quite failed to recognize him in his somewhat shabby clothes. "Ullo, matey!" exclaimed the man in blue. "Are you working here?" "Yes," replied Mr. Hardie, laconically. "On the roof?" asked the champion of law and order. "No," said the Labour leader, with a quiet smile; "not on the roof. I work on the floor of this house."

Petty Larceny.

(By OUR SPECIAL KLEPTOMANIAC.)

[MOTTO—"Wit is your birthright, therefore steal it where-ever you find it."—*Rigmarole Veda*.]

"I SUPPOSE," said the City man, "there are some queer characters around an old village like this?"

"You'll find a good many," admitted the native, "when the hotels fill up."

I was married men's night at the revival meeting.

"Let all you husbands who have troubles on your mind stand up!" shouted the preacher at the height of his spasm.

Instantly every man in the church arose, except one.

"Ah!" exclaimed the preacher, peering out at this lone individual, who occupied a chair near the door. "You are one in a million."

"It ain't that," piped back this one helplessly, as the rest of the congregation gazed suspiciously at him. "I can't get up—I'm paralysed."

"So you are going to marry Miss Clever?"

"No. She's far too up-to-date for my simple tastes."

"How is that?"

"Why, I wrote to her last Monday to say I was coming down to propose, and when I arrived I found she had sold the rights of photographing my proposal to a cinematograph firm."

BUTCHER: "Now, John, look sharp; break the bone in Mrs. Smith's shoulder, and put Mrs. Brown's ribs in the basket for her."

Butcher's Boy: "All right, sir; I'm just finishing off Mrs. Wilson's leg."

FATHER wanted to test the generous nature of his son, so, as the boy was going to church one morning, he said:—

"Here, Benny, is a sixpence and a penny. You may put whichever you please in the contribution box."

When he returned his father asked which coin he had given. Benny replied:—

"Well, papa, it was this way: the preacher said the Lord loved a cheerful giver, and I knew I could give a penny a good deal more cheerfully than I could give sixpence, so I put the penny in."

ENPECK: "Meeker is certainly a lucky individual."

Slowun: "What's the explanation?"

Enpeck: "Last year he tumbled into an open sewer and recovered £500 damages from the town council and yesterday he fell out of a third-storey window and alighted on his mother-in-law."

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

Lord Lamington has started for Persia to study the general situation. He returns in May. He proceeds first to the Gulf where he will visit Bunder Abbas, Bushire and Shiraz. His further movements will depend on the situation. Lady Lamington has abandoned the idea of accompanying him owing to the unrest in the country.

A body of Semirchensk Cossacks have passed through New Bokhara en route to Mashed.

News has been received in India that Consul Smart and his escort of the Central India Horse reached Shiraz on the evening of the 5th instant. Reuter wired from Teheran that Consul Smart and the Indian sowars have arrived at Shiraz.

Reuter wired from Teheran —By order of the Government a commission consisting of four Persians and M. Mornard, the Belgian Director of Customs, has taken over Mr Shuster's duties, M. Mornard acting as Provisional Treasurer-General.

Reuter wired from St. Petersburg.—The Russians at Tabriz have executed the Chief of the Fidai Military organisation, his lieutenant and two editors of a revolutionary paper.

Reuter wired from Teheran.—One member of M. Mornard's commission has already resigned. The Regent has decreed that all orders and documents must henceforth bear M. Mornard's signature but the language of the decree appears to indicate that M. Mornard's appointment is not intended to be permanent.

The *Times* commenting on the Commission considers that it is an evasion of the Anglo-Russian demand for the appointment of a foreign successor to Mr. Shuster and desires to know the names and qualifications of the members of the Commission. The Paper concludes the article with a reference to the troubled state of South Persia and says that should the situation not improve very speedily it may be necessary to consider whether the immediate occupation of the harbours of the Gulf may not be imperative in the commercial and political interests of Great Britain.

Russia's action in Mongolia, following upon events in Persia, is the theme of editorial articles in British papers drawing attention to changing the map of Asia. The *Daily Chronicle*, referring to the suggestion that a British expedition may occupy Gulf ports, describes the results of the Anglo-Russian Agreement in Persia as humiliating and laments the new and unlovely code of ethics that an old country bent upon reform becomes immediately a suitable victim for spoliation and robbery. The *Daily News* says that never before has a British Foreign Secretary crusaded so consistently against the liberties of struggling peoples, or collaborated so zealously in the destruction of supreme British interests. The time has come to state with unmistakable clearness that Sir Edward Grey as Foreign Secretary is impossible.

The semi-official *Rossiya* repudiates the charges of cruelty against the Russians in Persia. The paper says the execution of fifteen and acquittal of twenty-six ringleaders in the Tabriz horrors constitute mild satisfaction for the death of an officer and thirty-nine soldiers, and severe wounding, mostly by means of explosive bullets, of five officers and forty-nine soldiers. Moreover the bodies of twenty-three Russians, who were tortured to death, have still not been surrendered.

The Swedish Colonel Hjalmarson has assumed command of the Treasury Gendarmerie.

A frontier correspondent of the *Pioneer* states definitely that the Amir of Cabul, who is now at Jellalabad, received a formal letter early in the month from the Mejles, Teheran, appealing for sympathy and assistance. It is not known whether any reply has yet been sent, but as stated last week, the Amir has ordered Afghan outposts on the border to be strengthened.

Mr. Shuster has left for Europe. He issued a statement opining that M. Mornard's Commission was unfit for the Treasury administration. The Commission has resigned and it is understood that M. Mornard will take over the post.

It is reported that the Chief Mullah at Isfahan is inciting the people to a Holy War.

The *Pioneer* bears the Amir's orders regarding the defence of his North-Western border districts were very distinct. Supplies are to be collected at the heart of Maimana and other important towns.

All outposts are to be strengthened, and breech-loaders are to be issued to the tribal levies on the Persian frontier. A security of Rs 50 is being taken for each rifle. These are merely precautionary measures, the idea apparently being that Russians may put pressure upon Massad and Khorasan generally, as they have done upon Tabriz and Azerbaijan, thus causing alarm in Herat.

The *Pioneer* says that the Kabul Durbar need have no apprehensions of trouble from Russia. The Tsar's Government is concerned only with straightening out the tangle of Persian politics, and though its method may be summary, it can have no desire to raise additional complications in Central Asia.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, December 3.

It has been evident for some time that the malady from which this country is suffering must sooner or later reach a crisis. This crisis would now seem to be upon us, though whether it will lead to the death of the organism, or whether it will mark the starting point of a new and more vigorous existence, it is yet too early to say. Desperate as things look for the moment, the final outcome largely depends upon Persia herself. The Persian feels instinctively that one day Russia will swoop down from the North and absorb his country, and now he feels that that day has come. He is suspicious of the fact that Russia should seize upon so frail a pretext—a pretext which of itself cannot warrant invasion and annexation, and he believes that whatever course Persia may now adopt the end will be the same. Some show of resistance would seem bereaving, and indeed a country which would lose its independence without striking a blow for freedom would only be worthy of its fate. One hears this view of the situation on all sides. But it would be most deplorable should Persia really decide to try conclusions with her powerful neighbour in the open field, and thus render annexation a certainty. She has nothing to gain and everything to lose by such a course, whereas a policy of conciliation now may stave off the evil day indefinitely. There are some grounds for the belief that Russia is not altogether sure of the wisdom of expanding in this direction for the present, and especially in view of possible untoward developments in the Far East. A situation is arising there which may absorb her attention for many years to come. Hence, therefore, there would seem to be still some hope for the continuance of Persian autonomy.

All opposing factions are now showing a tendency to unite in face of the common danger. The democrats have come into line with the Moderates in an earnest endeavour to save the situation. An amnesty has been granted to the Salar-ed-Dowleh, and he has been invited to throw in his lot with the Government to save the country from national extinction; and in the north it is stated that Samad Khan (Shoju-ed-Dowleh) has joined forces with the Tabrizis. Here, it must be admitted, we have a show of national spirit which is most refreshing to witness.

In the meantime the Russian army of occupation is advancing; Tabriz has been occupied; 4,000 Russian troops are said to have already arrived in Resht, and a portion forming the advanced guard are now on their way to Kazvin. In a day or two, therefore, we should hear of the re-entry into that town of the Russian garrison, which was withdrawn some months back. As to whether the advance will be continued in the direction of the capital is as yet impossible to offer an opinion. Much depends upon the line which the Government decides to take.

During the last few days disorders have broken out again in Teheran, similar to those which occurred last year, and which culminated in the forcible disarming of the perpetrators in the Saad Azem's Park in July. As was the case then, the disorderly elements are the Mujahedin, Caucasian riff-raff, who have been of the greatest use in dealing with the Mohammed Ali and Salar-ed-Dowleh insurrections, but who now have nothing better to do than to create trouble, and, being armed, constitute a real danger. The murder of Aliyan Dowleh, recently Governor-designate for Fars, that of Basir Mekan Taghi, the great pillar of the Nationalist movement, five thousand and the attempted murder of the Minister of Justice, are the work of these ruffians. The Caucasian leaders have been removed, and are now concentrated within the fortifications being held in readiness, in view of possible war with Russia. As might be expected, the town is now quiet.

No one quite knows the reason for the murder of Ala-ed-Dowleh. Except amongst the Bakhtiaris he was not over popular. It is said, too, that he was very friendly with the Russians, that he has been seen on several occasions recently visiting the Russian Legation at night, and that these visits were connected with the sale of wheat for the use of the Russian troops. How far these stories may be accepted as gospel it is impossible to say, but they are very widely credited, and the public have given their verdict accordingly. The murder took place in broad daylight in one of the principal streets. The victim was driving in his carriage, when the assailant approached and fired at him several times. Several gendarmes were in the vicinity but made no attempt to capture the murderer until he was clear away when a hue and cry was raised. The latter, after having made a quick change, returned, and actually assisted in the fruitless search which was so tardily begun!

Sardar Assad is once more among us. He arrived in Teheran late on the evening of the 4th December. Though tired after his long journey, he lost no time in making himself *au courant* with the political situation. He is for the moment the most popular man in Persia, and high and low all look to him to save the country from the blow which threatens to fall. Whether or not he will succeed in this, his wise counsels will go a long way towards correcting the firebrand tactics of the wilder Democrats whose "Death or Independence" ravings, though all very well under some circumstances, are hardly likely to produce a satisfactory solution as matters stand at present.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, December 17

The Turco-Russian situation is the chief diplomatic preoccupation. It is admitted that the Porte made the strongest remonstrances to Russia on the subject of the occupation of Khoi. The Russian troops are expected to advance from Kazvin on Thursday.

The ex-Shah's troops are advancing and have occupied Damghan, they are reported to be near Semnan. The ex-Shah himself is still near Gumesh Tepe. The Bakhtiaris are concentrating on Teheran and by to-morrow 2,500 will be here.

The plan to deprive the Majlis of a quorum appears to have definitely failed. The members who had resigned have withdrawn their resignations, unable to withstand the public odium and accusations of having accepted Russian gold. Women are going about armed. A large deputation have visited the President of the Majlis and the Premier and offered to sell their jewelry to raise funds. They declared that they would shoot their husbands unless they fought and accused the Premier of not supporting Mr. Shuster with sufficient vigour.

The Government is using every endeavour to arrest the British boycott. The Deputy Governor of Fars has provided a week's supplies for the Indian garrisons. Mr. Shuster has telegraphed a personal appeal to the Chief Mullah to stop the run on the Imperial Bank. The situation has been eased, as an escort has been found to guard one caravan conveying specie.

The Trans-Persian Railway

Reuter learns that a meeting of British, Russian and French banks will be held in the course of the next few days in Paris to arrange for raising the capital of £100,000 for the preliminary studies of the Trans-Persian Railway scheme by the Societe d'Etudes, whose business it will be to obtain the necessary concession from Persia, after definitely determining the alignment of the railway and making the final survey. The Russian Committee possesses nearly a complete survey from Astara to Teheran, but only the preliminary survey from Teheran to Guattar on the Perso-Baluchistan frontier. Both Britain and Russia approved the scheme in principle a year ago, and Russia has since promised definitely to support the scheme. Britain has, in the meanwhile, consulted the Government of India which advocates that the Indian junction should be at Karachi, instead of Nushki, and that the line should enter the British sphere at Bunder Abbas instead of Kerman. The Russian committee deplores the long detour by Bunder Abbas, and recommends that the line should run from Karachi to Guattar, and thence westward via Kerman. The Indian Government also wants a break in the gauge wherever the railway reaches the limit of the British sphere. The other conditions put forward are that Russia shall not, without the assent of the British, support any proposal for railway construction near the Perso-Afghan frontier, and that equality of treatment in trade shall be guaranteed. Britain has also proposed the construction of branch lines, of which three, within the neutral sphere, would be internationalised, and another one from Bunder Abbas or Chabbar to Kerman, which would be wholly British. The Russian committee do not anticipate any

serious difficulty in raising the capital for the railway, nor regarding the permission from Persia to prosecute the scheme.

REUTER wired from St. Petersburg.—Among the prominent hosts of the members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords about to visit Russia are the leading promoters of the Trans-Persian Railway Scheme, the details of which will certainly be discussed during the visit. It is calculated, at present, that the total outlay will not exceed £15,000,000 sterling and that the net revenue will amount to £700,000. Although the Russian Government is not in favour of the idea of a direct guarantee it has conceded the possibility of indirectly assuring the interests of share and bond holders from the surplus revenues of the Russian railways, which may result from the opening of the new Trans-Continental communications. It is thought that the Government of India may possibly adopt the same standpoint. The Russian Committee compares the Persian Railway with the great trunk lines of America and Africa and expects that it will be similarly profitable. It describes the project as a direct result of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, of which it will be the consecration.

Mr W. A. Johns, C.I.E., sailed from Karachi in the *Patrick Stewart* on the 15th instant and it is believed, writes the *Sind Gazette*, that he proposes to make a survey of the coast line of Makran in connection with the Trans-Persian Railway Survey. Sooner or later this coastal survey may be expected to extend all the way from Cape Monze, just outside Karachi to Bunder Abbas in the Persian Gulf, with connecting points at Ormara, Pasni, Gwadur, Chabbar and Jask. The distance from Karachi to the outer confines of British territory near Gwadur would be about 350 miles and the further distance from Gwadur to the outer point of the British sphere of influence in Persia at Bunder Abbas would be about 400 miles. The coastal railway from Karachi to Bunder Abbas would thus be seen to traverse nearly 800 miles of lowlying sandy shore with a buttress of hills all along its northern flank and the open sea for its southern flank. From one or more points between Ormara and Bunder Abbas there would probably extend inland projects for carrying transverse railways northwards into the central parts of Persia.

The *Englishman* gives interesting details regarding the Trans-Persian Railway project. As will be seen, the Government of India has put forward certain conditions regarding the construction of feeder lines.

These conditions are not final in all details, and may be varied with the concurrence of the Indian Government. There is, so it is stated, no prospect of the British or Indian Government entering into a financial guarantee of the railway. Before discussing the conditions of the Indian Government it is advisable to state exactly what the figures upon which the promoters of the line base their scheme.

TOTAL LENGTH OF LINE.

Russian Section : Baku to Astara	...	...	118 miles.
Persian Section : Astara to Guattar	...	...	1,392 "
British (Baluchistan Section) . Guattar to Karachi	...	373	"
Total	...	1,883	"

FINANCIAL ESTIMATES OF PERSIAN SECTIONS

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

Cost of line as estimated by Russian Committee (£13.748 per mile)	...	...	£19,125,000
Add interest during construction as estimated in French review of Russian estimates	...	...	2,868,750
			£21,993,750

To be provided for as follows

£2,125,000 by shares	...	£2,125,000	
19,668,750 by 4 p.c. Debs at 85	...	23,375,000	
£21,993,750			£25,500,000

REVENUE ACCOUNTS.

Charges :

Interest and Sinking Fund on Debenture capital	...	£987,000	
Interest and Sinking Fund on Share capital	...	129,000	
Deduct Net Revenue	...	1,116,000	736,000

Net deficit to be met by rebates from traffic on connected lines or partly from this source and partly otherwise £180,000

NOTE.—The net income on the Russian system which would be available at least partly to meet this deficit is estimated at £467,500

To this one point may be added. The promoters of the line hope to obtain, in addition, the Russian assistance above-mentioned towards meeting the deficit, what are known as normal Indian Company terms for feeder lines. These are those under which

the interest on the capital cost of branch lines is guaranteed by a rebate on the receipts from traffic on the main line contributed by or carried over the branch line. It can also be stated that the above estimates are in the opinion of experts by no means of a too optimistic nature. There is encouragement in a comparison between the estimated total receipts per verst, which amount to Rs. 11,066, and the actual receipts per verst on the Siberian Railway which in 1908 amounted to Rs. 11,942. The country to be traversed by the projected line is undeveloped, but it is in part well cultivated and is held in expert circles to compare on the whole favourably with a large extent of the country through which the Siberian line runs. Moreover, in the estimate for revenue the receipts from the carriage of the mails, including parcels, have been purposely estimated at a very low figure, and no allowance is made for many commodities such as tea, in which a large and increasing traffic may be anticipated.

The Indian Government has formulated some six conditions, the most important of which is that the railway shall follow the coast from Karachi to Bunder Abbas, and it is further understood that Mr. Johns, the chief engineer of the Oudh and Rohilkand Railway, has been detached to examine its feasibility. At the same time, the Indian Government does not preclude the alternative scheme of the railway leaving the coast at Charbar and thence going direct north west to Kerman, which is in the British sphere. It will, therefore, be necessary to make two surveys, one along the coast from Charbar to Bunder Abbas, and from Bunder Abbas up to Kerman, and the other from Charbar direct to Kerman. The Indian Government also stipulates for the ultimate construction of five feeder lines, of which the most important is what is known as the Karun Valley line from Muhamrah to Khoramabad. Finally, there is also a reference as to further railway construction.

Recently the Comité d'Etudes met in Paris and formulated proposals for the survey, under which, so it is thought in expert circles, French capital secures in altogether disproportionate interest, since Russia and France would practically survey two-thirds of the line, partly, too, in our sphere of influence, while we should only survey one-third. It is true that such a survey does not bind the British Government or the Russian Government as to the conditions under which the construction of the route shall be ultimately carried out, but both in political and in financial circles it is regarded as a very inadvertent precedent, and the hope is expressed that it will not be adhered to. The original scheme was that Russia should survey her portion of the line, and Great Britain her portion, and that an international company could be formed, and a basis to be considered subsequently, to carry out the work of construction, due regard being had to the independence of Persia. Therefore, it is held that French capital should be in a minority, both in regard to any assistance it intends to give to Russia, on the one hand, and may wish to offer to Great Britain on the other. The scheme thus presents a signal opportunity for British finance to secure due British participation in one of the most important lines of modern times—a line which ultimately is held to have very hopeful prospects.

The main condition of the Indian Government that the line should skirt the coast to Bunder Abbas is by no means approved in well-informed circles, and there seems to be considerable doubt as to whether it will be insisted on. Bunder Abbas is in the neutral, not in the British zone, while it would considerably add to the length and cost of the journey if Kerman, which is one of the chief trade centres, and is in the British zone, was approached by such a circuitous route. The crux of any such transcontinental line will be the decision as to where the break of gauge is to occur. To be of any use to British trade, it should not be further south than Isfahan, if it were to be at Bunder Abbas, it would be altogether disadvantageous both for this country and for India.

Finally, it may be stated that arrangements for the survey will at once be taken in hand. The proposed line is wholly surveyed to Teheran, and a sort of survey embracing levels was made some ten years ago as far as Charbar. Probably all the figures require revision in view of the lapse of time since the estimates were made. It is held that the sum of £40,000 should amply suffice to complete what is necessary to enable a project to be drawn which will satisfy the British Government's requirements.

Although there is no mention of German capital in the undertaking the belief prevails in financial circles that to some extent the German banks are operating through the five French banks backing the proposal.

The Near East also writes on the subject:—

At last—and the exclamation would be pious if British prestige were not suffering at the hands of Russian supremacy in the Middle East—it seems as though the idea of a Trans-Persian line to India were about to materialise, and that at no very distant date—say, five years—we will be able to journey by rail from London to Bombay, via St. Petersburg, Baku, Astrakhan, Guzarat, and Karachi.

At present, however, the scheme is still in the air. It has one advantage over the other projects which have time and again been dealt with in these columns, in as much as it has received the approval, in principle, of the Indian Government. This is an enormous step in the direction of an ultimate decision favourable to the railway, the construction of which under Anglo-French and Russian auspices, is estimated at about £13,000 per mile, representing, for the Persian section alone, a capital sum of about £25,000,000 to be provided for by shares to the amount of £2,125,000 and 4 per cent Debentures at 85 to the value of £19,858 750. The link between the Persian and Indian sections has not been definitely agreed upon, and the surveying parties will proceed to investigate the claims of two routes, the one over Charbar and Bunder Abbas to Kerman, and the other from Charbar direct to Kerman.

In the above paragraph we referred to the projected Trans-Persian Railway as a financial undertaking bound to shorten the distance between India and the heart of the Empire. In the words of the sailor, the proposed route would follow the arc of a circle which is, in nautical phraseology, the shortest way between two given localities. From this point of view, therefore, the Trans-Persian scheme has to be applauded as representing the shortest possible route between London and Bombay. There are other aspects of the question, however, which do not, cannot, meet with the same approval in so far as Great Britain is concerned. Russian advance in Persia means that Iran will no longer serve as a buffer State between our Asiatic possessions and those of Russia, in future a frontier line will, theoretically, separate the two empires. Nor is this all; as though the elimination of the buffer State were not sufficient evil in itself, we must needs go to the extreme of assenting to a linking up of those two empires by means of a Railway practically under Russian control, and enabling the War Department at St. Petersburg to throw soldiers on to the Indian Frontier quicker than we can send reinforcements around the Cape to Bombay. The matter, therefore, requires careful consideration before we sign away the remnants of our prestige and the safety of our Indian Empire.

Press Opinions.

The "Near East."

Another, and, to our mind, even more futile, argument which is largely used in the English Press is that our relations with Russia are of such supreme importance to us that we must make no protest and indulge in no criticism, whatever Russia may see fit to do in Persia. It is scarcely caricaturing the attitude of the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Morning Post* to say that they show their devotion to the Anglo-Russian Agreement by inviting Russia to break it in the spirit and in the letter. The suggestion is that by sacrificing our position in the Middle East we shall make sure of Russian support in our rivalry with Germany, and that by showing any care for our own interests in Persia we shall be driving Russia into the arms of our rival. We do not believe for a moment that the support of Russia or of any other Power can be brought in this way. In her attitude towards our struggle against German hegemony in Europe—hegemony as distasteful to Russians as to ourselves—Russia will be guided by considerations for her own interests, not by gratitude for past compunctions. She would not value our friendship the more, but rather the less, if we showed that we were too terrified of the German menace and too dependent on Russian assistance to dare to say a word in defence of our own rights and interests. Moreover, such a policy could not be carried out to its logical conclusion. If it were really followed by us, it would stimulate the forward party in Russia to courses which even the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Morning Post* would not wish to tolerate. The guarantees for our position in the Persian Gulf contained in the Anglo-Russian Agreement are much less definite and less binding on Russia than those for the integrity and independence of Persia. If the Pokhitonoffs and Hartings and their supporters in Russia were allowed, without a murmur from us, to establish their domination in Teheran, we should soon see a revival of their designs on the Gulf—designs which we should have to frustrate at all costs.

The "Times."

If it were not for the grave dangers involved in the childish inability of the Persians to look facts in the face, one would have little but pity for the extraordinary delusions in which they have indulged throughout the present crisis. At first they were confident that the Government of the United States was going to intervene in their favour, because Mr. Shuster happened to be an American citizen, as if America would not be the last to resent the adoption in any foreign country of a policy which had political interest, of such an abomination as the Chinese, and fit to adopt towards Russia and Great Britain at Teheran.

when this foolish expectation was disappointed, they began to pin their faith on Turkish interference on their behalf, conveniently forgetting for the moment that Turkey could least of all come into court with clean hands as the champion of the independence and integrity of Persia. We have no wish to enter into the merits of the longstanding frontier disputes between Turkey and Persia. But the fact remains that, whilst Persian apprehensions of aggressive designs upon Persian territory on the part of Russia are at any rate so far merely apprehensions and nothing more, Turkey has for some years past taken advantage of the chaos in Persia to instal herself by force, and with every appearance of permanency, in quite an extensive tract of territory along and beyond the debatable borderland which was hitherto regarded as an integral part of the Shah's dominions, and to which Persia has never yet surrendered her title. To people less hopelessly inexperienced than the patriots of the Persian Majliss, the idea that, whilst already engaged in hostilities with another European Power, Turkey would challenge Russian resentment for the *bearer yeux* of Persia was from the very first preposterous, and the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs really rendered the best service he could to Persia, by the statement made on Saturday in the Ottoman Chamber. He announced that, as the result of conversations with the Russian Ambassador, the Ottoman Government had confidence in the sincere declarations of the Russian Government as to the temporary character of the Russian military intervention in Persia, and had tendered friendly advice at Teheran recommending moderation with a view to the speedy removal of the present misunderstandings. The Ottoman Chamber declared itself satisfied by the Minister's declarations, and authorized the President to reply in a similar sense to the telegrams received from the Persian Majliss. We trust that this intimation will strengthen the hands of the Persian Ministers, who appear to be themselves growing desirous to meet the Russian demands in a conciliatory spirit, and anxious to find some way of getting over the obstacle presented by the obduracy of the Majliss.

SIR EDWARD GREY gave last week, as is his wont, a clear and sober account of the present situation in Persia and of the position taken up towards it by His Majesty's Government. He stated in very explicit terms the reasons why Great Britain could not demur to the chief demands put forward in the last Russian ultimatum, whilst the six points which he had put to the Russian Government contain just those reservations in regard to the proposed indemnity, to the possibility of the ex-Shah's return to Teheran, and to the strictly provisional character of Russian military intervention which moderate public opinion in this country expected of him. It will certainly approve the stress he has laid upon the urgency of selecting a successor to Mr. Shuster who will be acceptable to Russia and Great Britain, and upon the expediency of giving Persia all reasonable assistance in finding the money of which she will more than ever stand in need when she has emerged from the present crisis, but he wisely did not blink the fact that the present crisis has to be got over first, and that Persian independence, of which we have every reason to desire the preservation, can only be maintained if Persia takes due account of the situation created by her geographical propinquity to two powerful neighbours who have definite interests to safeguard. Criticism of the Foreign Office policy in regard to Persia, both in the house and outside, is frequent and passionate. But, such as it is, it is merely destructive. The British Government, we are told, have failed to do this and have failed to do that. But none of the critics comes out into the open with a definite statement of what the British Government should have done. We hold no brief for the Foreign Office and we think that possibly the frank and full exchange of views which is now taking place between London and St. Petersburg might with advantage have been initiated at an earlier stage.

What we want to know from those who so loudly denounce the Anglo-Russian Agreement and constitute themselves the uncompromising champions of Persian independence, is whether they really believe Persian independence would be safer without the Anglo-Russian Agreement, and, if not, whether they hold it to be the duty of this country to proceed to the last extremities in defence of Persian independence. There are only two policies possible. One is to exert, as we are doing, the moral influence which the Anglo-Russian Agreement gives us at St. Petersburg. The other is to substitute for amicable suasion the threat of force. To repudiate the Agreement and merely stand aside, nursing a more or less righteous indignation, would be no policy at all, for it would simply precipitate the catastrophe which those who claim a monopoly of friendship for Persia profess to dread. We need only state the two alternatives. There is not a man in this country who would seriously advocate that Persian independence, even if it were threatened with absolute extinction, would in itself be worth the bones of a single British Grenadier. Yet it is, we fear, the sort of speeches delivered by so-called friends of Persia in the House on Thursday by which the Persians, only too liable themselves to get drunk with words, are induced to maintain an attitude of obstinate resistance to Russian demands that can only lead to disaster. Not to speak of the intolerable

boycott of the British Consular Guard at Shiraz, the menace of a Holy War shows how threadbare is still the democratic mantle in which Persian constitutionalism tries to drape itself for the benefit of its Western sympathizers. The Russian troops are at Kazvin and the Russian Government is willing to arrest their further advance for a time if there is any prospect of wiser counsels prevailing at Teheran. But the sand is running out of the hour-glass, and a grave responsibility rests with those in England who encourage Persia to take risks for which not they, but the Persians, will have to pay.

The Persian Situation.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—In your leading article of to-day's date on this subject you speak of the "childish inability of the Persians to look facts in the face" and you go on to refer to the grave responsibility which rests with those in England who encourage Persia to resist the Russian demands. The Persia Committee have consistently refrained from giving any advice to Persia, and have confined themselves to presenting her case for the verdict of public opinion. But when you speak of the childishness of the Persian people in the present crisis, are you quite sure of your facts? It is obvious that no Persian Cabinet could possibly propose acceptance, even in a modified form, of the terms of the second ultimatum unless they held in their hands an undertaking from the Russian Government to withdraw their troops from Kazvin directly satisfaction had been obtained. After what occurred subsequent to the acceptance of the first ultimatum, any Persian Cabinet would be unable to face the representatives of the Persian people unless they were in possession of a definite and binding engagement by Russia on the subject of the troops. So far as we know, no such engagement has yet been given, and it is this fact which underlies the present crisis.

When you state that "none of the critics comes out into the open with a definite statement of what the British Government should have done," you are surely not just to the critics. We have on more than one occasion laid down in precise terms the course which in our opinion British policy ought to have pursued. We ought never to have deviated from the principle of maintaining the integrity and independence of Persia and from the interpretation of that principle in practice given on behalf of our Government and that of Russia to Persia by our Minister in Teheran in September, 1907. We are partners with Russia in an agreement for the maintenance of Persian independence. It was the plain duty of our foreign Minister to exercise vigilance that the terms of the partnership should be observed. Who can affirm that he has recognized this duty? To take only one instance, if he had informed Russia at the time of the escape of the ex-Shah to Persia in July of this year that, as co-signatory of the Protocol of 1909 for his detention, Great Britain could never recognize him as ruler of Persia, all or most of the present difficulties in Persia would, we have little doubt, have never occurred. His present representations on that subject, highly as we approve them, have, we fear, come too late.

As to the alternative policies which you set out, we are all for the exercise of "moral suasion" with the Russian Government. But so far this persuasion has been all on one side—that of Russia. We have been dragged into repudiation of our pledges to the Persian people. If there is to be persuasion, that influence must now come from our side and be directed to the observance in future of the terms of our partnership. Should this fail, it is not only the Agreement with Russia which will fall, as you imply, but the whole policy embodied in our Entente with her. As a result of that Entente we are sending large sums of money to Russia and a glance at the Supplements of the *Times* of 20th November and 15th December makes it quite clear that further investment of British capital in Russia is greatly desired by the Russian Government. What else is this but the policy embodied in the testament of Peter the Great. Make friends with the English, obtain their gold, and march to India, the treasure-house of Asia?

As for your statement that "Persian independence, even if it were threatened with absolute extinction, would not in itself be worth the bones of a single British Grenadier," it is surely only fair to add that the alternative policy of yielding to Russia at every step may ultimately result in enormous sacrifices of British blood and British treasure. Moreover, such a purely passive policy must involve us, sooner or later, in a coterminous frontier with Russia drawn across the open plains of Persia. How many additional British Grenadiers would be required to place behind that frontier? What increase would be required, even in time of peace, in our military and naval expenditure? And, if Persia be not worth the risk of a single British Grenadier, was Morocco?

Yours respectfully,

E. G. BROWNE
H. F. B. LYNCH.

19th December.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Reuter wired from Constantinople:—The recent rumour to the effect that peace would shortly be concluded between Italy and Turkey has surprised Ottoman political circles. The journal *Zaman* says Turkey is firmly resolved not to accept a settlement affecting Ottoman sovereignty in Tripoli. Possible complications in the Balkans will not deter Turkey from continuing war in Tripoli and will not affect her military strength.

Reuter wired from Rome:—The Minister of the Treasury in his financial statement estimates that the surpluses in the financial year 1911-12 will total 23,700,000 lire and in the financial year 1912-13, 14,500,000 lire. The Minister reviews the progress of Italy during the last half a century and illustrates the fact that the expenditure on national development has increased by 593,000,000 lire during the ten years previous to 1912-13. The Minister lays stress on the statement that the Treasury is able to meet all war expenditure from existing sources without in any way diminishing the votes for social reform, in which education and public works are chiefly concerned.

A strong force attacked the Italians while the latter were constructing outworks at Homs on Saturday. The assailants were repulsed after a three hours fighting. Twenty-one Italians were wounded.

Reuter wired from Cairo:—The Khedive has visited Sollum and found the Bedouins there happy and contented. They have also had good crops. H.M. cruiser *Suffolk* has arrived at Sollum.

The exhibition of cinematograph views of the Italo-Turkish war at the Skating Rink in Bangalore by a local company was stopped under Magisterial orders on the 6th instant. A large crowd of Muhammadans had gathered to see the picture as a result of wide advertisement. The police, however, were apprehensive of angry feelings being needlessly awakened by the exhibition and Chief Inspector Bartels applied for Magisterial injunction. On communicating it, the crowd received it in good part. This cinematograph company has no connection with the one exhibiting Durbar pictures.

Reuter wired from Rome on the 12th that the cruiser *Piemonte* and two destroyers yesterday encountered seven Turkish gunboats and an armed yacht off Kunfuda. After a stubborn resistance all the gunboats were destroyed and the yacht was captured, as also were guns and other trophies. Warships were despatched to intercept other gunboats which are conveying arms and troops who, it is intended, shall enter Cyrenica via Egypt.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Smyrna December 8

This morning H. E. Armenak Effendi, Chief Secretary of the Governor, informed the German Consul that orders had been received from Constantinople that all Italians are to leave Smyrna on or before Thursday, 14th December. This order of expulsion has caused great consternation in the city, as the Italian colony is a very large one, and is composed mainly of the poorer class, such as railway labourers, fishermen, engineer labourers, etc. The Italian clerks in the banks have already received notice to leave their employment, and the shopkeepers of Italian nationality have received orders to close their shops.

A commission is to sit at the Konak to judge the case of any Italians who may desire to show cause why they should not be expelled or that the time given for them to do so is not sufficient, and a representative of the German Consulate will be present at all the sittings. It is hoped the order will not be made general and that the Government may yet rescind it.

The order of expulsion has, however, been becoming more or less necessary, for the presence of so many Italians in the country, especially in the interior, is a source of great responsibility to the Turkish Government, which has up to the present shown remarkable restraint. Should any reverse take place in Tripoli, or should the Italian fleet blockade Smyrna and the Dardanelles, the natives might well make reprisals on the Italians resident in Turkey; and by expelling them this source of anxiety to the Government is removed.

Constitutional ideas are working a change in the relations between the Turks and the European or foreign element, which is likely to become more and more pronounced with time. Not so long ago the foreigner, safeguarded by his Consul and the Capitulations, enjoyed a degree of immunity from all official interference, which the unfortunate native, crushed under the iron rule of

Hamidian absolutism, could never hope for. To-day the Turks resent the existence of all Capitulations, which in many respects still confer a privileged position on the foreigner and exempt him from a certain amount of taxation. As a consequence, all those in authority spare no effort to neutralise their effect and influence, and few who know the country will question the statement that, in spite of all ambassadorial and consular protection, foreigners now frequently encounter great difficulties in their relations with the Government.

The Turk, however, is by nature a gentleman. Animated with the spirit and haughtiness of a conqueror, he is fond of ceremony and is keenly susceptible to a polite recognition of his authority. He values courtesy and justly appreciates any honest and genuine regard shown towards him. The personal equation has always counted for much in Turkey. From the highest provincial official to the most humble civilian, the Turk has seldom failed to appreciate and reciprocate little social amenities on the part of the foreigner. The latter will be well advised to consider this susceptibility. Where he comes into frequent contact with the Turk, experience will prove that visits of courtesy on official occasions, on national fêtes, at Bairam, or on the occasion of a change of governors are attentions which pave the way for a better understanding and good feeling.

There are in this country many foreigners, especially among Englishmen, whose tactful and considerate treatment of the Turk, irrespective of his rank or social position, has enabled them to wield a surprising influence and to be held in high personal esteem. Consular authority, however, is certainly on the wane. The grim old Consul of the 'sixties and 'seventies, who often made the Turkish official believe that he always kept an ultimatum in his brass-buttoned waistcoat pocket, and could dispose of his country's army and navy without reference to headquarters, is now an anachronism. Consular representatives in Turkey to-day are an intelligent and capable body of men, well trained to their duties; but they have in most cases a healthy notion of their position and of the limitations of their authority.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, December 15.

To understand the situation created by Said Pasha's proposals for the modification of the Constitution one must go back to the Committee Congress held at Salonika in September last. It was there decided that the Committee of Union and Progress must add to its programme an article advocating the modification of Article 35 of the Constitution in a sense unfavourable to the Senate. By the Constitution, as drawn up by Midhat Pasha and since modified, the Sultan may, in the event of a continued dispute between the Chamber of Deputies and the Cabinet, dissolve the Chamber, should the Senate give its consent. The Committee in Congress pronounced in favour of the abolition of the Senatorial veto. The outbreak of war with Italy prevented much attention being given to this decision at the time, and it was generally believed that the Committee would keep this political card up its sleeve till the time for the next elections drew near, or, if the electoral outlook was favourable, till after a new Chamber had been elected. Meantime the anti-Committee movement gained ground despite martial law and the suppression of over-critical newspapers. Rumours that the Committee had made up its mind to force a dissolution were rife, but the result of the Salonika Congress, where the dissidents were in a great minority, apparently encouraged the leaders of the organisation to let matters remain as they were. Then came the formation of the new party—the "Union and Liberty" group. The Committee rebuked the Opposition for opposing, but expressed its confidence in the speedy dissolution of the new party.

The new party, however, set to work to contest the election of a deputy to replace Rifaat Pasha and began to canvass vigorously among the electors of the first and second degree. Over-confidence prevented the Committee of Union and Progress from following its example. Menduh Bey, the new Minister of Justice, was chosen as the Committee nominee, but nothing was done to secure his election. His opponent was Tahir Haiderdin Bey, son of a former Grand Vizier, Haiderdin Pasha, of Tunis, and proprietor of the *Alemdar*, *ex-Hemmat*, *ex-Shairat*, etc., a vigorous critic of the Committee and all its works. The election duly came off, and to the intense surprise of the Committee and of his own supporters the Union and Liberty candidate obtained a majority of 1,000, thanks to the support of the Christian electors. The dissolution of the Committee of Union and Progress by the Sultan was imminent, therefore left for Salonic.

On the 13th a rumour which had been floating vaguely in the air for several days crystallised into fact. Said Pasha intended to summon the Chamber, as a measure of urgency, to pass a proposal for the modification of Article 35 of the Constitution. The text of the proposed modification has not yet been published, but there is no doubt that it does away with the Senate's right to veto a dissolution ordered by the Sultan in consequence of a situation such as foreseen by Article 35. Rumours are also current that the Grand Vizier also intends to propose an alternative modification permitting the Sultan to suspend Parliamentary discussion during wartime. These reports may not, however, be well founded.

It is not surprising that everyone is asking what is the object of the Grand Vizier in raising this question at the present moment. Three theories are propounded. The reader may take them for what they are worth.

a. That Said Pasha is intentionally riding for a fall.

b. That he proposes to risk a defeat in the Chamber which will bring about the fall of the Ministry. The Grand Vizier will then be able to form a new Cabinet composed of less colourless persons than the majority of the present Government. This theory presupposes that he will retain the nominee of the Committee of Union and Progress for the Grand Viziership.

c. That the Committee of Union and Progress meditates a sort of *coup d'état*. The supporters of this view maintain that the Central Committee has been greatly alarmed by the news of its defeat at the Constantinople election, and that its leaders, knowing that, or believing that, they can depend upon the support of a great majority of the Valis, Kaimakanus and Mutessaris (Governors, sub-Governors, etc.), who can do a great deal to control the election, and fearing that further delay may prove prejudicial to their chances, have decided to play a bold game and strike for the dissolution of the Chamber. Should they obtain the two-thirds majority in the Chamber which is necessary in the case of any modification of the Constitution, the Senate can be dealt with by the creation of a sufficient number of "Union and Progress" Senators to ensure the passing of the revised version of Article 35 in the Upper House. If the Chamber proves recalcitrant, and even the Committee oath may not prevent numerous Committee deputies from opposing the measure, a new Cabinet will be formed under the Presidency of Said and a sufficient number of Senators created to secure the Senate's consent to the dissolution of the Chamber should it again prove hostile.

The Press is naturally agitated and nervous. The majority of the local organs attack the proposal as tending to strengthen the Sultan at the expense of both Senate and Chamber. The *Terdjuman-i Hakikat*, a mipoji Committee organ, finds Said's proposals eminently reasonable and constitutional. The *Tanin* maintains a modest silence. In the Macedonian provinces the extremist journals support the Grand Vizier.

Rumours of the discovery of bombs on the bridge of Galata, at the Porte, at the War Office, and heaven knows where else, are rife. There appears to be no foundation for these reports, but the precautions taken at the War Office and elsewhere seem to indicate that the authorities are nervous—or wish to create an impression.

The destruction by fire of the British Summer Embassy on the banks of the Bosphorus at Therapia appears to have been purely accidental, although no coherent theory as to how the fire started is current. In spite of all efforts most of the Ambassador's furniture was destroyed with the building, though a good deal of Government property was saved. There is widespread sympathy with Sir Gerald Lowther for his loss and for the great trouble and inconvenience which will inevitably be caused him by the destruction of the Summer Embassy, which cannot possibly be rebuilt in time for occupation next June.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST")

The Macedonian Internal Organisation continues its work of attempting to provoke massacres in European Turkey by indulging in bomb outrages and the wrecking of trains. They have not yet managed to bring off another *coup* so disgraceful and so successful as the explosion in the mosque and market place of Ishtib, where they not only killed and injured a large number of perfectly innocent people, but brought about a riot in which the Turks, maddened by the outrage, killed and wounded an even greater number of Bulgarians before the local authorities could restore order. This "massacre" they are now exploiting to stir up feeling in Bulgaria against Turkey, and through their friends in the European Press, to promote an anti-Turkish agitation in Great Britain and other countries. Violent protest meetings have been held in Sofia. By that and other measures pressure is being applied to the Bulgarian Government to force it into an attitude of unfriendliness towards Turkey, and the correspondents of foreign newspapers have sent telegrams dwelling with bower on the misdeeds of the Turks and making little or no reference to the way in which the "massacre" was engineered by the Internal Organisation. The only way the Turks can defend these tactics is by keeping their heads, vigilantly watching out and punishing the authors of outrages, and sternly

suppressing all attempts at reprisals. If they do this they may, we hope, count on the loyal co-operation of the Bulgarian Government, which has, on several occasions, disavowed any sympathy with the campaign of outrage in Macedonia, and expressed its desire for friendly and even cordial relations with the Porte. M. Gueschoff, there is some reason to think, is as firmly convinced of the wisdom of this policy, at any rate for the present, as is M. Venizelos, on whose determined resistance to the Cretan attempts to force his hand we comment in our leading article.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENTS.)

Cairo, December 14.

Three further missions organized by the Red Crescent Society in Egypt and consisting of a number of doctors and nurses have left Cairo by way of Meroit to join the Turkish forces in Tripoli. After reaching the railhead the missions will make their way across country to their respective stations at Tobruk, Derna and Benghazi, since, shortly before their departure, the Italian Government withdrew the permission which had been granted to proceed to the seat of war by sea. In all, four missions, to defray the cost of which considerable sums of money have been raised by public subscription, have been despatched by the society.

As is natural, the Moslems of Egypt are deeply interested in the course of the war, but while, equally naturally, they feel the greatest sympathy for their co-religionists, complete tranquillity prevails throughout the country. In Cairo not the slightest hostility has been manifested by the native population towards even Italians, of whom there are large numbers resident in the city. In accordance with Egypt's attitude of neutrality strict measures are being taken by the Government to prevent the passage of arms or ammunition into Tripoli from Egypt.

Constantinople, December 17.

An *iradeh* has been issued appointing Sir Richard Crawford as Financial and Economic Adviser to the Ottoman Government. I understand that Sir Richard Crawford, whose appointment is highly popular, will retain control over the Customs administration which he has done so much to purify and to reorganize.

The Austro-Hungarian Ambassador informed Assim Bey on Thursday that if, in the event of Russia's making definite official proposals to the Porte in regard to the question of the Straits his Government would declare itself in favour of the *status quo*, in conformity with existing treaties, until such a solution was found as would safeguard the interests of Turkey and the other signatory Powers. It is believed that the German Ambassador made a similar statement on the following day.

In the meantime Hussein Djahid Bey, editor of the *Tanin*, who recently published two articles hinting at the possibility of a Russo-Turkish agreement on the subject, is not only severely attacked by the rest of the Press, but is taken to task by the majority of the Committee, which is understood to be averse to any such concession to Russia.

Salonika, December 19.

It is believed that the Ottoman Government have found a means of settling the war, but complete independence and the dissolution of the Chamber are indispensable for the carrying out of their scheme. Hence the Government's anxiety for the modification of Article 35 of the Constitution.

Sofia, December 19.

I learn from a trustworthy source that on the night of December 11-12 a special train conveying war material from Germany arrived at the Turco-Servian frontier station of Zibetche, where it was met by an officer of superior rank despatched specially from Uskub. The utmost secrecy was observed, and the train, preceded by a pilot engine, left for Salonika and Constantinople, its progress being reported from various stations along the line. Another train, similarly laden, was expected to reach Zibetche on the 16th instant, but information is not yet forthcoming with regard to its arrival.

According to the same source, the Turkish Ambassador in Berlin has tendered the thanks of his Government to the Emperor William for the convincing proof of German friendship furnished by the despatch of munitions of war to Turkey at this critical juncture.

War preparations are being rapidly pushed forward in the European vilayets of Turkey, especially in the Albanian districts and in the neighbourhood of the Montenegrin frontier. All the reservists of the Salonika Division have been supplied with uniforms and ordered to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to headquarters. The officers of the reserve are stated to have already been summoned to join the colours. The troops at Skutari will shortly be reinforced by 5,000 men.

The situation of Macedonia daily grows worse and the authorities evidently anticipate serious trouble in the near future. Notwithstanding their positive assertions in regard to Italian

complicity in the bomb outrages, they now declare that the authors of these crimes are Montenegrin Anarchists working in collusion with the Internal Organization.

The Bulgarian population of Ishtib are much reassured by the presence of the Parliamentary Commission, which is stated to have already obtained clear evidence of the participation of gendarmes and police agents in the "pogrom" of December 4.

Rome, December 20.

A reconnaissance was made by the Italian troops yesterday morning from Ain Zara in the direction of Bir Tobras. Some resistance was met with and fighting took place which, according to an official despatch of to-day's date from Tripoli, resulted in the retreat of the enemy. The Italian troops passed the night on the scene of the encounter.

The following semi-official statement is issued here to-day :—

The Ottoman Government has circulated throughout Europe a *communiqué*, in which it is declared that Italian warships bombarded a mosque at the time of prayer, killing 15 and wounding many others. The object of this fiction is obvious, and it is equally clear that, apart from considerations of what is right and humane, it is in Italy's own interest that she should not offend the religious sentiments of her Mussulman subjects or of the populations with whom the Italian colony of Eritrea in peace time carries on an active trade. No Italian vessel carried out any bombardment in the neighbourhood of Moka on the day named in the Turkish communication. A week previously the gunboat *Vestreno* fired several shots at some troops at Moka who had opened fire on one of its cutters from a building and its vicinity.

An official despatch from Tripoli reports that on the 16th instant, the Italian gunboat *Irida* and the torpedo-boat *Cassiopea*, which were engaged in a reconnaissance of the coast, landed a company of bluejackets near Suara at Sidi Said. The landing party, having reached the shore without opposition, was later fired upon by some hundreds of Arabs who had collected there. The fire was returned both from the sailors on shore and from the ships with such effect that the Arabs were dispersed with heavy loss. Only two men were wounded on the Italian side. The object of the Italian operation was to prevent further reinforcements from reaching the Turks by the eastern coast road from the Tunisian frontier.

The correspondent of the *Tribuna* sends an interesting account of the discovery of the remains of an ancient Roman temple at Ain Zara, made while intrenchments were being dug. The ruins are said to date from about the time of Septimius Severus, to judge from coins found in an amphora.

Commenting upon the occupation of Sollum by Egyptian troops and of the oases of Djanet and Bilma, on the Tunisian frontier, by the French, the *Tribuna* says that in neither case is any unfriendly act done towards Italy. The right of Egypt to Sollum and of France to the two oases in question is indisputable, and there can be no reason for surprise that both countries should regard this as an opportune moment for asserting it.

Paris, December 17.

The *Temps* receives from its special correspondent with the Turkish forces at Accia, some 40 miles south of Tripoli, a telegram, dated the 15th instant, to the effect that thousand of well-armed Arabs have been assembling during the two preceding days. A contingent from Fazan arrived on Friday after a 48 days march. These men are described as splendid fighters.

Paris, December 20.

It appears that the object of the occupation of the oasis of Djanet by a company of French Sahara Police on November 27, which was announced yesterday, is to put an end to the insecurity which has prevailed in the *Hinterland* of Tunis since the departure of the Turkish troops at Ghaz and Ghadames for the scene of military operations near Tripoli. The oasis, which consists of six villages sparsely populated, owes its importance to the fact that it is one of the principal stations on the caravan route from Ghadames to Sinder, which, with the more easterly route from Murzuk to Lake Chad, connects the Mediterranean with the Sudan. Djanet has been the point whence numerous bands of raiders have started both to the west and south. In order to suppress those raids Djanet was occupied for the first time by Captain Touchard in July, 1905, and was reoccupied in 1909 and last year.

The present occupation will also, according to the *Temps*, settle a question between France and Turkey which threatened to become acute. When, in 1906, the Turks claimed Djanet, in spite of the previous occupation by Captain Touchard, the French Ambassador in Constantinople obtained from the Sultan an *arrête*, dated August 21, 1906, which provisionally declared Djanet to be neutral pending a definite delimitation of the frontier and created a buffer zone in the region known as *Tasili des Asjer*, which stretches from Ghadames to Djanet. This agreement, the *Temps* states, was broken by the Turks when they occupied Djanet with Regular troops in May, 1909.

Amsterdam, December 22.

The Netherlands Government refuse to allow the passage of aeroplanes for Turkey through Holland. The police have confiscated at the office of the Compagnie Internationale d'Aviation at Bois-le-Duc all documents relative to the supply of aeroplanes and airmen to Turkey for military purposes, as the Government consider such supply to be a breach of neutrality.

British Policy and Islam.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "NEAR EAST."

SIR.—Mr. Sykes' letter in your last issue is timely, and all the more welcome as it comes from one of the most able critics of Near Eastern policy in the House. I should like to use a little of your valuable space to make a few remarks on British policy towards Islam. It seems incredible that a great Muhammadan Power like Britain should allow its Foreign Office to adopt a harsh and unfriendly policy towards Muslim States and Muslim susceptibilities, but such is the case. Ever since the Akabah question in 1906 (I was in Tunis at the time and well remember the regrettable impression produced among Muslims by the unnecessarily brutal tone that Downing Street adopted towards the Porte) it seems to be a maxim of the Foreign Office to treat Muslims as a negligible quantity, to be disregarded altogether or simply bullied, as the case may be.

Young Turkey has been treated with entire lack of sympathy in her difficult struggle towards new and high ideals, and where a little wise encouragement could have worked wonders, only silly and irritating criticism has been poured on her by British diplomacy. Had Turkey not been wise enough to disregard the foolish cries of certain London papers about increase of armaments (instead, presumably, of spending the money on Christian rebels in Macedonia), she would be in a worse position than she is now. Then, in the matter of the Tripoli massacres, the House of Commons was "gagged" upon any attempt to criticise Italian crimes, but a ready hearing was always given to tales of "Turkish atrocities" in the past. To say that, because in the past the Powers have helped to keep Turkey alive (?), they have the right to criticise her actions, but not those of Italy, who would not be a Power at all had it not been for France and England, is pure nonsense, though it is nonsense believed to be sense in certain high places in London. Muslim susceptibilities must be protected, but Muslim feelings don't matter apparently.

The Persian business is deplorable. The Muslim world sees the humiliating spectacle of Great Britain acting as the mere tool of Russia and doing her best to bully the Persian people into submission to the Muscovite. Why British interests, prestige and honour should be sacrificed in order to gain the uncertain friendship of St. Petersburg is explicable only on the ground that we are too weak to stand without it. This explanation, though untrue, has done our prestige more harm than one cares to realise.

The vast sounding-board of Islam has echoed the names of Denshaw, Akabah, Tripoli, Morocco and Persia throughout Asia. Each name is an unhealing wound in the body of Islam and Great Britain is more or less connected with all of them. Islam is more united than ever, and united action by Muslims all the world over is within sight, and no longer far off. Unless our present short-sighted policy towards Islam is changed (it has, alas! achieved almost irreparable mischief), we shall live to see a catastrophe. Upon the day of European warfare, Muslims will rise, from Fez to Cairo, from Calcutta to Kabul, from the Bosphorus to Yunnan, and Christian domination will fall in the conflagration which its own errors and injustice have kindled.—Yours, etc.,

CHISWOLD DUNBAR BRUNTON, M.R.A.S.

Les Charmilles, Joué-les-Tours,
Indre et Loire, France, December 16.

Position of the Forces.

(BY THE "TIMES" MILITARY CORRESPONDENT)

So far as can be judged from unofficial information, the Italians must have not much fewer than 80,000 men in North Africa at this moment. There are from 40,000 to 45,000 near Tripoli itself; 15,000 men at Benghazi and perhaps more; 15,000 at Derna; 3,000 at Tobruk; and perhaps 3,000 at Flora. The 4th Division is ashore at Derna under General Vittorio Tronati, less one regiment sent to Benghazi; but the position of the regiments of the 5th Division cannot be ascertained from any reports that have come through, and for all that we know it may be still in Libya in reserve.

The Indian Staff, warned by recent occurrences in Austria-Hungary, have taken steps to reinforce their garrisons. The two garrisons readily to the column, which is normally under arms, have been increased.

385,000 men, or 300,000 deducting the troops in Africa, while the Royal Decree of December 9 has given authority to reconstitute in Italy a complete Army Corps to take the place of the eventual and permanent garrison of Italian North Africa. It is no doubt intended to create gradually a voluntarily enlisted Army for this purpose and the measures taken to carry out this idea will be watched in England with considerable interest. The strength of the Army in Italy exceeds the normal peace effectives very considerably, so that, even if the want of good cadres should be severely felt, and if the drain upon brigades and corps for troops and drafts should diminish somewhat the general efficiency of the Army at home, the Italian Staff should still be ready to confront without undue anxiety any trouble in Europe.

The Hoetzendorf episode in Austria-Hungary has probably not been without influence upon the Italian conduct of the war in the higher sense. Italy, no doubt, reserves the prescriptive right of a belligerent to take what military action she pleases, and in her own good time, against her enemy. But if she has decided to keep clear of the Aegean for the moment, and to restrict herself to the rapid prosecution of the war in North Africa, she has probably decided upon what is not only a prudent course, but one that is best in her own interest and best also in the interest of eventual if not speedy peace. The return of the Duke of the Abruzzi to Brindisi with the *Vettore Pisane* and 25 destroyers and torpedo-boats is to some extent an indication that naval operations of a new and active character are not for the moment within sight. Professors at staff colleges can point to the campaign as an example of the limited objective in strategy—a chapter in the art of war which is less well explored than it might be.

The environs of Tripoli are now clear from Gargarech to Tajura and for at least 25 miles south of Tripoli itself. The whole of the oasis has been occupied, and it has been discovered that practically all the male population has fled. Italian advanced guards have penetrated for some 20 miles into the desert on the roads leading to Gharian and Gebel Tarhuna, encountering only a few Arab scouts, while the Lancers from Florence and the aeroplane officers have not caught sight of any hostile gathering. The main body of the Turks has apparently retreated to Gharian, possibly leaving a rearguard at Azizieh, while the Tarhuna tribesmen have retired to their native hills round Kasrdoqa and Kaar Tarhuna. Only three or four mountain guns are believed to remain in Turkish hands. Two Italian dirigibles have reached Tripoli, where hangars are under construction for them. The use of airships and aeroplanes in combination will arouse much interest in all armies, but we must not draw hasty conclusions from their use, since the Turks have neither aircraft nor anti-aircraft guns.

The Infantry at Tripoli must amount to nearly 40 battalions. The regiments present include the 1st and 4th Grenadiers, the 6th, 18th, 23rd, 37th, 40th, 61st, 82nd, 84th and 93rd Regiments of the Line, the 11th Bersaglieri and the Fenestrelle Alpine Battalion. It is not yet known what course the Italian command proposes to take. Reports indicate that there are not more than 1,000 camels in Italian hands, and it is likely that more would have been collected from Eritrea, Italian Somaliland, and other quarters had an immediate advance into the interior been intended. An advance as far as Gharian and Gebel Tarhuna may still be on the cards, and a light railway is projected as far as Ain Zata, which is now a strongly fortified post. It is not often, however, that a Regular army confronts the difficulties and dangers of desert campaigning with impunity, and on the whole, we must reserve our judgment upon the future prospects of the campaign until we learn the principles upon which General Caneva proposes to conduct it.

In Cyrenaica the Italians have hitherto maintained a more or less defensive attitude; but the arrival of the 4th Division at Derna and the probable strengthening of the garrison of Benghazi suggest that offensive movements will shortly take place. Derna is now in wireless communication with Tobruk and Benghazi will be joined up in a few days. The three chief Italian posts in Cyrenaica will thus also be connected with the wireless station in Italy at Cottano near Pisa. At Tobruk, which includes among its garrison the 21st Infantry and an Alpine battalion of the 5th, there were last week the *Pisa*, *Etna*, *Etna*, *Vulcano*, repair ships, and a dozen destroyers and torpedo boats. At Derna there are the 7th, 22nd and 26th Regiments of Infantry, two Alpine battalions and one each of the 20th and 40th Regiments. At Benghazi there are the rest of the 20th, besides the 57th, 58th and 63rd Regiments, but it is possible that reinforcements have been or will be despatched to the town. All these posts are now strongly defended and the Turkish attacks upon them have had no luck. No one appears to know precisely how many Arabs, and of what tribes, are with Turks, and estimates vary from 7,000 to 70,000.

Hostilities have extended to the Red Sea, where the Italians have a little squadron made up of the *Piemonte*, *Folturno*, *Puglia*, *Abruzzo*, and one other small cruiser, besides several armed sailing craft. Several points on the coast of Arabia have been bombarded and numerous boats of a new invasion flotilla have been sunk. It is scarcely credible, but reports show that the Turks intended to traverse the straits from Sheikh Said, to attack the Italians in Eritrea and then to march through the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan into Cyrenaica. Almost nothing could scarcely have been more ambitious.

The Italians at Tripoli.

Without labouring the reasons which prompted Italy to engage in a little adventure of "High-Tobism" in the Mediterranean, it is impossible to discuss her campaign in the Tripolitaine without making reference to the passions which prompted the declaration of war. Italy has nursed a sentimental claim upon the northern coast-line of Africa for more than a generation. Her claim has mainly rested upon propinquity and the tradition of Roman conquest. The poignancy of this claim has been enhanced by the episodes in Mediterranean history that have narrowed its scope. Egypt on the one hand, Tunisia on the other, have passed to England and France, leaving to Italy only the Tripolitaine oasis ports and the ghosts of a civilisation in Cyrenaica.

There was also another impetus to Italian military energy. For fifteen years there has hung over the Italian nation a great shadow—the shadow of a miserable defeat and national degradation suffered without remonstrance. Civilians may forget these things, but an army never forgets. For fifteen years the "skeleton in the cupboard" of Italy's army has been Adowa.* No amount of gay cavalry cloaks or skilful military horsemanship could eradicate it. No peace excellence in embarkation duties could dislodge it. Nothing but a victory in blood could destroy it. It will be seen later in this article how the influence of Adowa was to dominate the campaign in the Tripolitaine.

Once a powerful country has turned covetous eyes upon a weaker land there is one royal road that leads to annexation. The covetous power schemes to lay a railway, open a bank, or build harbour works in the poorer land. As sure as a sleeper is laid, a counter opened, or crane erected, the independence of the weaker country is doomed. In Tripoli it has been the Banca di Roma that has furnished the necessary *casus belli* to precede annexation. Again we have the shadow of Adowa pervading Italy's African adventure. Ever since that memorable reverse the Porte has treated Italy, if not as a negligible quantity, at least as a third-rate fighting Power. Though unable to prevent the establishment of the bank, yet each Vali of Tripoli has had orders to thwart its development. Only those who have knowledge of Turkish passive resistance can fully appreciate what these orders meant to the sovereign dignity of a great European Power. Nor was the cause of complaint shadowy. Even though the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs only four months ago made a public statement to the effect that there were no difficulties between the Italian Government and the Porte, yet the world knows that this was not the truth, and that the Italian Consul-General in Tripoli was smarting under a campaign of pin-pricks that became unbearable. To be fair we must admit this, especially when we know that one Vali who was suddenly recalled as the result of Italian insistence complained bitterly that he should be publicly degraded for carrying out the policy with which he was provided by his own Foreign Minister.

THE DIRECT CAUSE.

Without a doubt, ever since the Young Turk revolution, Italy has had in contemplation a sudden descent upon Tripoli at the first favourable opportunity. It was only the fear of European objections that prevented her from falling upon Tripoli when Austria mulcted the Ottoman empire of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Ferdinand established the complete independence of Rumelia. Matters had therefore to remain in abeyance until a more favourable opportunity presented itself. The opportunity, strangely enough, came to the present Italian Ministry. I say "strangely enough," because it so happens that members of the present Ministry are not unconnected with the financial fortunes of the Banca di Roma. It was the trend of events in Morocco this summer that gave to Italy the cue. In spite of Socialism and its dwarfing influences, Italy is still a patriotic country. If this patriotism is somewhat of a hysterical order, none the less it proved valuable to the statesmen who were intent upon robbing Turkey of Tripoli. Such an unusual proceeding was quite sufficient to influence journalists in their judgment. It was insidiously suggested that the German occupation of Agadir was but a preliminary to a German campaign of aggrandisement that destined Tobruk as the next probable seizure. Italian public opinion was inflamed by a mysterious statement that negotiations were already on foot by which the Porte was ceding the port to Germany. Having manœuvred public opinion in this way, the Italian Government gave its preliminary orders for the mobilisation of an expeditionary force. Public sentiment waxed strong in their favour, and Italy was armed; while neither Europe nor Turkey believed that she was in earnest.

It was only about the 25th October, three days before an ultimatum was sent to Turkey, that Europe woke up to the realisa-

* The Italians were crushingly defeated by the Abyssinians at Adowa and the prisoners of war were said to have been mutilated.

tion that she was on the brink of a European war from an altogether unexpected quarter. Since the beginning of September all eyes had been glued upon the Franco-German frontier, looking for that trivial affair of outposts that would have rocked the whole civilised world to its foundation. There had been no attention left for Italy and Tripolitania. The Ottoman Government, even, had not taken the warnings too seriously until the beginning of October. Then the latter suddenly realised that while the first three Ordus of the Ottoman army had been placed upon an efficient war-footing, the Tripoli detached division was hopelessly unprepared and under strength. To send men in the present juncture was impossible, but it might be practical to send arms and ammunition to the local Arabs. The *Derna*, an Austrian Lloyd steamer, was therefore chartered. Her hold was filled with arms and ammunition, and she was cleared for Tripoli. The sailing of the *Derna* had the effect of "speeding up" the Italian plans, with the result that the declaration of war came just a little too soon. As events were to prove, it would have been far better for the Italian campaign if they had arrested the *Derna* on the high seas, and let this incident establish the *cavus bellicus*, than to have chaperoned her with a cruiser all the way from the Dardanelles to Tripoli without action. As a result, she was able to disgorge her dangerous cargo some days before hostilities were begun.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF WAR

The Italian ultimatum was presented on 28th October and expired on 30th October at 4 p.m. The document was couched in language which no self-respecting Government, however impotent, could have suffered, and it was, therefore, *sic et jacto*, a declaration of war. This outbreak of war created one of the most curious strategical situations that has ever come before the student. It demonstrated conclusively the impossibility of empire unless it be adequately based upon sea power. Here we had Turkey, with no navy to speak of, yet with a powerful European and Asiatic army, practically powerless before Italy. The latter Power's fleet, while it rendered Turkey's main armies innoxious, enabled the army to throw its weight upon a detached portion of the Ottoman empire. The more curious result from this apparently one-sided affray is the fact that while Italy could not effect any great material damage upon Turkey, beyond the destruction of the Ottoman forces marooned in the Tripolitaine, Turkey is able to effect considerable economic punishments upon her enemy. As the Ottoman subjects have already demonstrated on several notable occasions, they are wonderful agents in the application of a national boycott. The Turkish empire is a great market for Italy's small wares. This market is now completely closed. Over and above the financial losses effected by this means, the cost of the war, with its large expeditionary force that has to be fed entirely from Italy, is a heavy drain upon a country that is not noted in Europe for its financial stability. The other belligerent, however, has practically no expenses, as it can do but little to further the fortunes of its tiny army detached in the Tripolitaine. While the war is costing Italy nearly three million sterling a week, it is not costing the Ottoman Empire as many piastres a year. If the situation were not so pathetic it would be almost humorous. However brave and expeditious the Italians may be against the handful of Turks opposed to them in the Tripolitaine, they dare not disembark an army either on the Macedonian or Anatolian coast line. Yet without an army to impress their will upon the Turkish capital, they have as much chance of forcing Turkey to make peace and to pay an indemnity as a pretender would have of seizing the English throne. This, be it said by way of parenthesis, is a lesson which we in this country might do well to take to heart. We, like Italy in this war, have the naval power to limit most operations in which we may be engaged without the striking force that alone can make naval force productive. The best of battleships cannot go over land, or for that matter force the Dardanelles.

The disparity between the navies of the belligerents is such that it is barely necessary to enumerate the "strengths" of both countries. Italy entered the campaign with a battleship squadron of two divisions, and a cruiser squadron of similar strength, only that one division was a ship short.

Against the Italian battleships of 10,000 tons displacement the Turkish navy could only show the two old ships that had recently been purchased from Germany, and the two small protected cruisers, *Mahmut* and *Medjidieh*. In the smaller craft Italy also held a big advantage, though there was one division of Turkish destroyers that was said to be a credit to the British officer who had instructed officers and crew.

Until the time of writing, the naval history of the campaign has been meagre in the extreme. When the ultimatum was despatched from Rome the Turkish ocean-going squadron was on the point of sailing from Beirut, where it had put to

sea for coal, after exercising in the Aegean waters. It had been Italy's aim to arrange the expiration of the ultimatum so

Name.	Displace- ment Tons.	Date	I.H.P.	No. Speed. Knots.	Heavy Guns.
BATTLESHIPS.					
Roma	12,425	1907	21,068	22	Two 12-in.
Napoli	12,425	1905	19,000	22	Twelve 8-in.
Regina Elena	12,425	1904	19,300	22	
Vittorio Emanuele III	12,425	1904	19,300	22	
Benedetto Brin	13,207	1901	20,400	19.5	Four 12-in.
Regina Margherita	13,207	1901	20,000	20	Four 8-in.
Ammiraglio di Saint Bon	9,645	1897	14,400	18.5	Four 10-in.
Emanuele Filiberto	9,645	1897	13,630	18.5	Four 10-in.
ARMOURCLAD CRUISERS.					
San Giorgio	9,680	1908	19,595	22.5	Four 10-in.
San Marco	9,680	1908	23,700	22.5	Eight 7.5-in.
Amalfi	9,980	1908	20,500	23.5	Four 10-in.
Pisa	9,980	1907	20,812	23	Eight 7.5-in.
Francesco Ferruccio	7,234	1903	13,580	20	
Varese	7,234	1899	13,840	20	One 10-in.
Giuseppe Garibaldi	7,234	1899	14,710	20	Two 8-in.
PROTECTED CRUISERS.					
Coatit	1,292	1899	7,500	21	Four 4.7-in.
Agozzai	1,292	1899	8,550	22	Four 4.7-in.
Puglia	2,498	1898	7,400	20	Six 4.7-in.
TORPEDO-BOAT DESTROYERS.					
10 boats	365,400	1906-10	6,000	30	Four 12 pr.
6 boats	325	1901-4	6,000	30	Five 6-pr.
6 boats	315	1899-01	6,000	30	
1 boat	293	1898	4,730	28	Five 6-pr.
TORPEDO-BOATS.					
24 boats	214	1905-8	3,000	25	-
4 boats	203	1905-6	3,000	25	-
1 boat	160	1907	2,200	25	-
7 boats	149	1898-99	2,000	25	-
SUBMARINES.					
6 boats	142-182	1905-8	600-900	1-015	-

Name.	Displace- ment Tons.	Date	I.H.P.	No. Speed. Knots.	Heavy Guns.*
BATTLESHIPS.					
Kheyreddin	9,001	1891	9,000	17	Six 11-in.
Turgut Reis	9,001	1891	9,000	17	Six 11-in.
PROTECTED CRUISERS.					
Jamidieh	3,830	1903	12,000	22	Two 6-in.
Medjidieh	3,830	1903	12,000	22	Two 6-in.
TORPEDO GUNBOATS.					
Berk-i-Salvet	740	1906	5,100	22	Two 4.1-in.
Puk-i-Sherkret	740	1906	5,100	22	Two 4.1-in.
TORPEDO-BOAT DESTROYERS.					
4 in number	610	1900	14,000	25	Two 3.4-in.
4 in number	280	1907-8	6,000	25	-
2 in number	270	1894	5,500	25	-
TORPEDO-BOATS.					
9 in number	177	1906	2,300	27	-
4 in number	97	1906	1,000	26	-

that Admiral Aubrey could send the first battleship division and first cruiser division to intercept and destroy the Turkish sea-going fleet before it reached the Dardanelles. This was to have been the first paralysing coup by which Italy trusted to make the war short and decisive. There is little information of what happened to the Italian fleet: this much is known, that the Turkish squadron, all ignorant of the declaration of war, arrived safely at the entrance to the Dardanelles. It is possible that the British officers who were on board had some inkling of what was in the wind, and that they induced their admiral to steer a false course, and thus eluded the Italian greyhounds. The Italian newspapers, to save face, say that the Turkish squadron was permitted to escape, since it was the plan of the Italian Government to extend the operations beyond the Tripolitaine waters. It should be remarked, however, that the Italian fleet went down to the Dardanelles and arrived there in time to see the smoke of the Turkish vessels that had disappeared in the direction of the Sea of Marmora. Once the Turks had disappeared into the Dardanelles, there was little left for the Italian navy to do but to aid in the disembarkation of the expeditionary force. There was a tiny affair at Prevesa, where the Italian first destroyer division swept up a couple of Turkish small craft. A Turkish electric launch was also captured in a Red Sea harbour.

THE RIVAL ARMIES.

The Italian General Staff calculated that two divisions would be sufficient for the occupation of the Tripolitaine coast, and it was argued that if Italy could put a division on shore at Tripoli, a brigade at Batlighaz, and split up another brigade between other

coast ports, that Turkey, with her fleet destroyed, would have no choice but to accept the inevitable and surrender her claims in North Africa at discretion. How often have those who thought to base their plans upon the hypothesis that Turkey would act in a certain manner, suffered through the inconsistencies of the Oriental mind! How often has the plain path of diplomacy and strategy been vitiated by the curious stubbornness of the Turk! History is replete with such instances, and again has history repeated itself in the brief period of this Turco-Italian war. Turkey has done nothing that Italy expected she would do, and Italy, instead of occupying the Tripolitaine with 40,000 troops for a few weeks until the country was ceded to her, finds herself under the obligation of entering upon an Arab war that may last for months, and necessitate the mobilisation of perhaps 200,000 men. We are, however, only concerned with the first mobilisation. This consisted of two infantry divisions to take the field and one division in reserve. Although a large number of reservists were called to the colours, the two service divisions were almost entirely completed by serving men. The peace establishments were extended by drafting serving men from adjacent units. The staff intended by this method to save the time which would have had to be spent in the re-instruction of reservists. For the immediate purposes of war it was a doubtful expedient.

It will be seen that the Italian force was very generally drawn from the whole of Italy, though perhaps a southern element predominated. To convey the force to the coast of Tripoli a great fleet of transports had been taken up, which was gathered in Naples harbour.

There is not the same information available concerning the Turkish garrison in Tripolitania. The Tripoli Command is an independent division directly controlled from Constantinople. It has some of the peculiarities of a Colonial army, as it is supposed to dispose of 10 battalions of local militia, which are neither *nizams* nor *redifs*. The composition of the Tripoli division is returned as 4 field-batteries and 2 mountain batteries, 17 battalions of nizam infantry and 10 squadrons of nizam cavalry, plus the 10 battalions of local militia already mentioned. At normal peace strength the totals would give roughly 10,000 nizams and 5,000 militia. It may be taken, however, as practically certain that the garrison was starved, and that the peace strengths were not up to the establishments. The nearest estimates of the troops actually found in Tripoli town at the declaration of war is that based on the review which the Vali attended on "Independence Day." Then about 4,000 Turkish troops of all arms marched past. Although the Tripoli garrison had been neglected by Istanbul, it must not be thought that it was in the decayed state that one connects with the Turkish army of a few years back. The supply of quick-firing field and mountain artillery (Krupp 1908) was up to establishment. The men throughout the division were equipped with khaki uniforms and the new *hajib* and *hasbih*. There was an adequate supply of small-arm ammunition, and, as the Italians were to learn to their cost, there was also fine supply of reserve magazine rifles. What Tripoli lacked was land defences, the semicircle of forts that defended the harbour were of ancient construction, and were furnished with an obsolete model of Krupp fortress artillery. Moreover, there were no trained fortress gunners to man the batteries and to get from them the best of their puny powers. At a liberal computation the most that Neshet Bey, the chief military commander, could count upon in the matter of trained Turkish soldiers in the whole vilayet of Tripoli could not have exceeded 10,000 men. That he was able to enlist a large amount of raw material amongst the Arabs and Bedouin came as another great surprise to the Italians.

On the 29th September two divisions of the Italian fleet appeared off Tripoli and manoeuvred in a menacing manner in the offing. The acting Vali, Munir Pasha, had already been informed of the ultimatum. Muhi Pasha is a feeble old gentleman, and the direction of affairs fell automatically into the hands of Neshet Bey, his senior Staff officer and the virtual commander of the garrison. Neshet Bey knew that it was hopeless to attempt to oppose a naval attack with the fortress armament existing in Tripoli. He therefore decided to arm all the Arabs in the Tripoli environment,

and to fall back himself to one or another of the large oases in the interior with all the regular troops at his disposal. To this purpose every camel in the Tripoli oasis was commandeered, and all the army contractors, under pressure, were instructed to collect as much food-stuffs as would be necessary for 5,000 men for three months. As many of the local militia as could be found were immediately mobilised and issued with arms and uniforms. The Regular troops left barracks and encamped at the Bomelliana pumping station on the outskirts of the desert, ready to march southward the moment the Italians attempted to throw a force ashore.

While all these preparations were being hurried forward, certain conversations were taking place in town. Tripoli, like all Ottoman towns of importance, was cursed with a consular body that took unto itself all the airs and graces, if not the functions, of a diplomatic body. These people hectored old Munir Pasha about the safety of the Christian population. Neshet Bey, however, had no misgivings about the Christian population. They were to serve a military purpose here. He let Munir's agents parley with the perspiring consuls while he himself gave instructions to the Arab boatmen that no fugitives, except Italians, were to be allowed to leave Tripoli by sea. Neshet Bey, in his wisdom, deemed that it was as well to have witnesses in Tripoli of Italian actions. The Turkish troops evacuated Tripoli by detachments between 30th September and 2nd October. By the evening of October 2 the last *échelon* had moved out into the desert, and there were no troops left in the town except a few seedy fortress artillermen who had orders to man the forts "just to make a show." The townspeople had already shown signs of panic. The population of Tripoli does not differ materially from that of other seaports in the Levant. It has a large population of the parasitical races that cling to the fringe of the Ottoman Empire. These are Jews, Maltese, Greeks, Levantines, Syrians, and nondescripts of no definite nationality. There must be some 20,000 of these, with another 40,000 of the Arabs of the oasis.

TRIPOLI.

It will be well here to give some description of Tripoli. The town itself stands upon the enclave of a little bay that forms a natural harbour. The town of Tripoli has been built partly upon a sandy beach, partly upon an excrescence of rock that juts out into the sea. The feature of the place, however, is the oasis. A strip of moisture-retentive soil about 12 kilometers in length divides the coast-line from the actual desert. This fertile strip, which has an average depth of about a mile and a quarter, is one immense palm-grove. Between the interstices of the palm-trees flourish cacti, fig, and olive trees. Nestling beneath the shade of this very lengthy grove are the villages of the town Arabs. These are usual flat-roofed mud edifices that are common to North Africa. For the most part they are encircled, or their garden patches are enclosed, with low mud walls and a bewildering labyrinth of cactus hedge. Among the villages are a number of Moslem burial-grounds, which in many cases have been walled in to save the tombs from the wear of the water courses formed during the torrential rains of the rainy season.

The town proper is just one of those mazes in oriental architecture that bewilder the Western conception in sanitary town-planning. It is a medley of tall house enclosing courtyards, and forming, in consequence of their grouping, those dark alleys and hideous streets which breed the diseases inseparable from Eastern life. In places the monotony of these dingy streets is relieved by the frescoes to the mosques, and here and there is found a long covered in bazaar of the model that is common to Turkestan, Persia, Syria, and North Africa. The defences of this town consisted of a few mud batteries on both horns of the bay, and a group of forts on the seashore, where on the west the palm-grove terminates in desert. This latter group is locally called Gilgursh, though in the Admiralty charts the group of earthworks are styled the Sultanah Forts. As these forts were unable to oppose the Italian naval attack, it is unnecessary to make further reference to them or their armament.

On 3rd October Admiral Faravelli, who commanded the two naval divisions before Tripoli, bombarded the land defences. The few seedy Turkish artillermen that were left behind, aided by some Arabs, just fired sufficient rounds from the obsolete Krupps "to save the garrison's face," and Tripoli was henceforth at the mercy of the Italians.

It is difficult to understand why Admiral Faravelli took this occasion to bombard Tripoli. In pursuance of a strategy that would seem to be logical, one would have thought that he would have waited until the army was ready to be landed before proceeding to extremities in Tripoli. As it was, there was no chance of the army appearing on the scene for another ten days, and the onus, not only of occupying Tripoli town, but of preventing the Turks from re-occupying it, fell upon the navy. There is a theory that in Italy, as in some other countries, there is jealousy between the sister services, and that in the case of Tripoli the navy wished to show their independence of the army. This seems hardly credible; but in acting as they did, the sailors undertook a grave risk, and if they had been actuated by jealousy, they had subsequently to swallow their satisfaction, since they were driven to appeal to the soldiers for immediate succours. (*To be continued.*)

* The composite Army Corps was as follows:—
Commander-in-Chief—Lieutenant General of Cavalry Canova.
Chief of Staff—Major-General Annibale Giudicello
1st Division—Commander, Lieutenant-General Poloni-Girardi.
1st Brigade—Major-General Reinaldi, 2nd (Rome) and 8th (Florence) Regiments.
2nd Brigade—Major-General Gardina, 6th (Palermo) and 40th (Napolitan) Regiments
3 Squadrons Lodi Cavalry Regiments.
6 Batteries Field Artillery.
2nd Division—Lieutenant-General Brizzola.
3rd Brigade—Major-General D'Amico, 22nd (Pisa) and 68th (Milanese) Regiments.
4th Brigade—Major-General Ameglio, 4th (Catania) and 63rd (Salerno) Regiments.
Cavalry, 3 squadrons Pistoia Regiment.
6 Batteries Field Artillery.
Army Troops—2nd Battalion (Palermo), 1st Battalion (Naples).
Mountain and Alpine, 1 Battalion, Regiments.
Battalions, etc.



دہلی کارو فیشن دربار
دسمبر سند ۱۹۱۱ع منہ و ستان
جس طرح سند ۱۹۱۱ع منہ و ستان
کی تاریخ میں دہلی کارو فیشن دربار
کی وجہ سے ایسا زرین موقع اپر لالائی
زمائلے اسی طرح طلسماں سائلس میں
سے عجیب ترین طسم ساز ہاڑ گھنٹ کی
ایجاد ہے اور سازمائلہ باز گھنٹ میں
بہترین وہ ساز ہے جسکو آپ گھنٹوں
کے نام سے جانتے ہیں۔

منہ و ستان کی مرزاں میں اور مر
مشہور عورت یامہد کا فوجی والی کے
رکارڈ مم لے محض آپ کی تفریح
و تفنن طبع کے واسطہ تیار کئے ہیں۔
منہ و ستان میں علم موسيقی مام
طور پر جس گروہ میں مددود ہے
اس سے آپ لا والاف نہیں ایک
مدت سے اس کی ترقی مددود
ہیں اور الہ بھدہ تباہ کہ جو کچھ موجود
ہے رنہ رنہ وہ ہوں لاہوں لہو جائے
مگر میاری ان تک کو شکر ہو اور ہے
دریج صرف زر لے ایسے ایسے لا در رکارڈ
راک اور را گھنڈوں کے تیار کر لئے ہیں
کہ جو کل اصل منہ کے واسطہ مایہ نہروں از
اور میارے واسطہ موجود امنہاں ہیں۔

گھنٹوں اب سامان عہش میں
اپنے بلکہ ضروریات زلہ کیس میں داٹھی
ہے اور اسی بنیاد پر یہ ہر کمہ صہیں
ہونا ہاہنے۔ فہرست رکارڈ کا فہمیدہ
سادہ دسمبر کے واسطہ حسب محتمول
ٹائیٹ مروکیا ہے فرد افراہ رکارڈز میں
مشح بیان کرنا نہیں ہے۔ ہر رکارڈ
اجواب ہے اور ہر کانہ
ستھ ہی کی قابل ہے۔
ہس و لس کی قیمت مانہ اور بواہی
داک ہا بیٹر مرہ کہ ہمارے
باقاباطہ لوکل اچنٹ کی
کوتھی یو تشریف لیجا کرتا زہ
ترین رکارڈ خود سنتھ کا۔

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کات پاکستانی مدنظر کی کے

DIST. FYZABAD OUDH.

Summons for Disposal of Suit.

(Order V, rules 1 and 5, of Act V
of 1908.)

SUIT NO. 80 OF 1911.

In the court of the Additional Munisif Fyzabad.
Muni Lal Son Thakurdin of Maiqala in
Fyzabad, Plautihi,

versus

Noor Mohammad, Defendant.

To
Noor Mohammad son of Ghulam Khan
Description at present City Kangoon.
Place of residence : Mohalla Nai Basti,
Street No. 56, house No. 26.

Whereas the plaintiff has instituted a suit
against you for Rs. 39-12 you are hereby sum-
moned to appear in this Court in person, or by a
pleader, duly instructed and able to answer all
material questions relating to the suit, or who
shall be accompanied by some person able to
answer all such questions on the 30th day of
January 1912, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to
answer the claim ; and as the day fixed for your
appearance is appointed for the final disposal of
the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that
day all the witnesses, upon whose evidence and
all the documents upon which you intend to rely
in support of your defence. Take notice that
in default of your appearance on the day before
mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined
in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court
this 5th day of January 1912.

(Sd.) S. A. HASAN,
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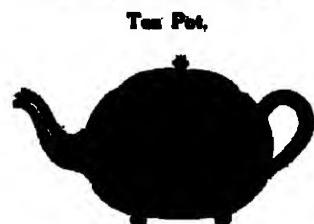
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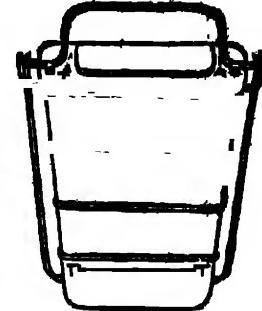
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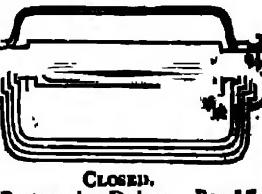
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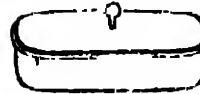


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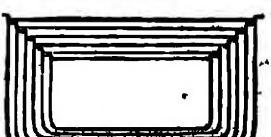
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A Weekly Journal.

Edited by Mohamed Ali.

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The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

—Morris.

Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 3. Annex 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, January 20, 1912.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1.

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The Week.

The Royal Visit.

The King telegraphed to Mr. Asquith on January 10th.—"Before leaving India on our homeward voyage, I am sure that you as the head of my Government will be glad to know that from all quarters, private and public, I gather that my highest hopes have been realized and that the success of our visit has exceeded all expectations not only in Bombay, Delhi and Calcutta, but in every other part of the country where the Queen and I have been. All classes, races and creeds have united in receiving us with unmistakable signs of enthusiasm and affection. The magnificent ceremony at the Durbar was the outcome of wise and well-considered plans, brilliantly carried out through the untiring efforts of the Viceroy and those working under him. During our pleasant visit to the Viceroy all Calcutta combined in doing everything possible for our comfort and enjoyment. I rejoice that, thanks to the mutual confidence between me and my people at home, I have been enabled to fulfil the wish of my heart. This satisfaction will be still greater if time proves that our visit has conduced to the lasting good of India and of the Empire at large."

Reuter wires from St. Petersburg on the 15th.—The Chinese revolutionaries have seized the arsenal at Kuldja in Chinese Turkestan, killed four hundred Manchus and proclaimed a Republic.

The Revolutionary Government at Kuldja, under General Rong-Shan as President, issued a proclamation on the 14th enjoining the preservation of order and respect for foreigners under pain of death. The new Government does not trust Manchu soldiers and now only 240000 men remain. All is quiet.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 11th.—Russia's denial that she is preparing to occupy Mongolia is considered here as obscuring the issue as there was no question of occupation. The Wai-Wu-Pu says that the statement issued on the 8th instant was a faithful summary of Russia's communications. In view of the inconvenience of negotiating during the upheaval, negotiations are being transferred to St. Petersburg. It is understood that China is prepared to discuss the railway proposals, including the linking up of the Kalktaura line and the Siberian Railway.

Reuter wires from St. Petersburg on the 14th:—It is semi-officially denied here that Russia intends to establish six new consulates in Mongolia beyond the existing consulates at Urga, Kobdo and Uliassutai, or to increase the guards, the number of whom is 150 at Urga and 25 each at Kobdo and Uliassutai.

A telegram received from Harbin states that armed Mongolians have seized Khailar. They have declared their independence and have appointed new authorities. The Chinese troops and authorities have taken refuge in the Russian settlement at Khailar station.

The newspaper report of the despatch of Russian troops to Mongolia is officially denied.

Reuter wires on the 14th.—The whole Imperial army from Hankow is on its way to Henan with the object of crushing the combined army in Shensi and Shansi.

The Revolutionaries, who are invading Honan, are meeting Manchu princes to-day. They have resolved to request the Throne to retire immediately to Jehol.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 15th:—The Imperial Army from Kansu, which has hitherto been regarded as mythical, has arrived after much fighting within sixty miles of Sianfu, the capital of Shensi, which province is in a state of complete turmoil. Many towns have been looted and are deserted.

The massacre of ten thousand Manchus is confirmed. Nineteen English and thirteen Swedish missionaries have arrived at Honanfu from Sianfu.

The Imperialists were defeated on Thursday by the revolutionary troops which are invading Honan.

The armistice has been extended by fourteen days.

The Chinese armistice expired on the 15th. The Republicans are moving from Wuchang to attack the Imperial base at Shaokan, forty miles north. Eleven transports and six cruisers are being prepared at Shanghai to proceed to Chifu to co-operate in advance of the other insurgent forces who are proceeding to Peking by four routes. The Imperial troops are hastening to oppose them.

Three Revolutionary cruisers and three transports conveying troops and artillery have left Shanghai for Chifu. Additional troops will follow in a week.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 14th.—The Throne has practically decided to abdicate and to retire to Jehol almost immediately. Arrangements have already partly been made.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 15th.—The decision of the Government to abdicate was the outcome of secret meetings of Manchus of all classes who considered what abdication was necessary to save the country from chaos.

Yuan-Shi-Kai will remain at Peking and effect the best possible arrangement with the Republicans in the way of providing for the Emperor's and the Dowager Empress' future.

It is understood that the Powers will support him. The abdication is expected before to-morrow.

Telegrams from the provinces give a shocking picture of murders, rapes and arsons. Hundreds of women are committing suicide to escape violation.

Reuter wires from Shanghai on the 14th.—Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen in his capacity of President of the Republic to-day inspected the warships at Nanking and steamed between lines of eight beflagged warships. The banks of the river were crowded. The British, German and American ships did not acknowledge the salute of the President's yacht.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 15th.—A bomb was thrown at Yuan-Shi-Kai as he was returning from the Palace. Two policemen were killed but Yuan-shi-Kai was unhurt.

Reuter wires from Tokio on the 11th.—The Government has refused to assist the Chinese revolutionaries to negotiate for a loan declaring that it will not swerve from its policy of neutrality.

A message to the *Times* on the 16th from Peking states that its correspondent has excellent authority for believing that an Edict will appear in a few days not only announcing the abdication of the Throne but decreeing a Republic, the President of which shall be elected by the people.

It is confidently believed that the Republican leaders at Nanking will recognise the paramount claims of Yuan-Shi-Kai to the Presidency.

Tung-Shao-Vi has received a telegram from Peking stating that the Imperial Princes are unanimously in favour of the acceptance of the Republican terms. It is believed that the negotiations with a view to peaceful settlement are nearing completion.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 16th.—The man who threw a bomb at Yuan-Shi-Kai with four others was subsequently arrested at a tea house. The High Executioner is now parading before the building awaiting orders. Twelve soldiers and three civilians were wounded as the result of the explosion. The route was lined by troops. The would-be assassin's aim was bad as the bomb fell twenty feet from Yuan's carriage. The explosion shook the houses in the neighbourhood. Yuan's visit to the Palace was in connection with the abdication of the Throne. An officer and soldier have died of the wounds received in the bomb outrage. Forty have been arrested.

The *Pioneer* understands that it has been decided to reinforce the garrison of Hong-Kong by two battalions of Indian Infantry, and the Indian Mountain Battery troops warned for embarkation at Karachi are the 25th and 26th Punjabis, while the 24th Hazara Mountain Battery will sail from Rangoon.

The Sowerby Relief Mission has returned. It found the provinces of Shensi, Shansi and Honan in a state of anarchy. Outlaws and revolutionaries could not be distinguished from Imperialists, who were equally lawless. Towns and villages were deserted and people were hiding in caves in the mountains. The gates of Shan-fu were closed for four days, while mobs murdered 10,000 Manchus.

Home Rule.

The Ulster Unionist Council has decided to take steps to prevent Mr. Churchill and Mr. Redmond from holding a demonstration in favour of Home Rule in Belfast. The *Daily News* says that the great difference between the forthcoming and the preceding Home Rule Bills will lie in the inclusion of the principle of Home Rule all round.

The Unionist papers say that the decision to prevent Mr. Winston Churchill from speaking at Belfast is due to the certainty of trouble and even bloodshed if he does. The Lord Mayor of Belfast in interviews with the representatives of the *Morning Post* and the *Daily Telegraph* said that Belfast was at present like an explosive magazine which only wanted a match to cause an upheaval. The country districts were just as determined to prevent the meeting.

Mr. Mackinnon Wood Financial Secretary to the Treasury, speaking at Acton, described the decision as a most remarkable piece of Irish humour he had ever seen.

The Liberals regard the attitude of the Ulster Council as bluff, but they consider that it is likely to stir up passions in Belfast, and to be productive of the gravest situation. They declare that any violence offered to Mr. Churchill and Mr. Redmond will simply ensure the immediate passage of Home Rule.

The Unionist papers urge the abandonment of the invitation to Mr. Churchill who however is described as being inflexibly resolved to speak. The *Morning Post* hopes that the Council will reconsider its attitude and says it would be wiser if the Orange men guaranteed Mr. Churchill safe conduct. The *Daily Telegraph* hopes the Radicals will recognise that Ulster is in dead earnest. The *Standard* says this is the inevitable response to the insolent challenge of the Liberals.

Many Unionists deprecate interference with free speech in Belfast.

Ulster men say they will not object to Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Redmond speaking at Belfast, but they will not allow the meeting to be held in the historic Ulster Hall, which, though it is the property of the Municipality, is situated in the heart of the Unionist quarter and possesses especial political associations.

Mr. Rose, Consul at Teng-yueh, Yunnan, lecturing on the *Frontiers of India*, before the Royal Geographical Society, dilated on the change arising from the altered circumstances in China. Lord Curzon in a speech warned to regard China's growth and advance watchfully, though not jealousy. He hoped no Power would be allowed to tamper with Nepal, Sikkim or Bhutan. He urged definite demarcation of the North-Eastern Frontier as the surest way to avoid quarrelling with China.

It is understood in Bombay that two battalions of the Indian Army have been ordered to proceed to China and will embark from Karachi in the *Dufferin* and *Hardinge* in a few days.

Morocco.

FRENCH and Moorish forces have been despatched to raise the siege of Sefru. Sharp fighting took place on the 15th and 16th instant with the rebellious tribesmen, who however fled in disorder, abandoning their camp and leaving many dead. The French had six wounded.

The Aga Khan in Sind.

The Sind Muhammadan Association presented an address at Khalikdina Hall, Karachi, on the 15th to His Highness the Aga Khan offering him a hearty welcome to the capital of the province and congratulating him on the further marks of His Majesty's favour of which he was the recipient at the Delhi Durbar.

His Highness, in replying, said the Association had reminded him that he was a native of Karachi, and, though he lived in the Deccan, he had always felt an interest in the province which was full of his co-religionists and was indeed essentially a Muhammadan country. They had kindly referred to his humble services in the wakening of the Muhammadans of India. That work had been the outcome of the Muhammadan revival during the past few years. He felt that the Mussalmans of the province had great opportunities and it was for them to take advantage of those opportunities. The recent great changes announced at Delhi, he felt, would do a lot of good. The territorial changes in Bengal, while taking away some advantages from the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal, would also bring them many advantages. The transfer of the capital to Delhi would also do Sind a great deal of good, and it was for Sind Muhammadans to take advantage of those changes.

It was a matter for regret that, while in the Deccan and Gujarat and in Madras there were branches of the All-Indian Moslem League, no steps had been taken to form branch in an essentially Muhammadan province like Sind. As regards the treatment of Indians in South Africa, which was a cause of much resentment, he felt it his duty to warn them that to a large extent the treatment was the result of their own fault owing to the backwardness of the majority of Indians in social and intellectual progress. Greater efforts were needed for national self-improvement and education. It was not merely sufficient to send a boy to school. That would give only a parrot-like education. Enlightenment and social progress were needed.

As regards the Moslem University scheme every leader was of opinion that it was needed, and he was in a position to inform them that the Government had agreed to grant them a charter immediately the sum required, viz., 35 lakhs, had been raised. Toward this twenty lakhs had already been secured. Thirty-five lakhs was a mere pittance when the wealth of the Moslems of India was borne in mind and he regretted to note that Sind had done practically nothing to further the scheme. Of course he knew that some thought that primary education was more urgently required, but they did not sufficiently appreciate the merits of the University scheme, which also aimed at the establishment of colleges at various centres.

Referring to the question of the removal of the Sind Madrasah from its crowded surroundings to more open country, he was in sympathy with the project and saw in it possibilities for the foundation of a Sind Moslem College affiliated to the University which would carry education through the length and breadth of the province till education would no longer be the prerogative of the few but every zamindar would apply to his work and cultivation the latest academic knowledge. But, with the exception of His Highness the M.R. of Khairpur, the fame of whose munificent generosity had spread all over India, even to the remotest parts of Bengal, Sind had done nothing to further the University scheme; and he enjoined a house-to-house collection scheme and the commencement of a plan of month's salary subscription. While impressing on them the duties of self-reliance and self-sacrifice, he asked forgiveness for making the occasion one for offering advice, but he could not be doing his duty to the city of his birth unless he did so.

In the course of his reply His Highness also referred to the need for national unity between the Hindus and Moslems of India.

The Partition.

On the 13th instant, the Anjuman of Mymensingh reported at a meeting that in view of the progress the Moslems of Eastern Bengal have made since the creation of a separate province the annulment of the Partition stifles their legitimate aspirations. They are unshaken in their loyalty they submit to His Majesty's Government wishes and hope that His Majesty's Government will make amends for the wrong done to them by safeguarding their interests.

TETE À TETE



IT WAS with extreme regret that we heard of the sad and sudden death of the Hon. Sir John Jenkins, the Home Member of H.E. the Viceroy's Executive Council. He had had a distinguished career in Bombay and he was a distinct

acquisition to the Government of India. He could not have been called intellectually subtle, but his frank outspokenness and straightforward dealings with all were greatly appreciated, and one could trust him far more than some other administrators who have remained as narrow in their heart of hearts as ever, but have accepted the inevitable, under the changed circumstances, only so far as to resort to administrative and even social finessing. Since he left Bombay he had not been the same man physically, and what with the strain of work and the strain of the climate of Bengal, he has at last fallen between the shafts just as he was about to be unharnessed. In a bureaucracy nobody seems to be indispensable and his place will soon be taken by another. But those who came into official contact with him will remember him as a straightforward gentlemen, with a rough courtesy that served him better than the smoothness of others. We heartily sympathise with Lady Jenkins in her bereavement. We only wish that British governance was a little more popular and that the sorrows of officials and their joys were shared much more largely, by the people than they are to-day. But the small number of Indians who accompanied the funeral to the cemetery is a condemnation of the caste, rather than of the individual, who, if he had not many intimate friends, had certainly few, if any, enemies.

Events were developing with ominous suddenness and the long-drawn crisis in Chinese affairs seemed to have begun moving to some grave catastrophe. The revolutionary forces had been, for some

months past, pitched in a life-and-death struggle against the Manchu despotism; and though the Republican cause had not secured a final and decisive victory, there was hardly any doubt left that the best and most patriotic elements in the nation were rapidly falling in with what is truly and in its most comprehensive sense a popular and progressive cause. The struggle for freedom and constitutional government has been directed with courage, intelligence and devotion; and at last the Throne has been advised to retire, and it has practically decided to do so. If no untoward incidents happen, the success of the Chinese national movement may be confidently foretold. But the "if" covers a very big proviso. A popular Western romance records the thrilling adventures of a traveller in a land in which there were no physicians, no graveyards and none lame or sick. On inquiry he was told that the community did not allow the weak and the diseased to live and multiply, that the moment a person began to show signs of disease or failing health he was put to death and devoured. Some similar method of treatment seems to have been devised by Europe in regard to the weaker races of the earth. The fate of Morocco, Tripoli and Persia furnishes a tale, if not a moral, that could hardly be improved upon even by the ancient chronicler of romance and impossible adventure. Will the same fate overtake China? Will even this great Empire in the convulsions of a new birth fall a helpless prey to the omnivorous furies of Europe before its desire for a strong, free and healthy development comes to fruition? European intervention has at last come, though a solemn declaration was made by all the Powers only a short time ago that no such thing would be allowed to happen. Foreign warships are patrolling the Chinese coasts; troops have been landed at various places by the Powers, some of which have an "interest" to safeguard unless it be the temporary residence of a missionary who is yet to be ordained for service in the Far East. The Peking railway has been secured, which, according to *The Times*, is "authorised by the protocol of 1910 and justified by the uncertainties of the

situation." This excessive regard on the part of that journal for the sanctity of an obsolete "protocol" is quite of a piece with its latest interpretation of the Anglo-Russian Convention which, of course, was "justified by the uncertainties of the situation." But even the *Times* will have something new to learn from its masterful *protégé*, the Muscovite, who is setting the standard in international dealings with his old peculiar methods. This licensed bully of Europe has once again appeared in his old familiar rôle and has begun to play the dictator of the East. After despoiling Persia he has now turned to China, and has ordered her to clear out of Mongolia which, under an independent "dignitary of the Lamaite church," will be generously assisted by him "in the maintenance of order." We have no desire to treat the entire Russian people as a race apart, devoid of the commonest attributes of docility, and we have nothing but sympathy for the Russian masses which are groaning under intolerable misery and despair. But the Russian Government as it exists to-day is the greatest danger to the peace of Asia and of the world. It stands for ruthless tyranny at home and most brutal aggression abroad. It has even put forth its immense military strength to crush the weak with the wanton gusto of the coward. Its unbridled lust for brute dominance over everything and everywhere constitutes the vilest chapter of guilt and scandal in modern history. The Eastern races from Turkey to China, whose life has just begun to throb with the pulsations of new hope and desire, are threatened by this monster with imminent danger of absolute extinction. If their hopes and ideals endure, and if their hearts have been touched with unquenchable fire, they may yet know how to make good their claim to live; and who knows but that they may be driven to unite against their common enemy and save themselves and the fruits of peace and civilisation some day by hunting this foul octopus out of existence? When that day comes, we may presume the Amir of Kabul will not be entirely guided by the friendly advice of the *Pioneer* which is ready with a lullaby to put the *enfant terrible* of the North-West to sleep, and, failing that, to administer the traditional pill of opium. But times are critical in the East everywhere, and it is not only China but Turkey, Persia, Morocco, and Egypt also that should profit by the advice of the *Nation* which wrote some time ago .—

The Chinese crisis has reached the stage at which the stronger Naval Powers think it necessary to deny that they intend to interfere. Nothing could well be worse, unless it were a guarantee of the integrity and independence of the Chinese Empire. The intimation, if the Chinese are wise, will be promptly obeyed, and the two parties to the civil war will come to terms without undue delay. So far, there has apparently been nothing worse than a little "friendly pressure" exercised to hasten the negotiations. The delegates of North and South, meeting at Shanghai, have received a call from the Consuls-General of France, the United States, Russia, Germany, and Great Britain. One account declares that they urged the merits of constitutional monarchy, and agreed a settlement in this sense. The Frenchman and the American, we suppose, explained the beauty of royalty, while the Russian expounded the meaning of a Constitution. We are left in ignorance of the Chinese reply, but it was no doubt polite, and may have been a little tactful. The real conclusion, if the Chinese can read it, is that civil war is a luxury which only the rich and the strong may permit themselves in the world we inhabit to-day. What may be done with impunity on the Seine or the Mississippi, must not rashly be attempted on the Yangtse. Pretext or excuse for intervention, the Chinese have given none. But when five Powers happen, each of them, to regard some group of provinces as "a legitimate sphere of aspiration," the only safe rule for their inhabitants is to avoid all abnormal happenings within them.

WE HEARTILY congratulate H.H. the Maharaja of Bikanir on the success of the meeting held at the Town Hall last Wednesday in aid of the Hindu University. His Highness made an ideal speech, using as his text the illuminating phrases

of His Majesty's speech in reply to the address of the Calcutta University. The Maharaja's remarks on religious teaching and Hindu-Muhammadan amity will find an echo throughout Moslem India also, and we are confident that words will give place to deeds which are more eloquent when men like the Maharaja of Bikanir stand security for the Hindu University as the Aga Khan has made himself responsible for the tone of the Moslem University. It is very gratifying to know that subscriptions amounting to 43 lakhs had been promised before the meeting and that the Maharaja of Durbhangha was able to announce in the course of his speech that they had reached the splendid figure of half a crore. The Maharaja of Bikanir's own donation of a lakh and an annual subscription of Rs. 12,000 is worthy of imitation by more Muhammadan Princes than have yet been so liberal. The Maharani of Hutwa's one lakh and promise of one or two more when her son attains majority, the Mahant of Tukeshwar's one lakh, and Babu Hari Har Prasad Saheb's gift of property of the value of half a lakh are some of the important contributions announced at the meeting. As for the Moslem University, the promoters do not appeal any longer for fresh promises except from the officials and noblemen of Hyderabad. They only ask for the payment of what has already been solemnly promised. The realisations up to 31st December, 1911, amounted to Rs. 18,35,410-9-1. This does not include the sum of Rs. 35,000 paid into the Bank of Bengal by five wealthy merchants of Calcutta

with the queer and somewhat ungenerous proviso that if the University Act is not passed before the end of March the money would be withdrawn by the donors. The annual grants of some Ruling Chiefs and H.H. the Nizam's donation of 5 lakhs bring up the total to very nearly 30 lakhs. We believe guarantees for the rest will be given by some of the promoters themselves if by the end of January the sum is not raised to 35 lakhs, which is the figure accepted by the Government as adequate for a start. But it is a shame that those who have worked so selflessly and hard throughout the last year should have to begin the new year with another and still larger sacrifice because Burma has not paid over two lakhs out of its promises, and Eastern Bengal still owes nearly half a lakh; because even the generous in Western Bengal are vacillating and doubtful, and the Living Heart of the Punjab throbs no more with the old generosity, which gave it an unusual promptness in payment, but responds only to the demands of a demonstrative loyalty or narrow and cheap communal zeal. The United Provinces, including Kampur, are hardly any better, for if the Punjab has paid only Rs. 1,64,832 out of Rs. 3,69,072, the U.P.'s payment is Rs. 5,87,607 out of a promise of Rs. 9,77,300. The result is that 13 lakhs of rupees out of a total of more than 31 lakhs promised are still unpaid, and it is not one on which any community can be complimented. The Hindu community has been a little slow in promising, and although this may have been due to the unfamiliarity of the idea, we are inclined to think that it gives promise of rapid payment. If this forecast comes out true, the Mussalmans will have the proud distinction of being the most generous community—in promises. As many of the defaulter's subscriptions come under our general category of "Wanted Known," we think it will be sheer cruelty to animals to keep such donors' names needlessly secret. They will suffer little by an occasional airing, and our columns are as ready for the ventilation of generosity as for the ventilation of grievances.

We are not inordinately in love with lawyers, and often sigh for the good old days when injustice could be done in the land without the help of the lawyer.

"By Order of the Court."

it multiply and spread over the face of the earth in India is one thing, and to interfere with the freedom of the subject's choice of a profession is another. We could point out, if there was no law about Contempt of Court, a dozen Honourable Judges of the High Courts and the Chief Courts whom we long to get at and to dissolve into thin air. But we confess our murderous propensities have been kept remarkably under control, and let the Honourable Judges thank the Lord for having given us so much reason and self-control. But we cannot be equally grateful to the Creator for the lack of reason and self-control in the Honourable Judges of the Punjab Chief Court who have ordered the "constructive murder" of lawyers in that Province. We have seen the law examinations in India getting stiffer and stiffer each year till the easiest course for the would-be lawyer had come to be the negotiation of a loan of 10 or 15 thousand rupees and the booking of a passage to London town, where the eating of a number of rather tasteless dinners was the hardest part of the process of qualifying for a Call to the Bar. But the Benchers of the Inns of Court, moved more by the spread of silly and sometimes seditious ideas among the law students than by a desire to raise the standard of their knowledge, resolved to admit none but Graduates as students if they happened to come from India, though a much easier examination continued to satisfy the requirements of the case for all others. Although a Call to the Bar is still necessary for the aspirant to some of the highest legal and judicial posts in India, as the Hon. Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee is reported to have stated to the Secretary of State, during his recent visit to the Law College here, as one of the reasons for an exodus of law students to England, there is no doubt that since the restriction of admission to the Inns of Court to Graduates only the chief reason of a journey to England has almost disappeared. Not satisfied even with this, the Honourable Judges of the Punjab High Court are anxious to stop, partially at least, even the remaining outlet for the escape of juristic aspiration. "I have the honour to inform you," writes the Registrar of the Punjab University to the Principal of the Law College, "that the Honourable the Judges of the Chief Court have decided that in future the admission of graduates to be pleaders of the second grade shall be regulated according to the numerical requirements of the Province. The members to be admitted each year will be announced three years ahead. For the year 1916 only thirty men, who pass the highest in Bachelor of Laws examination, will be admitted to pleadership." Another circular addressed as above says that the Judges of the Chief Court have decided that they will admit no person as Mukhtars after the 1st December, 1913. Although this drastic action is unworthy of a class of people who are generally credited with a judicious temper and training, we must say it is quite in consonance with the autocracy of the *Balawar* North. What Calcutta and Bombay and Madras, which have such a plethora of lawyers, will not dream of doing, the Punjab and the United Provinces would immediately resolve upon and carry out. As must be generally known, the first Province to take such action was the newly created N.W. Frontier Province,

where, if the absurd excuse of the apologists for the Judges is true, lawyers must be thick as blackberries, and for all we know, steps may be in contemplation to prevent the birth of too many Advocates-General in Afghan families. What shocks us so much is the nonchalant way in which a journal of such distinction as the *Times of India* has dealt with the question. It writes:—

The Punjab Chief Court, faced with a constant increase in the ranks of local lawyers, has taken the bell by the horns and declared that for the future only a limited number of pleaders shall be admitted each year, according to requirements. Three years' notice will be given of the number to be admitted, and a beginning has been made by fixing the figure for 1914 at 42. There will no doubt be a great outcry against the new rules by the claim from which bedding lawyers spring, but the circumstantial evidence against them is strong. The introduction of British methods of dispensing justice between man and man in substitution for the traditional methods of the country has led to an appalling amount of useless litigation, and nowhere has the Indian's propensity in this direction run to such lengths as in the Punjab. The latest official returns show that the number of civil suits instituted in the course of a year gradually rose till, in 1909, it reached 210,894, 1910 showing a slight decrease to 209,137. The reports upon the criminal courts show that the facilities thus provided for obstructing the course of justice are actually increasing the spread of serious crime among people whom the increasing prosperity of the province furnished with funds for litigation. In these circumstances a surplus of penurious, competing lawyers can only tend to a serious aggravation of the evil.

Our esteemed contemporary talks of "circumstantial evidence" as if it still believes that men lie but circumstances don't. Whatever the basis of its belief, it has certainly failed to find the real culprit. On its own showing, it is "the introduction of British methods of dispensing justice between man and man in substitution for the traditional methods of the country" that has led to "an appalling amount of useless litigation." The obvious remedy would, in that case, appear to be a reversion to "the traditional methods of the country" and not a reduction of lawyers. So long as the demand is there it is stupid in the extreme to expect an improvement in the conditions by restricting the supply. All that it would do would be to enhance the fees of lawyers, or, if this law is not—as we fear it cannot be—applied to Barristers as well, to increase the rush to England. But a simple reversion to the "traditions" of the country is impossible. Although life may still be a simple affair for the rivot, it has become highly complex for "the microscopic minority" of the educated on whom one Member of the Government of India, and that a lawyer and an Indian, so rightly relied. As Lord Morley has said so well, we have to adjust the chronometer in more than one longitude, and although this may be, as it obviously is, no easy matter, it shows a pitiful lack of resource to think of tampering with the freedom of a man's choice of profession as the only remedy. The Honourable the Judges of the Chief Court do not pay a pie of the lawyers' fees out of their judicial pockets, nor have they a direct concern with the advocate of a litigant's cause. Who are they, then, to reduce the supply of the lawyers? They may regulate the procedure of their own Courts, which is in all conscience far too cumbersome and involved and costs the litigant a pretty penny. But we are convinced that they have no right to tamper with the laws of demand and supply beyond requiring the person representing a party to a litigation to possess certain qualifications which facilitate the course of justice. The *Times of India*'s sneer at "penurious competing lawyers" is hardly in good taste, for if there is a plethora of penurious competitors in any profession in the world it is in journalism. Fleet Street is paved by penny-a-line backs almost as liberally as Hell with good intentions.

The Indian public is thoroughly familiar with the methods and the spirit of the campaign which has been going on against the Indian settlers in South Africa with unabated virulence and no new facts or forms of racial spite and repression can

surprise us. The ingenuity of the Little Africander seems, however, to be inexhaustible in its vindictiveness, and the latest news shows how a son in his efforts to reach his father in South Africa has been refused admittance and deported from the country. He left India and went to Africa three times but was never allowed to cross the frontier. "On the last occasion he produced evidence that he was seeking to join his father, but the Immigration Department persisted in its refusal, on the ground that the documents in question were unsatisfactory." He then applied to the Supreme Court after obtaining a temporary interdict restraining the immigration officer from deporting him. But the Court has rejected the application on the ground that the immigration officer had full authority in the matter and consequently it could not interfere with his decision. Mr. Justice Dove Wilson, the Judge-President, remarked that "he regretted that the Court was powerless to interfere because he himself thought that ordinary justice would have permitted the boy to land." Mr. Justice Broome also "commented on the case in similar strain." The only grievance of the Indians is that they are not allowed even "ordinary justice" in an integral part of the British Empire. We do not know how long this grievous wrong will continue to afflict His Majesty's Indian subjects. If self-government is to mean that the Government treat Indians on terms of equality, it is time the Indian Government revised its own laws in respect of colonization in this country. They are certainly abusing the immigrants of other races while their government are treating the as before.

The Comrade.

The War in Tripoli.

We hope the many "friends" of Turkey have not forgotten that they had repeatedly advised the Young Turks to "cut the loss" and accept a monetary compensation for Tripoli from its Italian raiders. The feelings of the Turks at the time were well expressed by the poet when he said in the bitterness of grief:

بِكَانْ كَيْ دُوْسَتْ كَيْ مَنْ دُوْسَتْ كَيْ مَعْ
كُونْ كَارْ سَازْ مُونْ كُونْ غَمْسَارْ هُونْ

The Turks, however, did not lose heart on account of the paucity of their numbers in Tripoli, their total unpreparedness, and the advice of their "friends." What the result of their stubborn resistance against enormous odds in numbers and equipment has been our readers have been able to judge for themselves from the copious extracts from the telegrams of European Press Correspondents which we have been publishing every week without withholding even those which were obviously inspired by the most bitter hostility to Turkey and to Islam. The most connected account that has yet appeared in the English Press is that of "Kepi" in *Blackwood's Magazine* which we have reproduced in our last issue and in this. But the enterprise of Printing House Square deserves the utmost praise, inasmuch as the *Times* publishes from week to week a review of the military operations in Tripoli, as seen by its far sighted Military Correspondent—from Printing House Square! The field-glasses used by this military expert must evidently be the spectacled eyes of his colleague who stays at Rome. The French namesake of the *Times*, the *Temps* of Paris, has its own ideas of journalistic enterprise, however, and keeps a War Correspondent with the Turkish forces in Tripoli itself. By the courtesy of the *Times* in supplementing its own copious news "from Rome" with extracts from the newsletter of the War Correspondent of the *Temps*, we are enabled to know some facts which are entirely at variance with the "truth stranger than fiction" which comes filtering through Rome to Printing House Square.

The Paris journal publishes accounts of fighting on the 15th December in which the Italians reinforced by 2,000 fresh arrivals attacked the Turkish camp, and of a reconnaissance in force with artillery on the 17th, which find no mention in news from Rome. The reason is, of course, obvious. In the former the Italians lost 200 killed, including 2 officers, while the Turkish casualties were only 12 killed and 30 wounded, and in the latter, after 20 shells had been wasted by the Italians on the Turkish camp, the Turks developed an attack and forced the Italians back on Tripoli. But all this was too mild a chastisement to deserve any mention in the *Times*. The name cannot, however, be said of the fight at Dir Tobras on the 19th December, and the Rome correspondent of the *Times* generously concedes that "the operations were of some importance." The French journalist is brutally frank, and dismisses the somewhat important operations in the manner of the Persian who was asked to relate the story of Jacob and Joseph and said:

وَالْيَوْمَ ، أَلَّا — وَالْيَوْمَ — بَوْلَهْ بَوْلَهْ
(Was a prophet, had a son, lost and then found him.) The Italians who were reconnoitring to the eastward of the Turkish left lost their way in the desert, and when they found it and met the Turks, the latter "cut off a detachment and captured 200 rifles as well as other equipment and several mules."

Let us now glance at the embroideries of the *Times*. "The Italian operations during the past ten days," says its Military Correspondent, "have not been very fortunate." But this excellent euphemism for "disastrous" is nothing compared to the misnaming of the cause of disaster. "The weather has been bad." Indeed, the Clerk of the Weather has much to answer for. His vagaries were hitherto the much needed stimulus to not over brilliant conversationalists in search of interesting topics. But his latest achievement must rank next to Garibaldi's, for although he did not make Italy, he certainly comes very near saving it. Unlike the aeroplane scout, he has proved more than a fair-weather friend to Italy. He accounts not only for the absence of accurate intelligence about Turkish movements, but also perhaps for the loss of the way, which in its turn accounts for a journey of 6 miles being accomplished in 8 hours. Colonel Fara attempted to surround the Turks, but while attempting to describe this circle his forces became the centre of attraction to the Turks, who turned the tables on their assailants and began to surround their right. What did the Italian commander do, then? Why, the usual thing. Our reader must have seen times out of number some greasy and ponderous Chauha of Muttra wrestling with a light-weight Punjabee, and the last resort of the former, *zorwai pahari*. Well, Italian policy has an improvement on the Chauha's strategy, for they do not content themselves with "catching" the surface of the "earth,"

but dig themselves in on the least provocation. An admirer of theirs whose flattery is reprinted elsewhere says that the Italian soldier "digs like a navvy, and the trenches he makes in a few hours will keep him snug and safe for weeks." So, the Rome correspondent tells us that "thereupon Colonel Fara promptly concentrated his forces upon the right and *intrenched the position*." But the Un-speakable Turk disturbs gallant soldiers even in their graves, and this subterranean force of Colonel Fara was worried in a disgraceful manner. "For the rest of the day and during the greater part of the night," writes the *Times* correspondent, "the enemy . . . delivered one attack after another in a most determined fashion, coming up sometimes within 50 yards of the trenches." But such evidently was the gallant response from the graves that "each time they were beaten back by the heavy rifle and artillery fire maintained by the Italians." According to the correspondent of the *Temps*, who writes from the field itself, "the pursuit stopped at Ain Zara." But the *Times* has gone far enough and could go no further. Its Rome correspondent writes that "finally at 4 o'clock next morning they (the Turks) retired, leaving Colonel Fara and his troops in possession of the field." *Beati possidentes* (Blessed are those in possession), as the *Pioneer's* correspondent would have said.

But what of the losses? The Rome correspondent is discreetly silent. He has evidently "cut the losses." The Military Correspondent is more of an expert, though we shall not go so far as *Idi-Asen*, who said that "expert witnesses were expert liars." Silence would have been damagingly eloquent, so he mentions that "in this fruitless enterprise"—another charming euphemism—"the Italians suffered 84 casualties." The correspondent of the *Temps* only multiplies this number by five and adds four score to make it a good round figure of 500. A slight difference, isn't it? But what an awful dilemma for Asia and Africa? One of the two correspondents must be a liar, and, as every schoolboy must know, no European tells a lie. We must say it is rather hard on the schoolboy to be taught all this and then to believe that 500 in Paris is equal to 84 in Rome. We wonder whether a very short cable to the *Times* from its correspondent at Tripoli can throw any light on this subject. It bears the significant note, "Delayed by the Censor!"

The expert of the *Times* writes learnedly, but rather despairingly, about "the difficulties and dangers of a desert campaign." But surely the Italians did not expect to find the hinterland of Tripoli and Cyrenaica blossoming like a garden. According to the expert of the *Times* "all faults bring their own punishment, and none more surely than the neglect of principles laid down by the past masters of war." We wonder if this great truth could not be applied to things more heinous than "faults", and to the neglect of principles laid down, not by "the past masters of war", but by all the ethical teachers of the world. We are told that "all depends upon the manner and the principles upon which the Italian command proposes to conduct the campaign, and on this subject the evidence is not yet sufficiently complete for the formation of an opinion." Well, if three months' "masterly inactivity" is not evidence enough of the manner and the principles upon which the Italian command proposes to conduct the campaign, are we to wait for the second Adowa? The only difficulty in the way of a repetition of Adowa is that the Italians will not stir out of the trenches. We are informed that 30,000 men are now available for active operations in Cyrenaica and "a forward move on this side is to be anticipated." Have we not been asked to "anticipate" a "forward move" in many directions many a time during the last three months? A fortnight has passed since this last "intelligent anticipation" of events that never happened was hazarded, and we have not heard even of those movements of six weeks ago so beautifully expressed by the *Times* expert as "little advances followed by little retreats."

The only news that comes from Rome is that the principal Italian sources of revenue during the last six months of 1911 show an increase of 30,625,000 lire; that according to the *Tribuna*, Italian resources are "capable of withstanding every adverse occurrence marvellously", that the surpluses in the year 1911-12 will total 23,700,000 lire and in the year 1912-13, 14,500,000 lire; and that "the Minister of the Treasury lays stress on the statement that the Treasury is able to meet all war expenditure from existing sources without in any way diminishing the vote for social reform." Apart from the unpleasant anticipation of "adverse occurrences," if this is not meant to reassure the Turks that they can count upon the Italian payment of a war indemnity in full, it could have been intended only to satisfy the tax-payers that their burdens would not be heavier than what the withdrawal of a hundred thousand men from Italy and the Turkish boycott of Italian goods have already made them, and to delude the anti-war party in Italy with hopes of unrestricted expenditure on social reform "in which education and public works are chiefly concerned."

So far as actual fighting consists, we heard from Rome that a fortnight ago the Italians had 21 wounded at Homs, where they were digging some more trenches, though the assailants, whose losses are not mentioned, "were repulsed after three hours' fighting." The correspondent, whose letter from Tripoli the *Times* has

published, praises their digging but complains that the Italian soldiers "move rather slowly in the attack," and he concludes that "perhaps the policy of the leaders is justified by the small casualty lists, though that," he adds, "is a point which opens a wide field for discussion." Exactly. The casualties at Homs after a three hours' hard fighting do open "a wide field for discussion." Even according to their own statements the Italians have done nothing in the Tripolitana, and we have to receive the news about the seven Turkish gunboats destroyed and an armed yacht captured off Kunfuda by Italian cruisers and destroyers with a pinch of salt of rather large dimensions. We have no wish to deny that the command of the sea lies with the Italians, and that if a few gunboats and a yacht venture out and are encountered by the Italian warships the results would be disastrous to the minor craft. The wonder is that in spite of Italian superiority the crews of the gunboats landed safely. But what they were doing before they were caught in this manner is more than we can say. South of Jeddah, they, at any rate, could not have been conveying arms and troops to Cyrenaica. We know that Italians are now anxious to obtain what relief to their feelings they can by dropping bombs on hospitals from aeroplanes and by making a target for their guns of every shelter for the wounded. Mr Allan Ostler, the *Express* correspondent with the Turks at Ain Zara, whose letter we publish elsewhere, makes that clear enough. "They have flatly refused to allow any medical stores to reach the Turkish army." That was evidenced only a few weeks ago by their capture of the Hospital Ship, *Kaisersch* which flew a Red Crescent flag. They, of course, contend that "the search showed an entire lack of hospital appliances" and that it was suspected that it was used as a transport. But, then, the same cruiser *Puglia* which seized the *Kaisersch* was also reported to have seized £30,000 from the steamer *Mensalek* bound for Hodeidah. The *Egyptian Gazette*, the organ of the Occupation, now writes that "this specie had been shipped by one of the banks established in Alexandria to diverse merchants in Hodeidah and was seized by the *Caledonia*, not the *Puglia*, some miles off Jeddah. The total amount was insured against all war risks. Turkish post parcels containing different kinds of Turkish monies to the extent of about £1,000 were also seized." When Italian courage is wearing itself out in such shady adventures which are magnified and ennobled in official despatches we must be pardoned for discounting liberally the "graphic description" of the fight in the Red Sea on the 1st instant.

So far we have dealt only with news from European sources. But the news service of the Egyptian and Turkish journals is not unworthy of attention. The Constantinople correspondent of the *Naar Kast* is magnificently sarcastic. He writes:—

The war, which bulked so big a few weeks ago, has receded into a dim distance. Somewhere in the west, on the other side of the horizon, over which hang roseate clouds, where the eye of faith describes wondrous Ottoman successes, a war is going on, but that "somewhere" is a long way away. The War Office tells us little; victories announced by our agencies or by our laconic correspondents are monotonous in their regularity and results; we have heard again and again that the Italians, after an unsuccessful attack on Djebel Umm el-Kazab (Mount Mother-of-the-Liar) or some other locality undiscernable on the map, "retreated in great disorder, leaving many wounded and killed, and fled to their entrenchments," or that "the enemy's losses, though doubtless very high, cannot be estimated with exactitude;" and as the War Office never publishes the names or the number of our killed and wounded we cannot be expected to worry much about them. Even the tale of the heroic soldier—also! the Agence Ottomane has forgotten to give the name or even the official number of this humble hero—who, though his clothes were burned off him by an Italian machine gun perched upon a fortress, yet crawled, apparently over a distance of at least 100 yards to a point of vantage and picked off the one gunner who worked the deadly engine—evidently this has ceased to interest us.

All this pretty piece of writing may have been well believed by us were it not for the fact that the correspondent of the *Temps* bears out most of what is reported by Turkish agencies. "Mount Mother-of-the-Liar" is no doubt an excellent phrase, but what of the European Fabius's whose lies, in the coarse but expressive language of Shakespeare, "are like the father that begets them, gross as a mountain, open, palpable"? The Cairo correspondent of this journal itself has tired us with his repetition about the lack of interest in the War in Egypt. On the 3rd December he had written for the eighth time that "probably never has a war been carried on in the immediate neighbourhood of Egypt that has created less interest here." The letters of correspondents from Smyrna and Jerusalem, which showed how absorbing was the war interest elsewhere, had given rise to inferences directly contrary to the statements of the Cairo correspondent, while Egyptian papers were full of war news and articles on the war, and enormous sums were said to have been subscribed by the Egyptians. But all this could have been gaily brushed aside by our London contemporary had we not seen a wire in the *Times* from its own correspondent, presumably Mr. D. H. Loch, who has recently been appointed and reached Cairo a few weeks ago. He not only confirms the statements about war sufferers' relief, stating that three further missions organised by the Red Crescent Society in Egypt consisting of a number of doctors and nurses, whose photographs have already appeared in London illustrated papers, have left Cairo, but frankly

acknowledging that "as is natural, the Moslems of Egypt are deeply interested in the course of the war." That being the case, we are not disposed to believe Italian and Pro-Italian Fabius's in preference to Turkish news agencies, specially when the latter's statements are corroborated by independent witnesses, such as the correspondent of the *Temps*, who does not write about Djebel Umm-el-Kazab from the safe asylum of Constantinople or Rome, but exposes the fictions of Djebel Abu-l-Kazab from the field of battle.

And what is the testimony of Arabic papers? The *Alamdar* wrote a month ago that the Turks had wisely advised the Arabs of Tripoli to return to the fields and take advantage of the agricultural season in order to secure provisions for the extended campaign, and that this explains not only their recent inactivity but also the evacuation of Ain Zara, in the course of which Neshat Bay kept the enemy busy for eight hours, and which was, as the telegrams of last month from Tripoli published by the European Press showed, "a retreat in good order to a position affording facilities for movement in several directions and possibilities of revictualling and obtaining reinforcements," and not a defeat in which, according to messages from Rome, "the Turks fled leaving much ammunition, grain, and other stores." In fact, the Turks were sufficiently convinced by the Italians' lack of dash and enterprise that they had nothing to fear from them, and, as the *Alamdar* argues, they were wise in making their plans on the basis of a clear understanding that they had to lay a protracted siege to the Italians on three sides rather than follow defensive tactics against an advancing foe. But the Stam-boul paper announced that we should not have long to wait for news of a general and many-sided advance, and that Ain Zara, Benghazi, and Derna were all about to be attacked. That pledge has now been amply redeemed. Apart from the reports published by the *Temps* of the fighting on the 15th, 17th and 19th December, we learn from *At-Lawa* of Cairo and *At-Tarraqi* and *Alamdar* of Constantinople, and from Turkish official reports of a successful advance near Benghazi, Barca, Derna, and Tobruk and of a repulse of the enemy in its endeavour to cut the Turkish wires at Zanzur. The fighting appears to have been severe. In the fight at Derna on the 14th December the number of killed on the Italian side is reported to approximate to a thousand, and in the capture of the fortifications on the range of hills known as Jebel Natourah, it seems that more than half the Italian force was cut to pieces. On all accounts the attack on Benghazi on Christmas Day was a determined effort, and while messages from Rome declare that 500 Turks were killed, the Turkish accounts state that the Italians had to take shelter in their ships.

Much booty has fallen into the hands of the Arabs and Turks, so much so that many witnesses declare that it is more than the Turks can manage to keep while they are constantly on the move. But in two instances the spoils of the victor are of extreme interest. In the attack near Tobruk on the 2nd December, the Turks secured among other things projects of Italian operations, plans, and other important documents which must prove exceedingly useful to the Turks in planning their own movements and the dispositions of their troops. The other treasure-trove is an explosive in more senses than one. The cases of Dum-Dum bullets, the use of which is forbidden by international agreement, which the Turks captured both at Derna on the 14th December and at Benghazi on Christmas Day, explode the beautiful theory of Italian gentleness. The apologist who sends a letter from Tripoli to the *Times*, confident of its publication by that "friend" of the Turks and of justice, mentions the "firmness and balance" of the Italians—in addition to a characteristic cheerfulness—at the sight of the maimed bodies of the comrades said to have been discovered near El Henni, which created feelings of rage and horror in other beholders. We hope all this is true, and we have no desire to disbelieve without reason. But if the pretty picture of Italian soldiers carrying the little children of those who came "to make submission and beg for protection from Turks and desert warriors," in order "to save the mother's fatigue," and of others who had to apologise for the kepi "pulled all on one side by the clutching arm of a little Arab girl" with the tender remark, "thus I have a *bambino* at home," is meant to be accepted as sufficient refutation of the horrors of October last, we beg leave to say that we are inclined to suspect that the apologist may not only be fond of drawing unjustifiable inferences, but also a skilful liar. Mr. Allan Ostler of the *Express*, has confirmed the inhumanity of the Italians and from his own experience a month later than the atrocities of October; and the account of the shelling of, Hassan Sa'ab and the murder of little children dashed against the heads of their mothers does not go to show that these cowards and bullies had any thought at all of "a *bambino* at home."

Sigñor Felice, a Socialist deputy of Italy, a correspondent to the *Secolo*, and formerly an enthusiastic supporter of the attack upon Tripoli, has recently thrown a light on the behaviour of his countrymen which all the apologies published by the *Times* cannot hide. Unfortunately for his enthusiasm, he went out himself and attended the trial of fourteen wounded Arabs executed for supposed罪 in the alleged Arab atrocities of 3rd October. "I have witnessed the

conviction," he writes, "that there was not a single clear and positive fact which could bear out the charge." Referring to 23rd October, he continues :—

I promise to write very soon the history of that hapless day, and I will then show that the responsibility for the bloodshed lies on a much higher quarter. I demand for the conquered population the observance of International law, and not the vengeance of conquerors. If Italy went to Tripoli in the name of civilisation, she must behave there like a handmaid of justice. Should it be otherwise, should the gallows continue to speak while Justice keeps silent, I for one shall not hesitate to proclaim that Italy is insulting the cause for which we have all been fighting, and that the alleged enthusiasm of the Government for civilisation is an insincere and damnable lie.

The comment of a writer in *the Nation* on this statement is worth quoting. He writes that it is a confession from a man upon whom reality has been forced. He adds :—

We remember that when the question of humane cruelty practised upon the Arabs of Tripoli was raised in Parliament, a pained "Hush!" went up from the Treasury Bench. We are afraid such expressions would increase the pain in the "Hush!" we spoke of. They are words of a man who cannot tolerate the cant of cruelty any longer, and whose dulness under the tyranny of phrases has been illuminated by vision.

If any doubt existed about this "humane cruelty", the captured cases of Dum-Dum bullets, which the Turks have wisely shown to the English and French correspondents, remove it altogether. We now understand better than we did before how "the responsibility for the bloodshed lies on a much higher quarter." But the pained "Hush!" of the Powers proves that International Law is not only of no use for the purposes of peace, but that it is an exploded myth even in times of war. Not only is might superior to right, but the methods of using brute force are no longer human, but frankly and cynically brutal. It is a case of catch-as-catch-can, and women and children, the aged and the bed-ridden, all are grist that happen to come to the mill. Civilization has described a complete circle, and it is not only lascivious dances which the belles of American and European Society must learn from negroes and negresses for whom Judge Lynch is the only Daniel come to judgment, but when Science has given to mankind a mastery over the forces of Nature, its greatest discoveries must be utilized to wage a merciless war which even savages may perhaps shun. These are awful lessons which the war in Tripoli is teaching the pupils of Europe, the continents of Asia and Africa. Let us pray to the All-Merciful that we may not prove apt scholars of such inhuman doctrines.

Gaekwar Baiting.

The unfortunate incident at the Durbar which brought His Highness the Gaekwar's name more prominently before the public than the innumerable admirers of his enlightenment and his reforming zeal could have liked has given to the equally numerous band of those who could not tolerate his manliness the one chance of their life. It was natural enough that the latter should chuckle over the Durbar incident and the explanation of the Maharaja, but we must admit we never suspected that people who belong to a manly race themselves should have so far forgotten themselves as to indulge in language which beats anything we have yet heard in unpunder in condemning, though in disguise, one of the sterling qualities of Englishmen. *The Saturday Review*, a Tory weekly of great distinction, writes :—

An incident of the Durbar to be regretted was the misconduct of the Gaekwar. This graceless Feudatory has learned his idea of ceremony and a mistaken sense of his own importance in America. The record of Baroda is not a happy one. The ruling family are strangers to the people, and the present ruler owes his position to us. He was a humble village youth, selected as heir by adoption when his predecessor was deposed for an attempt on the life of the Resident and for general misgovernment. His loyalty has been for some years under suspicion. (He has coquetted with the leaders of sedition, including, it seems, the notorious Krishnarama.) His apology was not sufficient. The offence requires much more serious notice. A reduction of his estate has been suggested, and a restriction on his foreign travel. Lord Curzon had to censure him severely for leaving his dominions in time of famine to indulge in a European tour. He should be tried by a jury of his peers.

It is true that American ideas of ceremony are different from those that prevail in Asia and even in Europe, but we do not know how "our American cousins" would appreciate the inference that their democratic manners lack grace. While regretting the injudicious advocacy of Mr. Keir Hardie, we cannot help remarking that we have yet to discover the mould of fashion and the glass of form outside the functionaries of European Courts, who have to practice their backward steps most ridiculous—for a consideration—that could turn grace into the dangerous art of walking backwards. Hamlet and Mr. Keir Hardie agree and characterize this retrogressive movement as an imitation of the east. But all this is neither here nor there. There were many Princes who were *gauches* to a degree at the Durbar, and the Cinematographic Companies which advertise the unfortunate incident of H.H. the Gaekwar display that which would admirably suit a blackmailer threatening some onward or nervous Ruler of a State with a threat: "By Special

Request." It is chiefly a question of loyalty, and the subject demands dispassionate as well as serious treatment.

But does the following extract from the *Globe*, under the heading of "A Beggar on Horseback," tend to create the suitable atmosphere?

Some years ago the Indian Government for sufficient reasons deposed the ruling Gaekwar of Baroda and set up in his stead a village child for whom a royal pedigree was discovered or provided. Unfortunately, though the Government could make a ruling chief, it could not make a gentleman, and this son of a small cultivator has seen fit to put a gross insult upon his Suseini before all India. He came into the presence of the Kaiser-i-Hind improperly, not to say indecorously, attired, did his homage with studied insolence, and turned his back upon the throne.

Is not the first mad impulse after reading it to take a horsewhip and lay it savagely across the editorial back? We believe our profession has as many gentlemen in its ranks as any other, but we must confess we rise from a perusal of such scurrilous writing with a deepening sense of shame.

In the first place we are told that for "sufficient reasons" the Indian Government had deposed the Maharaja's predecessor. We shall not quarrel with the expression, for in these days of Imperial autocracy "sufficient reasons" and the actions of the Indian Government are always found in company. But it will not be amiss to remind the *Globe* that Sergeant Ballantyne, who defended Malhar Rao Gaekwar, died with the full conviction that the Prince was innocent of the crime of an attempt on his life of which the Resident had accused him, and that a "jury of his peers" which commends itself to the *Saturday Review* had found him "Not Guilty." But Malhar Rao was an undesirable Ruler, and his "general misgovernment" had taken a brutally immoral form at which the Resident was perhaps rightly concerned. Let us hope that the sins of Malhar Rao are things of the past; but we are not sure if the world and its rulers are now sufficiently concerned at them to look carefully into such offences. It appears as if it is only when they metamorphose themselves into attempts on the life of a Resident, or when a would-be blackmailer is balked of an illegitimate gain of a fleabite of 15 lakhs, that Mrs. Grundy—if not the Government—preaches from the unattainable heights of offended virtue and shocked innocence.

The next remark of the *Globe* may perhaps cause some fluttering in political dovecotes in India, for it assumes that the practice of "discovering" or "providing" royal pedigrees for village children when a change of rulers becomes expedient is not so rare as we should like to think in connection with a Department the integrity and truth of which should be, like Caesar's wife, "above suspicion." It is indeed "unfortunate," according to the *Globe*, that a Government which could manufacture evidence of high birth should lack the cunning to manufacture evidence of high breeding. If the atmosphere of Asia was unsuitable, surely frequent travel in Europe should have succeeded where the efforts of Government had failed. But this is just what the *Saturday Review* would like to restrict, and it would be strange indeed if Lord Hardinge, after reversing one scheme of Lord Curzon, should listen to the advice of this journal and follow in the footsteps of his masterful predecessor, whose policy had never commanded itself even to the most submissive Chief.

But what is the crime of the Gaekwar that the whole of Fleet Street should be turning out to supply judge, jury and hangman as well as the public prosecutor? That he was nervous and lacked grace? That he put on the purest of white raiments, just as the Nizam had appeared in plain black, instead of decking himself like a bridegroom? In spite of what the *Globe* and the *Saturday Review* have written, nobody would think for a moment that these are offences for which the second Ruling Chief of India should be punished. It is only schoolboys who play tricks with the droning pedagogue or attend school in clothes bearing too evident traces of picking blackberries that are punished in this manner. As we have said before, the only question is one of loyalty, and if the journals that abuse the Gaekwar think him to be disloyal, we must say they take far too lenient a view of the matter. To restrict foreign travel may possibly be deterrent, if we believe that the Gaekwar is conspiring with Germany for the overthrow of Great Britain or with Ulster, Lord Londonderry and Sir Edward Carson for the overthrow of Constitutional Government in Ireland. But surely disloyalty is too heinous an offence to be punished with "a reduction of his salute." Mr. Keir Hardie may be poohpoohed as a rank Socialist when he ridicules time-honoured Court ceremonial. But the *Truth* devotes more space to Court gossip and the movements of Society stars than even to the exposure of shame, and the *Truth* has recently bombarded the passion for more guns with the batteries of ridicule. After the meanness displayed in the attacks on the Gaekwar, we cannot credit his detractors with lenity in their penal proposals. The only other conclusion that can legitimately be drawn, then, is that His Majesty and the safety of the Empire are being used merely as stalking horses behind which stand personal prejudice, spleen and the abhorrence of manliness and independence so characteristic of bullies.

The Comrade.

If H.H. the Gaekwar has been playing a deep game, the wonder is that he did not dissemble better. A Machiavel among Princes, he should have behaved like an Uriah Heep and should always have been "umble." If he is still suspected of treachery, then the procedure of inquiry through an ordinary Resident is as unsuitable as the penalty of fewer guns. After having expressed our own views so recently on the subject of the unfortunate incident of the Durbar we would not have reverted to the subject to-day, inspite of the provocative remarks of the two journals from which we have quoted, had we not learnt with great concern much that has followed that incident. Mr. Cobb, the Baroda Resident, whose knowledge of Baroda is meagre in the extreme, and whose past record does not show much evidence of a sympathetic handling of affairs, is evidently acting on the belief that Baroda is honeycombed with sedition. We cannot conceive that this was also the opinion of Mr. C. N. Seddon, I.C.S., who has suddenly been withdrawn from the post of Minister at Baroda by the Government of Bombay in the exercise of some powers not ordinarily exercised, if not in violation of rules laid down for the deputation of Government servants to Protected States.

Mr. Seddon had been for some years an Assistant Resident at Baroda, and his straightforwardness and breadth of outlook, combined with the fame of a most sympathetic administration at Jamnagar, must have commanded him to the Maharaja who obtained a loan of his services and appointed him, first as a Settlement Commissioner, then as Revenue Minister, and, finally, since the sad death of Mr. R. C. Dutt, as the Dewan of the State. But although sympathetic and tolerant, Mr. Seddon was by no means a weak man, and when he felt it his duty to differ from his colleagues or his master, he did so in no uncertain terms. It seems that Mr. Seddon could not say ditto to all the whims and fancies of Mr. Cobb, and he has had to go. But his tenure of such responsible posts in Baroda during the last eight years is a clear proof that Baroda has not been the hotbed of treason which recent action even more than the impudent accusations against its Ruler makes it out to be.

Mr. Seddon, however, has not been the only Government official employed in Baroda. Dewan Tek Chand, a Punjab Civilian, has been a Settlement Commissioner, and then a Revenue Commissioner, during more than the past three years, and Mr. B. L. Gupta, I.C.S., who had risen to be the Legal Remembrancer in Bengal, has been holding the same post at Baroda after his retirement from British service. These have been the principal officials of Baroda and the chief members of its Executive Council during the past few years when, according to the *Saturday Review*, the Maharaja's loyalty was under suspicion, and he was coqueting with the leaders of sedition. It must be remembered that the Gaekwar was away from Baroda for a considerable portion of the time during the last few years, and that it was the Executive Council with more than one member of the I.C.S. that carried on the work of day-to-day administration. We must, then, either condemn all these men as blind, incompetent and weak or believe that Mr. Cobb alone is jaundiced; and without more data upon which to form our judgment we must abide by the well-known law of scientific reasoning which is on the side of an economy of causes. Till the Government publishes such data we shall not accuse three Civilians of great local and other experience as incompetent in order to prove that a single Political is in the right. Designing people are apt to play on the suspicions of British officials, as has recently been witnessed in the case of those peaceful citizens of Baroda who were arrested one night by the British Police with the ready assistance of Baroda functionaries and prosecuted for having manufactured bombs and thrown them at Lord Minto at Ahmedabad. The judicial inquiry at Ahmedabad, unassisted, of course, by Mr. Cobb, resulted in a dismal fiasco, for it was the informers who had manufactured the case as well as the bombs, with a view to obtain the large reward which had been announced. We have personal knowledge of a certain incident in which a man of such strong commonsense and natural dignity as Lord Minto had been led to request the Maharaja not to entertain the services of an Indian Christian, who had been staying with his wife and family in America, as a Professor at Baroda, simply because some busybody had made a mistake of identity. This officer had duly been engaged by the Maharaja, and yet a Viceroy of India personally intervened and arranged that the contract should be broken without any compensation to the sufferer. But luckily, Mr. Bonaparte, I.C.S., was then Resident, and it was possible to reconsider the matter. The Professor after some time cleared himself without any difficulty and was finally appointed in the State. Are we sure that matters are gone into equally carefully and dispassionately to-day?

It appears that one officer, a Cambridge graduate and something of an educational faddist, who had served for some 15 years in Baroda and had risen to the acting charge of a district, but who could complain with some justice of tardy promotion, has been made to retire because he had founded a sort of Gurukul at Baroda to the funds of which he contributed with praiseworthy self-sacrifice. Another officer who had spent many years in England

and Germany, who was an ideal District Officer and a great favourite with Europeans as well as Gujratis and Maharastra, who had served the State loyally for a score of years and more, has been degraded, deprived of the charge of a district, and made to proceed on long leave. His crime appears to be precisely that of the Hon. Sir Lawrence Jenkins and the Calcutta High Court, namely, a somewhat exacting obedience to the laws of the land. From what we have heard we gather that a number of people are being handed over to the British C.I.D., and that others are being deported; and as one upright and independent District Magistrate has had to pay heavily for doing his duty, we may presume that more accommodating officers, who can put the telescope to the blind eye in such cases, are in great demand.

We have some experience of Protected States and we must say that, generally speaking, so far as security of person and property is concerned, few would care to change their residence from a British District to a Protected State. The Reign of Law in England is a much lesser contrast to the supremacy of Lois Administratif on the Continent than the judicial procedure of British India, with all its faults, to the insecurity and generally inglorious uncertainty of "political" administration in such States. But Baroda was an honourable exception, because the Maharaja, who is by no means a despiser of personal rule in other departments of the State, had practised extremely rigorous self-denial in detaching himself from the administration of Justice. In fact, no constitutional monarch in Europe could have been more detached in this matter than H.H. the Gaekwar. But it is not the same Baroda to-day that its officials and inhabitants were proud of, and all because Mr. Cobb's nerves are none of the best, and because the Maharaja put on white clothes at the Durbar, and when doing homage to His Majesty, was a little confused.

There are some who go so far as to suspect that the postponement of Princess Indiraj's marriage has some political reason. But we are not disposed to credit such rumours. They fail to take into sufficient consideration the manly character of H.H. the Maharaja Scindia, besides his strong commonsense, which must convince him that any vacillation in a matter of this kind would be resented by all right thinking men, and by none more strongly than by his brother Rulers and by those who are on principle opposed to a bigamous union.

Have the Government of India no duty to perform at this moment? Do they feel no inconsistency between all that is going on at Baroda now and the famous Udaipur speech of Lord Minto which laid down the only correct policy in dealing with Protected States? If Baroda is honestly suspected of sedition, it is not men like Mr. Cobb that are required for the work. An officer of the attainments and position of Sir J. R. Dunlop Smith should have been placed on special duty, though it is a judicial officer of the temper and training of Sir Lawrence Jenkins that is really needed at Baroda.

Rumour has it that the cause of all this mischief was not only the apparent courtesy to His Majesty which the Gaekwar has had to explain, but that his views about the relationship in which he stands to the Governor-General have also not proved to the liking of Lord Hardinge. If that is so, it is not only a proper regard for personal popularity and for justice to H.H. the Gaekwar and to his State that should move His Excellency to intervene at this juncture, but also a due sense of justice to himself. It is not enough that men in high places should be just and judicious. The people whose destinies are placed in their hands should also believe them to be so, and we are confident that Lord Hardinge will not allow any lurking suspicion to remain in the minds of the people that his action or inaction is in any way tinged with personal pique. We say this as much out of regard for His Excellency as for His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda, and have too great a confidence in the Viceroy's appreciation of honest candour to fear that our remarks would not be well received.



Anecdote.

DESCRIBING his platform experiences, Dr. Macnamara says the heaviest "fall" he ever had was at an agricultural labourers' meeting in Devonshire. While he was speaking a man insisted on asking a question. Dr. Macnamara told him to sit down and ask the question at the close of the meeting. The man persisted, and so did Dr. Macnamara, until another man called out to the interrupter:

"Sit down, you ass!"

Still another man arose and, in very emphatic tones, repeated the advice.

"I very unwisely intervened," said Dr. Macnamara, "and said:

"There seem to be a great many asses here; let us bear one at a time."

"Then, the man who first interrupted, possibly the last," said me, said:

"You begin, then."

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

REUTER wires on the 11th from Teheran:—Mr. Shuster has left for Europe. He issued a statement opining that M. Mornard's Commission was unfit for Treasury administration. The commission has resigned and it is understood that M. Mornard will take over the post.

M. Mornard took summary possession of the Treasury offices on the 13th and has conveyed to American accountants a message from the Cabinet, that if they further delay transfer of offices they will not only be discharged but will be punished.

The *Times* of the 13th insists that M. Mornard does not fulfil the conditions necessary for his permanent appointment as Treasurer-General. The paper hopes that Russia and Great Britain will seek a more suitable nominee.

Proceeding to discuss the situation in South Persia, the *Times* deprecates British advance thither as giving a dangerous handle to the more adventurous elements in Russia except with a view to possible occupation of one or two points on the Gulf. Moreover, the state of the Indian finances would render a costly expedition singularly inopportune and impolitic, but the paramount consideration is that by holding our hand we should give Muhammadans a most striking proof of our determination not to take advantage of the complications in a Muhammadan country for purposes of self-aggrandisement.

Russian detachments have been distributed along the Khoi and Urumiah caravan road in order to protect travellers against attacks from Kurdish marauders.

The Kurds on the 14th attacked a Russian battalion which was marching on Khoi and Urumiah. Twenty Kurds were killed but the Russians sustained no loss.

It is reported that the Chief Mullah at Ispahan is inciting the people to a holy war. The Consul-General for Persia in Calcutta writes:—With reference to the Reuter's telegram in the press to the effect that the "Chief Mullah at Ispahan is inciting people to a Holy War," the official telegrams received by the Persian Consul-General tend to show that the matter is insignificant and the situation there is easy. The Government has established peace and order and will maintain it. It is satisfactory to note that 64 men said to be concerned in the attack made on Mr. Consul Smart have been arrested and will soon be tried by the Court of Justice and the perpetrators of the attack will be punished."

At a gathering convened by the Persia Committee in London at the Opera House on the 15th a letter was read from Lord Lamington in which His Lordship expresses his regret that he was unable to attend. The letter declared that whilst Germany is complacently looking on at the complications accumulating for us and whilst the Mussalman world is gazing with dismay at our subservience, our vision is obscured by the uplifting of the Anglo-Russian Convention whenever Persian independence receives a stab. To save Persia as a buffer state is worth however rash an effort, rather than to drift to many worse perils, which await us should Russia become supreme in Teheran. Sympathetic letters were also received from other prominent persons including Lord Roberts and from the Muhammadans of Madras and the All-India Moslem League of Lucknow. The spacious auditorium was crammed and a number of well-known Members of Parliament were present. A resolution expressing deep concern at the Persian situation was carried unanimously.

British, Russian and French Banks have completed financial arrangements for the preliminary studies of the Trans-Persian Railway Scheme by the Société Des Etudes and are now proceeding to draft the scheme to be followed by the Société.

Indian merchants interested in the trade of Southern Persia, writes the *Sind Gazette*, experience considerable difficulty in finance. Stoppage of traffic consequent upon the closing of caravan routes inland has produced congestion at the Persian Gulf ports for which no immediate relief is visible till the Indian Government establish adequate military protection both in the seaports and on the main lines of the trade to Kerman, Yezd, Ispahan and other commercial centres. Fortunately, the Shikarpuris, who are the merchants chiefly concerned, are wealthy traders of the highest repute and they will doubtless find ready assistance from Shroff's banks, European firms and others by whose aid trade with Persia is financed. At the same time, sooner the Government of India take action the better.

The *Pioneer* hears that the Amir's orders regarding the seizure of his north-western border districts were very distinct. They are to be collected at the heart of Nowrang and other

important towns. All the outposts are to be strengthened and breechloaders are to be issued to the tribal levies on the Persian frontier. A security of Rs. 50 is being taken for each rifle. These are merely precautionary measures, the idea apparently being that Russians may put pressure upon Massad and Khorasan generally, as they have done upon Tabriz and Azerbaijan thus causing alarm in the Herat borderland. The *Pioneer* says that H. M. The Amir need have no apprehensions of trouble from Russia. The Czar's Government is concerned only with straightening out the tangle of Persian politics, and though its method may be summary, it can have no desire to raise additional complications in Central Asia.

Reuter wires from Teheran on the 17th:—As the Regent has not attended the Palace for some days past, rumours are current that he has determined to resign. It is even stated that Government offered the Regency to the ex-President of the Majlis, but that he declined.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, December 24.

READERS of my telegrams have already been made aware that the Majlis was likely to disappear. To-day, by a *coup d'Etat*, which has been so far peaceful, the outward forms of constitutional government were ended. A meeting of merchants was summoned at the Palace by Vosuk-ed-Dowleh on behalf of the Regent. The latter was present and declared that the Majlis impeded the action of the Administration internally and externally, and must, therefore, be closed. The Regent later issued a rescript declaring the session ended. The rescript contains no mention of elections in the near future. The Majlis gates were locked, and a guard was mounted.

The announcement was quietly received, and perfect order prevails. Yeprin and the Bakhtiari are said to support the action of the Regent, but the events of the next few days must be uncertain, as provincial disintegration is probable. The arrangement appears to be that the Regent and the present Cabinet will conduct the Administration, supported by the presence of the Russian troops at Karvin who are within telephone call of the capital.

The Cabinet has sent a reply to the ultimatum, and the Russian Legation has answered accepting the reply as satisfactory. All three demands are accepted, except that the wording of the second demand has been given a form less wounding to Persia, which undertakes before giving appointments to foreigners to have an exchange of views with the British and Russian Legations. Nothing is said concerning the withdrawal of the troops. The reply to the ultimatum says that Mr. Shuster has been dismissed, but no notification has reached Mr. Shuster. The situation is complicated by the attitude of the Imperial Bank, which, I understand, holds itself bound, until the law of June 13 is repealed, or till it receives notice that a new Treasurer-General has been appointed, not to release funds without Mr. Shuster's authorization.

Telegraphic communication with Resht and Tabriz is cut, and communication with London is possible only by way of Suez. The last telegram showed that 15 Persians had been killed and one Russian officer wounded at Enzeh. At Resht there had been heavy Persian losses. The town is now quiet. Consular reports indicate that the attack was begun by the Russian Consul, who is now Governor.

The last foreign Consular telegram from Tabriz early to-day showed that desperate fighting occurred yesterday. There had been heavy Russian losses, the Consulate was under fire, the Russians were everywhere hard pressed, and reinforcements had been ordered from Erivan. The Cabinet has telegraphed to Tabriz declaring that the question has been settled, and ordering the Persians to cease fighting. The Russian Minister has sent similar instructions, but the Russian General replied that he obeys only the Viceroy of the Caucasus.

LATER.

Telegrams, which I have seen, have been received from the Acting Governor of Tabriz. They declare that it is impossible to enter into *pouparlers* with the Russians, who are now sweeping the streets with artillery and refuse to accept a truce.

The telegrams give details of atrocities so appalling that, in the absence of confirmation, it would be inadvisable to repeat them, except to say that the Russians are accused of massacring over 500 men, women, and children in cold blood.

The Government has been informed of Mr. Shuster's acceptance of the ultimatum, which involves his dismissal.



20th January.

The Comrade.

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Martial law has been proclaimed. All newspapers have been suppressed except one, entitled by a curious irony the *Mefisis*, which supports the Cabinet.

A meeting in the bazaar to-day was addressed by Deputies who refused to recognize the legality of the Government. It was dispersed by the police, but took refuge in a mosque, where the indictment of the Cabinet was continued.

St. Petersburg, December 24.

After a consultation between M. Sazonoff, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and M. Kokovtsov, the Premier, the Viceroy of the Caucasus has been ordered to send the largest possible reinforcements to Tabriz. The *Nova Vremya* publishes this statement from the Director of the Persian Department of the Foreign Office, who added that Russia would take justice at Tabriz, Resht, and Enzeli into her own hands and would show no mercy to the Fedais and the revolutionary dregs shedding Russian blood. The lesson which must be given would be long remembered.

In three leading articles the *Nova Vremya* insists upon the extermination of the Persian bands, and declares that the hesitating voice of diplomacy must give way to the imposing voice of the cannon. "In this case," proceeds the journal, "true humanity requires cruelty. Wherever Russians are attacked Russia must take over the administration. The whole population of Tabriz must be held responsible and punished. It must pay an indemnity to the families of the Russian soldiers who are killed."

An interview with a member of the Russian Foreign Office published in the *Reuter* to-day foreshadows the retention of the Russian detachment at Resht.

A telegram from Julfa states that a further detachment of Russian troops, consisting of the 5th Regiment of Rifles, a mountain battery, and a sotnia of Cossacks, hastily left for Tabriz last night.—(Reuters)

St. Petersburg, December 25.

The Director of the Persian Department at the Foreign Office in conversation to-day repeated that the Russian Government was convinced that the Persian Government was not concerned in the anti-Russian outbreaks at Tabriz and elsewhere, and that those who were really responsible were Caucasians, principally Armenians and criminals posing as political agitators. He states that from 3,000 to 4,000 Russian troops were being sent to Tabriz.

A telegram received at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs says:—

The Consul-General at Tabriz protests against the infamous calumny upon our troops, who are treating the peaceable inhabitants with humanity, notwithstanding the atrocities committed by the Fedais on our wounded and the mutilation of the killed. Any particular cases in which innocent people have perished must have occurred solely during the bombardment of the houses in the neighbourhood of our encampment, from which our detachment was subjected to a fusillade which inflicted losses on it. The commander of the detachment brought away women, children, and men from these houses and afforded them shelter in the suburb of Bagh-i-Shimal, where our encampment is situated, and from there they were taken to the town, aided by the peaceable inhabitants and escorted by our soldiers. On this occasion one of our officers, Prince Wakhwakhoff, who was in charge of this duty, was treacherously killed.

Another telegram states that by order of the Russian Consulate-General at Tabriz the bodies of two Grenadiers of the Mingrelia Regiment and a Cossack, who were killed while defending the Russian hospital and the Dragoman's house, have been removed to Bagh-i-Shimal for burial. Acting upon the directions of the Consulate-General 20 armed Persian Cossacks are patrolling the Christian quarters.

The Consul-General has received the Governor and the Chief Mullah, to whom he declared that the disarmament of the people would be an indispensable preliminary to any negotiations, as the presence of armed spectators could not be tolerated in the streets and on the roofs. Placards have now been posted throughout the town demanding the immediate surrender of arms to the Governor. (Reuters)

St. Petersburg, December 27.

The following semi-official communiqué was issued this evening:—

"After considering the situation which has arisen in consequence of the acts of foolhardy aggression committed by mobs against the Russian forces and institutions at Tabriz, Resht and Enzeli; and being of opinion that these hostile acts, which have, moreover, sometimes been followed by brutal tortures and by base outrages upon the killed, deserve the most severe punishment; and seeing that the Persian Government, while foreign to these acts, does not possess the necessary power to chastise the guilty, the Russian Government believes that it is incumbent upon it to take repressive measures in the abovementioned towns in such fashion as it may deem best."

"With this object it has directed the Russian commanders to adopt immediately, in agreement with the Russian Consuls at Tabriz and Enzeli, the most stringent measures to punish those guilty of complicity in acts of aggression and to remove once for all the causes of such acts. These measures include especially.—

(1) The arrest of all Russian and Persian subjects who have participated in the attacks upon the Russian troops and their trial by court-martial.

(2) The disarmament of the Fedais and other troublesome native elements.

(3) The destruction of places where resistance might be offered.

"Other measures may also be taken if necessary to secure the re-establishment of order and the chastisement of offenders."

A telegram received here from Tabriz states that a crowd broke into the Palace of the Governor-General and insulted his deputy Prince Amanulla Mirza. They also tore down the flags from the Anjuman building, cursing the Democrats and the Constitution. Prince Amanulla has taken refuge in the British Consulate.

LATER.

A telegram from Tabriz states that the well-known revolutionary leader Ameer Khichmet, the head of the Fedai movement in Tabriz, fled last night in the direction of Karadag, a district of Azerbaijan.

A great crowd, after destroying the Anjuman building at Tabriz, proceeded to Basmindsh to request Shuja-ed-Dowleh to take over the administration of Azerbaijan. It is reported that Shuja-ed-Dowleh agreed to do so.

The latest reports from Tabriz announce that the telephone line to Julfa has been cut, the standards having been carried away for a stretch of three versts from Tabriz. About 200 Caucasians and Fedais, including a number of their leaders, fled during the night to Karadagh and in other directions. It is stated that they intend to cross the Russian frontier.

A Russian guard has been set at the Russian Bank. The Citadel, after being abandoned by the Fedais, was at first occupied by ten Persian Cossacks, but now a company of a Russian Rifle regiment is quartered there, and the Russian flag has been hoisted. The 5th Chasseurs, with an artillery detachment, have forced their way through to Bagh-i-Shimal, a suburb of Tabriz, to join the Russian force encamped there. They had to fight a number of skirmishes on the road. At sunset artillery and machine-guns fire could be heard in the distance.

A telegram from Baku states that 90 inhabitants of the Caucasus who were trying to reach the Persian frontier to take part in the present disturbances have been arrested and sent back to their homes.

Moslem Feeling.

The following is a copy of the telegram sent by the Madras Presidency Muslim League to the Persian Committee in London:—The Muhammadans of the Madras Presidency warmly sympathise with the meeting to protest against Russian aggression in Persia and English acquiescence in direct violation of declared policy, and hope that the English Government will lose no time in restoring confidence in the good faith of its intentions.

A general meeting of the Mussalmans of Meerut was convened at the Juma Mosque on the 15th instant. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—That this meeting of the Mussalmans of Meerut places on record its extreme abhorrence of Russian aggression in Persia and strongly condemns it, and most respectfully and earnestly appeals to the Imperial Government to use its best endeavours to secure the integrity and independence of Persia. That this meeting of the Mussalmans of Meerut places on record its high sense of gratitude to Lords Curzon, Lamington and Professor Browne of Cambridge for their well-directed efforts to secure just treatment to Persia. That this meeting of the Mussalmans of Meerut resolves to tender its cordial thanks to the Grand Vizier of Turkey and N. Amin Bey, Turkish Ambassador to the Court of Teheran, for exerting their great influence on behalf of Persia so as to safeguard her integrity and independence.

At a meeting of the Muhammadan community of Rangoon on the 13th in Victoria Hall the action of the Russian authorities in Persia was discussed. The following resolution was passed:—That the Musulmans in Burma protest against the action of Russia in destroying the independence and integrity of Persia and in deliberately thwarting the legitimate efforts and aspirations of her people towards the regeneration and establishment of a civilised and constitutional government by her acts of spoliation and unrighteousness. A resolution requesting the British Government to use its influence towards maintaining the independence and integrity of Persia and to resist further encroachments of Russia on Persia and to sympathise with her in her present trouble was also passed.

Integrity and Independence.

A SOCRATIC DIALOGUE.

Now that we are on the topic of Empire-building, we are indeed lucky to have in our company Thrasymenes, just returned from Asia. You are, we know, a good deal of an expert in this business of Imperial-expansion, Thrasymenes; or ought I rather to call it an art?

Yes, indeed, O Socrates, and a fine art too, and quite the largest of the fine arts in its scope and aims.

Excellent! For I see, Thrasymenes, that you are not only an expert but an enthusiast. You are evidently the very man Eubulus here and I am looking for. For in our talk of Empire-making, we have been fumbling with mere phrases and ideas, having at hand no practical experience to guide us. We both supplicate you to lighten our darkness.

I will do my best, Socrates, though, as you are aware, lecturing is not much in my line. "Deeds, not words," is my motto.

Certainly, it is deeds we too are after. But I suppose I should be right in seeking for a purpose in your deeds.

Assuredly; and a really elevated purpose, for it is nothing less than the civilisation of the world that we are after. For this is the destiny and mission of an Imperial race.

It is indeed a grand goal you set before us, Thrasymenes, and for one who sets so little store on words, you phrase it admirably. Such a task as you describe, I suppose, is not for everybody to undertake. I presume that some rare quality distinguishes those to whom Nature assigns this destiny, or Providence this mission?

Yes, indeed, the quality is rare enough, it is the power of organising things which we call efficiency. A man, or a nation, having this talent must not hide or waste it. If he is a business man, he must extend his organising power into a Trust. A people must use this quality of *soul* to make an empire. And, indeed, this is no chance analogy between business and politics. For the enlightened moralist will recognise that empire is nothing else than a political Trust, undertaken by the efficient nation in the wider interest of civilisation.

Pray, halt a moment here, Thrasymenes, for Eubulus and I are a little out of breath with your expansive mode of argument.

Yes, indeed, Socrates, added Eubulus, whose face had been visibly swelling with pent-up exhortation, if Thrasymenes will let us, I would like to go back a few steps in this Imperial progress.

Well, where is it that you get stuck?

It is just here. You say, Thrasymenes, that it is the destiny and mission of the efficient people to take in hand and organise the inefficient people, and that in this way the civilisation of the world is advanced.

Yes, that is what I maintain.

But how is one to know which is the efficient nation?

If that is your difficulty, it is soon solved. For it belongs to the very nature of efficiency to recognise itself. The efficient nation simply asserts itself, and by the very act of doing so, attests its efficiency.

But surely, Thrasymenes, that isn't the way in which other services of trust are regulated.

What do you mean?

Why, a servant or a clerk is not usually taken on a character he writes himself. And a money-lender wants some other security than the self-recommendation of the borrower before he makes a loan. Do you really consider the profession which a nation makes of its superior efficiency as a sufficient warrant for taking in hand the organisation of another nation?

Pardon me, Eubulus. To the practical statesman the points you raise seem nothing else than academic quibbles. The nation that is conscious of its efficiency simply sees a piece of work ahead and does it. The proof of the efficiency is the effect.

If I may interpose, said Socrates, I would suggest that in the investigation of so elusive an art we should postpone our judgment alike of motives and effects until the process or practice of the art itself is clearly seen. I would, therefore, seek to learn from Thrasymenes precisely how the efficient nation deals with the backward State which it seeks to civilise. It does not, I presume, go at it by sheer brute force, like a bull with its head down for the charge.

No, indeed, it does not, Socrates. The approved methods are those of peaceful penetration, the approach, not of an enemy, but of a benefactor.

That is excellent! But it appears to involve an initial difficulty. For if, as you show, it belongs to the efficient nation to recognise its efficiency, it would seem to belong to the backward or inefficient nation not to recognise its efficiency. Will not that be so? And will not the inefficient one be somewhat reluctant to receive the approaches of its benefactor?

Why, yes, Socrates; history shows the inefficient to be extremely obstinate in this regard, especially if they suspect the *bona fides* of the approach? The veriest tyro in the art of Imperialism knows this.

I suppose, then, your first work must be directed chiefly to disarm these unworthy suspicions?

Quite right. So the first steps are in no sense political. Indeed the Imperial power is careful to keep quite out of sight. It simply allows or encourages some of its citizens to enter the country it has marked down for ultimate absorption, as traders for their private profit, as explorers, or as missionaries. And when the country is a little better known, and sufficient confidence of its rulers has been won or bought, other citizens obtain permission to work mines or plantations or to lend money to the rulers of the inefficient State.

But are not these commercial and other dealings very dangerous for those who undertake them?

Why, yes, indeed; but these private dangers are the very seeds of Imperialism.

How do you make that out?

Well, you see, it works like this. In a simple, backward people, each of these intrusions makes for general disorder. The traders, who bring guns and strong drink, foment intestine feuds; new trade routes act as a demand for brigands; the miners and other foreign settlers get at loggerheads with the inhabitants; and, best of all, generous loans stimulate extravagance and make for bankruptcy.

Best of all, indeed! But how can the noble fruits of civilisation grow from such baleful seeds as these?

Ah, it is just here that we enter the *arcana* of our art. The disorder thus produced becomes intolerable. The property, nay, the very lives, of our valuable subjects are imperilled. These cry out to their government to save them. And so the government, which has been waiting, has then to intervene.

You mean it annexes the country?

Why, no such thing! Nothing could be further from its action or professions—at this stage. It merely intimates that compensation must be made to its injured subjects, and that better order must be kept than an inefficient government is capable of keeping. And next, as the disorder continues, it offers its disinterested advice and assistance to enable the rulers to perform their duties in a more satisfactory manner.

But does not this move arouse the very suspicions which you said just now it was so desirable to allay?

Why, yes, it does. And this is where the moral capital of an efficient Imperial race comes in so useful.

What exactly do you mean, Thrasymenes?

I mean the faith or confidence which the rulers of the backward state will naturally repose in the plighted word or declaration of a great civilised state. For the stage we have now reached is one that requires this pledge.

What pledge do you mean?

I mean a bold, uncompromising undertaking to maintain for ever the integrity and independence of the backward state. For only by this means could an open rupture of relations be avoided, and the game of peaceful penetration be continued.

I quite realise the value of such a pledge. For this I apprehend is the precise point where the political process of absorption really begins.

Yes; and that is why the pledge should be given with full formality. And if there should happen to be two Imperial Powers alike devoted to this civilising mission who will jointly pledge themselves to this sacred duty, so much the better, for the moral security is doubled.

But may they not find it inconvenient at a later stage to keep this pledge?

That indeed, O Socrates, may well happen. But in that case they will redeem it by another pledge of greater value,

But what can be of greater value than independence? *Look in Eubulus.*

Nothing, perhaps, for you with your narrow nationalism. But others would hold that a larger, truer liberty is found in forming part of a great civilised Empire.

But, said Socrates, our present business is, I take it, not to judge, but to trace the actual process of Imperial expansion. Now the stage we have reached at present is an early one. But I suppose you architects of Empire have a name for each stage.

Yes, indeed. It is all excellently graded in the language of diplomacy. The country that is being watched by a civilising power, which as yet has only inserted trade "feebles," is called "a sphere of interest." But when the disorder has gone far enough to call for pacific intervention, it passes into "a sphere of influence."

But stop a minute, Thrasymenes! Put in Eubulus. Haven't you forgotten one item in your list of "spheres"?

I don't think so. But what is it, Eubulus?

Why that valuable expression "a legitimate sphere of influence," quite the most illuminative of the names, which describes so accurately the present attitude of civilising powers towards China.

And a very good phrase too, say I and a very proper attitude for the trustee of world-civilisation. What say you, Socrates?

I am still waiting, all agog, Thrasymenes, to learn the final processes in your art.

Why, to tell the truth, Socrates, after once the "sphere of influence" has been safely entered, everything runs quite smoothly, and the further processes of absorption are so nearly automatic that the most inexpert of Foreign Ministers can hardly fail.

But I suppose there is an orthodox method of completion?

Why, yes, and sometimes it takes a considerable time especially when, as sometimes happens, two rival benefactors begin the civilising process upon the same body.

Why what will happen then?

Well, instead of proceeding in a single step from sphere of influence to plain protectorate, the power that has gone furthest in the swelling process will declare a "veiled protectorate."

And what exactly does that come to?

It has been described as a situation where the civilising power is "in a position to give authoritative advice" to the rulers of a country still in nominal possession of its independence.

And how is this authority exercised?

Why, the method is simplicity itself. Behind the native ruler you set a rule of your own, while each native official is duplicated by an official of the civilising power. And for the rest, though you allow the native ruler to appoint his servants, you reserve a veto upon those who are appointed.

But isn't this a direct breach of the pledge of independence?

I admit it looks a little like it. But, after all, you must remember these Oriental people don't regard promises and declarations with that meticulous scrupulosity that obtains among us. Besides, the civilising power generally guards itself by some provision relating to "the force of circumstances."

This "force of circumstances," I take it, said Eubulus, is a sort of sudden twist in the stream of Destiny which carries the Imperialist nation to port.

Yes, and a very serviceable twist sometimes. But, Socrates, my tale is nearly told. For when the veil is removed from the protectorate, the absorption is practically complete. The step to an administrative province is a short and easy one. For disorders will continue to arise from time to time in the best-regulated protectorate, and these will compel the protector to tighten the grasp of his protecting arm and gather his *protégé* into a closer political embrace.

With whatunction you describe the process of deglutination and absorption, Thrasymenes, and quite convincingly, as if Imperialism were merely a matter of specious phraseology.

Whatever can you mean, Socrates? I have described the practice as exactly as I could, concealing nothing.

Yes; but I fancy that one quite important truth was in danger of escaping our notice.

What is that?

The truth that each step in the practice of this art is a squandering of that "efficiency" which, as you have shown, is the *essence* of the process.

I really don't understand you, Socrates.

Well, I will make my meaning plain. Each one of those slippery phrases which your art employs, carries with it by necessity a slippery action, and each of these slippery actions simply cancels so much of the faith in your good intentions which constitutes your fund of moral efficiency. The actual process which you describe is simply the killing of the liberty of a weaker by a stronger nation. All your phrases cannot hide this fact. But their smoothness costs your nation very dear all the same—dearer even than you understand.

Why, indeed, Socrates, we are well aware how heavy is the burden which this civilising mission lays upon us.

I doubt, Thrasymenes, if you have even an inkling of the real cost. I mean the back-stroke of Imperialism.

Why, what is that?

It is the destruction of liberty in that nation which destroys the liberty of another. For Nemesis works surely and accurately this way. To kill the liberty of another people is to strike a blow at the spirit of liberty at home. This surely is the inner meaning of that proverb, "What shall it profit a nation if it gain the whole world and lose its own soul?" For nothing less than this is the cost of the game of duplicity and treachery which you describe. And your vindication and approval of it is a simple measure of the moral degradation it entails. This unctuous rectitude of the civilising mission is the last penalty, but one for the nation that commits itself to an Imperial career.

The last but one, said Eubulus; pray, Socrates, what is this last?

Oh, there remains one lower depth than that of slayer of liberty. It is the state of soul of that nation which, like Saul in the legend, holds the cloak of another tyrant that he may stone the *outcast* out of the helpless nation whose integrity and independence he has undertaken to preserve.—

TURKISH RELIEF FUND.						Rs. As. P.
Through Ghulam Mowla, Esq., Patna—						
Mrs. Ghulam Mowla	...	...	...	...	...	3 4 0
Mr. Ghulam Mowla's Mother	...	...	...	...	2	8 0
Mrs. Sulaiman	...	...	...	...	3	0 0
S. Najmul Haq, Esq.	...	...	...	1	0	0
Musammat Nasiban	...	...	...	0	8	0
M. Rashiduddin Ashraf, Esq., Barabanki	...	...	...	8	0	0
M. Basit Ali, Esq., Budan	...	...	...	40	0	0
M. Nurul Hafiz, Esq. "	...	...	...	3	0	0
M. Afsar Husain, Esq. "	...	...	...	1	0	0
M. Abnar Husain, Esq. "	...	...	...	1	8	0
M. Qamar Ali Khan, Esq., Shaikhpur	...	...	...	3	3	0
Abdur Rahman Adhami, Esq., Allahabad	...	...	...	3	0	0
H. A. Ansari, Esq., Lucknow	...	...	...	5	0	0
Through Qazi Abdul Karim Sahib, Mussalmans of Behenabad, Ghazipur						40 0 0
Qazi Ahmed Ali, Esq., Saugor	...	...	...	50	0	0
Through Abdus Samad, Esq., Pleader, Mussalmans of Berhampur, Bengal						200 0 0
Sahibzada Mohamed Nurul Huq, Guwahati	...	...	...	4	0	0
S. M. Daulat, Esq., Tagundaung, Burma	...	...	...	27	0	0
Through M. Fazle Huq Khan, Esq., Bassi, Sirhind—A Barrister, and instalment						50 0 0
Mohamed Yasin, Esq.	...	...	...	0	10	0
Through Mohamed Abdul Hakim, Esq., Aligarh—Mussalmans of Aligarh						350 3 6
K. Islam, Esq., Dacca	...	...	...	7	0	0
M. Abdul Hamid, Esq., Sihaura	...	...	...	46	8	0
Abdul Jabbar, Esq., Ajmer	...	...	...	6	0	0
Haji Mahmood Sahib, Ghazipur	...	...	...	5	0	0
The Hon. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan's Mother	...	...	...	100	0	0
Through Azizur Rahman, Esq., Baker Hostel, Calcutta—Messrs Fazle Haque, Mohamed Tayebullah Ansar Ali, Syed Abdul Ghani and C. M. Ayub of Baker Hostel, Calcutta Madrassa, Rs. 2 each						10 0 0
Messrs. Saniruddin Ahmed, M. Hazrat Ali, Abdus Samad Khan, M. Anwar Husain, Abul Hasan, Mubarak Ali, Mufizuddin Ahmed, Aftabuddin Ahmed and S. Najibul Huq of Baker Hostel, Calcutta Madrassa, Re. 1 each,	...	...	...	9	0	0
Messrs. Abul Khair, Zainul Abedin, Zahurullah Abdul Azim, Mahomed Yasin, Mutiur Rahman, S. A. Husain and S. T. Husain of Elliott Hostel, Calcutta Madrassa, Re. 1 each	...	...	...	8	0	0
Through K. Baksh, Esq., Bannu, North-West Frontier Provinces—Mohamed Nasrullah Khan, Esq.						2 0 0
Ghazni Khel	...	...	...	8	c	0
Amount received during the fortnight						998 4 6
Amount previously acknowledged						5,977 15 10
TOTAL						6,976 4 4

NOTE :—

We are glad to announce that our first instalment of Rs. 6,000 has been forwarded to the Grand Vizier of Turkey. A Demand Draft for £400 Sterling of the Deutsch Asiatische Bank of Calcutta on the Deutsche Bank Filiale of Constantinople has been sent for us by the Bank of Bengal, Calcutta, to the Imperial Ottoman Bank with instructions to pay the money to H. E. the Grand Vizier for the War Sufferers. Lists of Subscribers are sent regularly to the Grand Vizier.

Name of Place.	Name of the person in charge of the Fund.	THE WEEK'S PROGRESS.			PROGRESS UP TO DATE.		REMARKS.
		Amount collected.	Amount forwarded to Turkey.	To whom forwarded and through what agency	Amount collected.	Amount forwarded	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Karachi	Sheikh Ali Abdullah Haroon.	Rs. 693-4-0	Rs. --	Rs. 5,677-15-6	Rs. 5,677-15-6	= Rs. 640	This is for the week ending 15th Jan. 1914.
Lucknow	Majlis-i-Ma'ayyadat-i-Ummat Farzana Khanai	--	--	To the Grand Vizier through a draft on the London Bank from the Bank of Bengal on 15th December.	4,633-4-6	3,800-0-0	This is for the period ending 31st Dec. 1913.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 14th:—A despatch from the Italian Commander in the Red Sea gives a graphic description of the fight of 12th instant. The Commander says he was convinced that gunboats were concealed among the Farasan Islands and he determined upon a driving movement with his available warships which were likewise intended to dislodge large forces concentrated at Loheia, Midy and Kunfuda. The cruisers *Calabria* and *Puglia* bombarded Loheia and Midy to divert the enemy's attention. Meanwhile, the *Piemonte* and two destroyers were scouring the coast from Jeddah southwards and sighted the Turkish yacht and gunboats. Action was opened at six thousand metres and developed sharply, the land batteries supporting the gunboats. It lasted three hours and ended at nightfall when the gunboats were completely outgunned and defeated. The gunboats retired, some going ashore demoralised. The crews landed under cover of darkness carrying ammunition and flags, which were seized on the beach by an Italian landing party in the morning, when the warships resumed the bombarding gunboat completing their destruction. The Turks have abandoned Kunfuda. The Italians avoided hitting mosques. The Italians sustained no losses. The ships bombarded and scattered some columns of troops and camels proceeding to Loheia.

The Rangoon Red Crescent Fund amounts to Rs. 58,000 of which sum it has been decided to remit Rs. 52,500 by bank draft or telegraph to Constantinople as directed by the Turkish Consul-General, Bombay.

The Chamber of Deputies by 125 votes to 105 has adopted the Constitutional Bill which proposes to give the Sultan unrestricted power to dissolve the Parliament. This vote is equivalent to the rejection of the Bill owing to the absence of a two-thirds majority and constitutes the defeat of the Government and victory of the Committee of Union and Progress who will now proceed to provoke dissolution.

With the consent of the Senate H. M. the Sultan has dissolved the Chamber.

Reuter wires from London on the 19th without giving his source of information that severe fighting took place at Derna on the 18th. The Turks attacked the Italians while the latter were repairing an aqueduct, having taken up their position behind the Italian walls despite searchlights and watchdogs. They had also occupied the neighbouring heights. The Italians brought up their mountain artillery and made most effective use of it. They took the Turkish fort by assault and the Turks were dislodged from the heights after four hours' fighting. After seven hours' fighting three thousand Turks and Arabs retreated, leaving over a hundred dead on the field together with arms, ammunition and grenades. A few Italians were killed.

The Italians have stopped the liner *Carthage* carrying mails from Marseilles to Tunis off Sardinia and have seized an aeroplane as contraband of war. It appears that the aeroplane was intended to take part in the aviation meeting at Tunis and the aviators are protesting. France has notified Italy that the reserves liberty of action with regard to the seizure of the liner *Carthage*. Law experts are now considering the matter.

The Italians have seized and conveyed to Cagliari the French mail boat *Messouda* while on her way to Tunis.

France has demanded that Italy shall release the liner *Carthage*, which is still detained at Cagliari.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT).

Paris, December 22.

The special correspondent of the *Temps* with the Turkish forces in Tripoli telegraphs from Axiria under date of the 20th instant that on the 15th instant the Italians, reinforced by 2,000 fresh arrivals, attacked the Turkish camp, but were repulsed with a loss of 200 killed, including two officers. The Turks lost 12 killed and 30 wounded. On the 17th instant the Italians made a reconnaissance in force with artillery and proceeded to Zanzuk after firing 210 shells in the direction of the Turkish camp. In the evening the Turks developed an attack and the Italians fell back on Tripoli. On the 19th instant an Italian reconnaissance to the eastward of the Turkish left was driven in after hard fighting which lasted until the afternoon. The Italians lost their way in the desert and were harried by the Turks, who cut off a detachment and captured 200 rifles as well as other equipment and several mules. The pursuit stopped at Ain Zara. The Italians lost 500 men and the Turks had no killed and 40 wounded.

December 24.

According to letters from the special correspondent of the *Temps* with the Turkish forces in Tripoli dated Zuara the 16th and

18th instant, the Arab auxiliaries are by no means intimidated by the uninterrupted Italian naval bombardment of the coast positions. Zuara has already been bombarded eight times but without effect, and when the Italians attempted to land at Sidi Said they were driven back to their boats. The Arabs are under the command of Mehemed Mussa Bey, who is a native of Yemen and a zealous and efficient officer trained at the Harbieh, or Military School in Constantinople.

Tripoli, December 20 (delayed by censor).

A force of the enemy, 3,000 strong, attacked three battalions of Italians on Tuesday, December 19, at Bir Tobras, ten hours from Ain Zara. Reinforcements and mountain guns were summoned. Fierce fighting took place at close quarters. The official report gives the Italian casualties as six killed and 78 wounded.

Rome, December 22.

More detailed accounts of the fight at Bir Tobras, of which the first news was received in Rome last night, show that the operations were of some importance. On Tuesday morning a reconnaissance was made from Ain Zara in the direction of Djebel Gharian by two battalions of Bersaglieri, one battalion of Grenadiers, a squadron of Lodi cavalry, and a section of mountain artillery under the command of Colonel Fara. Their intention was to anticipate, if possible, any concentration of the enemy on that side and an attack upon Ain Zara. Owing to the darkness, however, the reconnoitring force missed their way and only arrived at the oasis of Bir Tobras, which lies some six miles south of Ain Zara, at 10 in the morning. The enemy were evidently forewarned of this movement and had time to prepare for an attack on the outskirts of the oasis. While Colonel Fara was attempting to effect a circling movement, his force was suddenly confronted by a large body of the enemy, hitherto concealed, who opened a hot fire upon the Italian troops, and at the same time a squadron of Turkish cavalry, supported by infantry, began to surround the Italian right. Thereupon Colonel Fara promptly concentrated his forces upon the right and intrenched the position. For the rest of the day and during the greater part of the night the enemy, calculated to be about 3,000 in number, delivered one attack after another in a most determined fashion, coming up sometimes within 50 yards of the trenches; but each time they were beaten back by the heavy rifle and artillery fire maintained by the Italians. Finally, at 4 o'clock next morning they retired, leaving Colonel Fara and his troops in possession of the field. After disposing of their dead and wounded, the Italian troops returned unmolested to Ain Zara, meeting on their way some reinforcements under General Lequio.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT).

Rome, December 22.

Nothing new is reported from Tripoli, Homs, or Ain Zara.

A belated wireless telegram from Derna relates that an attack was made upon the garrison there on the 16th instant, while they were throwing up new works for the fortification of the place. The enemy, who were estimated at about 2,000 in number, were forced to retire after a somewhat severe exchange of fire. The Italian loss was three killed and 24 wounded.

From all accounts the Italian force under Colonel Fara would have fared badly at Bir Tobras had it not been for the promptitude with which the colonel in command recognized the danger of the situation and formed square. As it was, their zareba was exposed to nearly 20 hours' hot fire and to repulse five separate desperate assaults from the enemy who probably numbered more nearly 4,000 than 3,000. The troops have displayed admirable order and discipline in trying circumstances. This is not the first time Colonel Fara has distinguished himself as a capable and energetic commander in the course of the war.

Rome, December 23.

According to a telegram from Tobruk, the troops on guard over the earthworks for a new battery overlooking the roadstead were sharply attacked yesterday morning, and an action lasting six hours ensued, in which an Italian battalion, two sections of Artillery, a few quick-firing guns and a mountain battery took part. The troops engaged upon the works and the warships also rendered valuable assistance. The Italians had two officers and five men killed and one officer and 15 men wounded. The enemy, who numbered about a thousand, suffered heavily.—Reuters.

Rome, December 24.

Telegrams received from Tripoli give an account of the action between the Italian and Turkish forces at Bir Tobras on December 19. The Turks began the advance against the Italian positions at 10 in the morning, and by 10 o'clock several independent bodies of the enemy,

whose force amounted altogether to several thousand men supported by artillery, were facing the Italian eastern front, extended along a line from the sea to Berka. They advanced in the direction of Point and Redoubts Nos. 4 and 3. The Italians withheld their fire until the enemy were within 2,000 yards range, when the artillery opened upon them and checked the advance all along the line, obviously inflicting considerable loss.

The Italian warships lying off Bengazi were unable to assist the garrison owing to the high sea which was running. The Turks withdrew at sunset to the oasis. The Italians had no casualties. When darkness fell the weather improved, the sea subsided, and the warships illuminated the surrounding country with their searchlights. No trace of the enemy could be seen.

December 28.

The Stefani Agency reports a rumour from Tripoli of the death of Munir Pasha and of the Chief of the Turkish *Gendarmerie* at Gharian. The same message contains the statement of an Arab fugitive that the native population of Accara near Bir Tobras have been massacred by Turks and Arabs for having raised the Italian flag on the approach of an Italian force.

The latest report from Bengazi fixes the Turkish and Arab casualties in the attack made on Christmas Day at about 500 killed and wounded.

Numerous bodies of Arabs are said to be gathering south of Ain Zara. According to some reports the enemy between Azizia and Gharian number about 10,000.

Berlin, December 29.

Referring to the telegram from your Sofia correspondent which appeared in the *Times* of Wednesday, a semi-official telegram from Berlin to the *Cologne Gazette* says:—

"The *Times*, message seeks to produce an impression as if Germany were supporting Turkey in an impermissible manner by providing her with war material. The story, which is added to the message, that the Turkish Ambassador expressed his special thanks to the Emperor is a pure invention. As regards the transport of munitions of war, it may be that consignments of war material which has been manufactured in private workshops have gone by way of Servia. This would, however, in no way be in contradiction to paragraph 7 of The Hague Convention, which expressly declares the trade of neutral States in war material for belligerent Powers and also its passage through neutral territory to be permissible. Concerning the application of this provision all the Powers are at one."

Unless I am mistaken, the provision of The Hague Convention about the duties of neutrals which is here referred to is not quite as represented, but runs as follows:—"A neutral State is not bound to prevent exportation or transit for account of either belligerent of arms, munition, or in general of anything capable of use by an army or a fleet." The provision was intended to prevent loose talk about "benevolent" neutrality and to prevent belligerent Governments from complaining—as Germany complained to the British Government during the Franco-German war—whenever a neutral Government does not suppress commercial operations which its trading subjects carry on at their own risk.

Although it will occur to anybody who has read your correspondent's message that the German Foreign Office is curiously sensitive, it is justified in calling attention to the limitation of the responsibility of neutral Governments thus agreed upon. This does not, however, detract from the interest of the news published by your correspondent. When his telegram or, rather, a portion of it was published here on Wednesday night various German journals hastened after their manner to abuse the *Times*. The abuse, in which all the journals which mentioned the subject were unanimous, does not matter. About the probability or possibility of the facts they were less unanimous. The *Vossische Zeitung*, which is a leading commercial organ, said:—"Everybody knows that Turkey is buying war material in Germany." The *Berliner Tageblatt*, which is also a leading commercial organ, said that if the report had any foundation at all what was sent in the German trains could at most be hospital supplies bought by Turkey or supplied to her by the Red Cross Society. The *Kreuz Zeitung*, after half a column of personal denunciation of your well-known correspondent in the Balkans, declaimed about German neutrality and ridiculed your correspondent's reports as either mere gossip or inventions of his own. The *Kirche Zeitung* is the leading organ of the military classes in this country. These views will need a good deal of harmonizing with one another and with the semi-official view of the *Cologne Gazette*. Before the German Press can deal safely and impressively with the subject of your Sofia correspondent's despatch.

(FROM "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Venice, December 28.

Amid a running fire of Press attacks upon Count Aehrenthal, the preliminary Session of the Austro-Hungarian Delegations began here this morning. To-night the Foreign Minister's statement is available, and with it a speech by his colleague, the Minister of War. The Chambers of the Hungarian Delegation, to which the Hungarians made their declarations, voted unanimously with Count

Aehrenthal, but showed some coldness towards the hectoring discourse of the War Minister. Count Aehrenthal began by remarking that the Turco-Italian War imposed upon him great reserves. He recapitulated the declarations of neutrality made last October by the Austrian and the Hungarian Premiers, and expressed regret that the efforts of Austro-Hungarian diplomacy to bring about a cessation of hostilities should not have attained their object. "We know, however, that in making these efforts we are at one with all the other neutral Powers, and hope that at a given moment our endeavours will be successful." The desire of the Monarchy for a rapid conclusion of peace, continued Count Aehrenthal, was the more intense because the Balkan *status quo* might be endangered by the protraction of the war. They cherished a feeling of confidence that this danger would not arise. The Italian Government declared from the outset its adhesion to the Balkan *status quo* and had acted accordingly. Their confidence was based, further, upon the unanimous wish of all the Great Powers that the Balkan *status quo* should not be disturbed. The Balkan Governments had not only made correct declarations, "but I believe there is a noticeable effort to avoid the perils and horrors of a war." The Foreign Minister proceeded:—

"In spite of great difficulties, the Ottoman Government is at pains to maintain public order in the Empire. It is desirable that these efforts should continue to be effectual and that the conclusion of peace—let us sincerely hope—may preserve undiminished the power and authority of Turkey. A new guarantee for the pacific existence of Turkey alongside of the Balkan States would thus be created. The foundations of our foreign policy are, naturally, unchanged. Supported by our well-tried alliances and by the friendly relations which we maintain with all the Powers, our chief task will be to contribute to a settlement—equally honourable for both belligerents—of a war which is by no means devoid of danger to other States."

Details reached Massowah yesterday of the capture of the Turkish hospital ship *Kaisericah* by the Italian cruiser *Puglia*. It was found, the telegram says, that, although she was flying the Red Crescent flag, she was in no way fitted up as a hospital ship. There was no trace on board of beds or other hospital arrangements, nor could any of her officers or crew point out surgical instruments or appliances. The lower bunkers of the steamer, on the other hand, were full of coal, while the kitchen accommodation was scarcely sufficient to feed 30 persons. It was, therefore, found impossible to consider the *Kaisericah* a hospital ship and she was seized on suspicion of being used as a Turkish transport on the Arabian coast.—*Reuter*

(FROM THE "TIMES OF INDIA" CORRESPONDENT.)

Aden.

According to advices just received from Hodeida the Italian warships *Calabria* and *Saffetta* are now bombarding Al Gabbana, which is a place on the coast about six miles from Hodeida. The Italian warships are reported to have fired a number of shells on that place and the Turks have replied from Al Gabbana, but full details have not yet been received.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST.")

In Tripoli the Italians have received a nasty set-back. There is a very great discrepancy between the Italian and the Turkish accounts of the affair at Bis Tobras. The latter obviously exaggerates out of all knowledge the check inflicted upon the Italians, but the former as obviously minimises it. An Italian force of arms, nearly 2,000 strong, under Colonel Fara, set out from Ain Zara on December 19 to attack the Arabs at Bis Tobras, a small oasis some ten miles off. It apparently lost its way; for it took more than eight hours to cover the short distance, and when it arrived it found the enemy well prepared to resist it. After a desperate fight the Italians were repulsed, and were attacked in their turn, and, after beating back the enemy throughout the day and the following night, had to retreat the next morning to Ain Zara. At one moment it looked as if they might be surrounded and cut off, and reinforcements which were sent from Ain Zara did not reach them till they were on their way back. The affair is of no great importance in itself, but it is eloquent of the difficulties the Italians have yet to face in Tripoli and must greatly encourage the Arabs to resist the invaders. In Cyrenaica the garrisons in the coast towns continue to be subjected to harassing attacks and except for the small area round Tripoli itself the Italians are not in effective occupation of any territory not covered by the guns of their fleet. According to Italian writers, the troops now landed, estimated at between 60,000 and 70,000 men, are not more than sufficient for safeguarding the positions they already occupy on the coast. Between 10,000 and 15,000 reinforcements are ready to leave Italy, and all preparations are reported to have been made for a general advance inland. That advance, however, seems likely to be postponed for the present, and it is obvious that the Italians are now beginning to realise the difficulty of conquering the two provinces they so light-heartedly annexed. It is possible that they hope the political dissensions in Constantinople will drive Turkey to make peace and thus save them from undertaking the work of conquest at all.

20th January.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Sofia, December 21.

On Sunday, 17th instant, a requiem service was celebrated for the souls of the victims of the Ishtip massacre, and later a mass meeting was held in the space before the cathedral to condemn the action of the Turkish Government. It is a significant fact that whilst but a couple of months ago it looked as though the Macedonian question were dead it is now once again very much to the fore, and to those who really understand the position it looks as if the usual means of extinction would be far from adequate. The turn of events is being watched with the most lively interest by all classes and by those most intimate with the question with more than a little alarm.

Commenting on Turco-Bulgarian relations, the semi-official journal *Dnevnik* observes that the Porte has taken absolutely no steps to improve them, and that, on the contrary, everything is being done by Turkey to exasperate Bulgaria. In face of the frontier incidents and the butchery at Ishtip, by which Turkey seeks to involve the Bulgarian Government in difficulties, there remains nothing for this country to do but prepare her army so that the Bulgarian people do not find themselves unpleasantly surprised in the case of a war.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Sofia, December 27.

The war of reprisals continues in Macedonia. Last week two well-known members of the Committee of Union and Progress were assassinated near Kratovo. Information has now reached Salonika of the murder, near Kotchane, of a family of Bosnian immigrants numbering six persons. Both crimes are attributed to Bulgarian revolutionaries. The Moslem population of Kotchane are greatly excited and threaten to take vengeance on the Bulgarians.

News from Turkish Sources.

Al-Liwa, December 18.

We LEARN from the reports received from the Ottoman camp at Derna that a small mixed force of some Arab tribes and Turkish regulars attacked the Italian fortifications situated opposite to Benghazi. The fighting lasted for a considerable length of time, the enemy losing more than 150 killed and the Turks 3 killed and 15 wounded. The Italian killed included a considerable number of officers which has much upset them. It is difficult to estimate accurately the number of wounded, but the whole town is filled with them. It appears that some other of very high rank is also killed as the forces show signs of great grief and marks of mourning have been distributed. The commander of the Arabs in this encounter was a well known Shaikh of the Senoussi who is greatly respected by all the tribes.

Al-Tarraqi, December 18.

On the night of 13th December a small force of Arabs and Turks advanced towards Derna and sat down opposite to an important point among the Italian fortifications awaiting the arrival of dawn. In the morning when a body of Italians was passing in front of them they suddenly raised the shout of "Allah-o Akbar" and attacked the Italians, gradually pushing them back. But the unexpected shout had already unnerved the enemy and it was retreating of its own accord. When the main army got news of this, eight batches of reinforcements were sent one after another. It was a critical situation for the Turks and Arabs, but in spite of fatigue and sleeplessness, they prevented the advance of the enemy and attacked them time after time. At last the Italian force could not withstand their attack and fled in utter disorder.

It is difficult to estimate the large number of wounded, but they lost 130 killed. It should be noted that the Arabs and Turks had only rifle fire on their side while the enemy had artillery as well, and the great disparity in numbers was obvious.

On the following day a reconnaissance showed that the place of encounter was unoccupied and a party of our men went in search of the enemy. Some groups of Italians were sighted near the town and were immediately engaged. The fight that ensued was even severer than on the previous day and lasted long. Our numbers too had been increased, but the enemy's forces were four or five times our number. They wished to repulse us, while we desired to compel them to evacuate this point as well. When fighting had been prolonged the Arab force began to recite aloud the Chapter of Repentance from the Quran, and this filled our men with such new vigour and determination that when we charged the enemy this time, it broke up and fled to Barca, which is situated at half-an-hour's journey from Benghazi, and where they have extremely strong fortifications. . . . The guns of the Italian fleet also took part in the fight.

Our losses in killed did not exceed 30, though the number of wounded reached 50. But the enemy must have lost no less than 1,000 killed, and the number of wounded cannot be estimated. The Italian forces had already been unnerved, but after this battle they have completely collapsed and the state of their nerves excites ridicule. They retire every night to the ships and exercise their military prowess and prestige on those poor wretches who have to look after the ships, it being a standing order that on hearing the shout of "Allah-o-Akbar" all ships must weigh anchor. Their imagination presents awful forms of Turks and Arabs to their sight when they are ashore in the day, and they often rush back to the boats in terror of an imaginary pursuit.

Owing to the disorder of the enemy's retreat booty of all kinds fell into our hands and we have made many prisoners. Among the booty is a large stock of Dum-Dum bullets which have been universally forbidden according to International Law. This discovery is so patent a proof of their use that refutation is no longer possible; we have, therefore, shown these bullets to the English and French war correspondents, and they have been sent to Constantinople with a view to their early submission by the Porte before the Powers.

Al-Liwa, December 23.

In Zanzur the Italians attempted to cut the telegraphic wires of the Turks but retired unsuccessful, after losing 40 men and 3 officers killed and about 300 wounded.

Alamdar, December 27.

The following official statement relating to the fight at Tobruk on the 22nd December has reached here from the Ottoman Consulate —

The eastern portion of Tobruk is bounded by a chain of hills known as Djebel Natoorah. The enemy had spent all its energies in capturing this and had commenced to erect fortifications after elaborate preparations. But we were determined that this shall not be, so on the night of the 22nd December a mixed body of Turkish soldiers and Arabs advanced towards Natoorah. The Arabs were commanded by Shaikh Yasin who is the chief of the Mariam tribe.

This advance was neither a secret night attack nor military strategem. The preparations had, on the contrary, been openly made and no scint was used in the concentration and movement of troops. When the enemy became aware of our intentions, two large forces were immediately despatched to the left of the fortifications and to protect their western portion. These forces were well equipped and in addition to artillery of a large calibre had a large body of cavalry as well as infantry. Although we were attacking their fortifications only on the left, they did not wish to rely only on these preparations but wanted to call the rest of their forces as well. These were, however, at Tobruk itself.

At dawn our infantry together with the volunteers advanced on the line which the enemy had kept safe for the retreat or flight of its right. Our situation was so perilous that we ourselves cannot estimate its danger even now. Success has been due merely to that Providence which makes right prevail over injustice. In front was the Italian force, and towards the rear fourteen vessels of the enemy's fleet were pouring forth fire from their guns. . . . The enemy met our forces, but could not resist the charge of our men who entered into the fortifications of Natoorah and captured all the guns, killing the defenders.

This was indeed an important battle in the campaign and lasted from dawn till an hour after sunset. . . . Not a soul escaped inside the fortifications and more than half the infantry on the western side was cut down. A very small portion of the cavalry escaped and among the killed were three whose uniforms and other signs indicated very high rank. Much booty fell into our hands, including stores of grain, military equipment, guns, engineering tools and, most valuable of all documents containing projects of operations, plans, papers relating to accounts of war expenditure and sketches, which supply information of great value for our own future plan of action.

In this battle, which lasted for 13 hours, what were our own losses? . . . We hesitate to mention them for fear that the outside world, which relies merely on material causes and means and is ignorant of the omnipotence and inscrutable ways of the Creator of the Universe, may not accept the truth of our statement. . . . We lost only 7 killed and 20 wounded, the injuries of the latter being mostly slight. We regret to have to include among the martyrs the memorable name of Shaikh Masri who had contributed not only the men of his tribe to the attacking force, but had joined himself with his five sons, and had fought on with such fortitude and determination that all envied him the strength of his faith. Among the Turks who fought well, we have to mention the name of Naib Efendi who showed unparalleled courage and dash and was the first to capture Italian guns.

On the authority of reports published by the Ottoman Government, the *Vakil* has published in a recent issue details of three encounters between the Italians and the Turks and Arabs. It appears that the Italians had recently re-occupied Benghazi and the Turks had receded; but on Christmas Day, while the Italians were occupied in the festivities of the season, the Turks attacked them in broad daylight. For six hours cannonading continued, but thereafter the Arabs drew their swords and charged the Italians throwing their right into great confusion. At the same time Senoussi reinforcements reached the Turks, and the shouts of "Allah-o-Akbar" were raised with startling effect. The enemy numbered not less than 10,000, while the Mussalmans were hardly 2,500. The Italians were forced to retreat to their ships together with their Commander. Several thousand cases of ammunition fell into the hands of the Turks, and it was then discovered that they contained Dum-Dum bullets.

After their defeat at Benghazi, the Italians suddenly opened fire on Hasan Sa'ah. There were no men in that locality at the time, having joined the Turks at various camps. The women and children that had remained behind were shelled, and women that had been captured had to suffer the pain and misery of having their children killed by being dashed against their heads. When on the following day the Arabs discovered this, they set off in their rage in the direction of the Italians that very moment, and made such a dashing and unexpected attack that the Italians surrendered without fighting.

In the neighbourhood of Benghazi, there is a locality called Ain Barca which is inhabited by Berbers. The Italians had occupied the place by bribing the Berbers and had fortified it. The Sheikhs of the Barca came to the conclusion that so long as the Cross floated on Ain Barca, Mussalmans could not hope to regain Benghazi or, at any rate, retain it. So, without asking leave from the Turkish Commander-in-Chief, Neshat Bey, they attacked the place. But the fighting was severe and the Arabs were several times retreating. Their women, however, showered reproaches upon them whenever they were returning back, and this shamed them so much that they fought on and before sunset captured Ain Barca.

The War in Tripoli.

BY MARK SYKES, M. P.

The results of Italy's action in Tripoli will trouble the world for many a year to come. For no obvious purpose of either political expediency, material gain, or moral obligation, a European Power has nominally annexed a large portion of territory over which the flag of an Asiatic Power has flown for some considerable time without objection or challenge. The partial occupation of this region is being accompanied by a mixture of incompetence and foolish ruthlessness which only inexperience and panic can explain and nothing can excuse. To make the point plain I quote the *Daily Telegraph* of December 13, whose Milan correspondent, quoting from official Italian source, states:—"In the course of the manoeuvre a few Arabs were discovered, some of whom, found to be bearing arms, were shot immediately." I pass by all previous charges made against the Italians; this is quite sufficient, the announcement is plain and bald enough. I do not profess to be shocked. It is sufficient to say that this statement carries three conclusions: Firstly, that the Italians do not recognise natives as belligerents; secondly, that they do not know how to conduct a war of conquest or annexation; thirdly, that a state of war must prevail in the Tripolitan Hinterland for months and years to come. These conclusions may be deduced; I think, in the following way.—The statement, that these Arabs were immediately shot, is made as a matter of course, comes from an Italian source, and is expected to arouse no comment—it is merely the record of the operation of a recognised policy. That this policy is absurd must be patent to anyone acquainted with military operations, to anyone who understands the revengeful nature of the Arab character, to anyone who realises that violence is not strength. Lastly, such a policy is a sure guarantee of interminable fighting, because no Arab, armed or unarmed, will henceforth expect quarter, or believe that his voluntary surrender would be accepted, or will be under any other impression than that the war is one of extermination.

So much for Italian policy. As for the methods of carrying out that policy, the facts speak for themselves. The littoral Arabs of Tripoli are naturally as unaccustomed to war or the use of arms as the Italians themselves. The Turkish garrison was 6,000 strong on the outbreak of war. This feeble force was, roughly, equally scattered between Benighaz, Derna and Tripoli town; the distance between these points forbids any concentration of these numerically contemptible and isolated groups of infantry. Italy has command of the sea, and has a compulsorily trained population to draw upon, a momentarily popular cause to prosecute, aeroplanes, battleships, quick-fires, staff officers, ammunition, and money. There was no natural difficulty or obstacle in her path, no mountain

range, waterless deserts, swamp, or unexplored region stood between her forces and her enemy. Yet to-day, after over two months, her troops dare not encamp or entrench or spend the night beyond the radius of the guns of the fleet. We have had the extraordinary picture of a fully equipped army covered by naval gunfire actually besieged, actually driven back on one occasion, by a force not one-tenth of its numbers, efficiency, or prestige. Only after two months hesitation and defence has the Italian commander dared issue from his lines to realise what his aeroplanes had told him for weeks, that he had practically nothing in front of him, and when finally he did emerge, his puny, immobile antagonist was suffered to retire with his wounded and his camels and camp followers uncaptured.

Now these are the preliminary operations carried out by the Italians in order to form a base for the conquest of Tripoli, a region about as large as the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, seared by waterless deserts, and inhabited by really savage and war-like tribes, with whom the Italians have not yet come in contact, and towards whom a constant stream of ammunition and arms has been directed ever since the war began. I do not think, therefore, that it can be denied that the question of the war in Tripoli must remain with us for some time to come. War is always bad. the state of the Tripolitan Hinterland bids fair to become a serious and standing menace to the world.

It remains, therefore, to consider the manifold problems to which this war gives rise and which must not only last so long as hostilities last but must remain to plague us long after the actual cause has subsided into insignificance. Hitherto, by various means the British Foreign Office has blinded itself, the Press, and the public to the nature of the disaster which befell the world when Italy uttered her first ultimatum. It was left apparently to cranks, Socialists and Little Englanders to protest. Italian action is condoned, explained, hidden, and decently covered in one way or another by persons of eminence and understanding, her performances condemned only by those who are supposed to be vain babblers vapouring merely from sheer perversity; yet to my mind, Italy's action is as vain, as cruel, and as wrong as it actually appears in spite of the doubtful nature of the prosecuting counsel and the responsibility of those who charge themselves with its defence. But whether Italy be right or wrong in this business is a matter of small consequence compared with the situation she has produced. All that lies between Agadir and Calcutta has been jolted and jarred by this adventure. The Balkans, the Dardanelles, Armenia, Mecca, Medina, Jeddah, the Aden Hinterland, Egypt, the Sudan, Tunis, Algeria, India, Persia, even Afghanistan, are all names which represent world problems, and all have been prejudicially affected by the present war.

If we run rapidly through the catalogue we shall see the various possibilities which will influence the minds of men.

Let us first take the world of Islam and see how it is influenced by the conflict. In Egypt men are watching closely the course of operations; an Italian victory arouses an angry discontent, an Italian reverse a dangerous jubilation; in the Sudan a race of warriors are reminded once more of the joys of battle, the possibility of freedom from Christian rule. Both in Egypt and the Sudan, in hut and mosque and school, the word is being whispered of war—holy war—the Jihad. These are dangerous things for men to whisper; and the whispers will not cease because editors are put in prison or their newspapers suspended. In the land of Tunis, where by fair means and foul, by regulations and officialism, the Latin is displacing the Arab, and an old sore is reopened, a flesh pang stings a people who see themselves bound, sold, degraded, defeated and shut out from the world. In Algeria the deep, burning hatred which the suave and treacherous Arab knows so well how to conceal receives fresh fuel, and the Algerian Moslem once more registers his silent vow to await his opportunity—and to take it when it comes.

In Persia a futile and semi-despairing nation hears the news, and groaning in spirit, turns to counsels of chaos.

In India millions of our subjects whisper as in Egypt, but the whispering takes a different note. Is this done by England's will? Is this the work of England's friend? Is Islam to be crushed throughout the world? Is the Christian determined to subdue the Mussulman? The Indian Mussulman must bear the Hindu's sneers at his loyalty; he hears of Tripoli and sees the policy of the partition of Bengal undone; he looked to the Raj to protect him against his peaceful but more nimblewitted neighbours; he put unfaltering faith in English friendship with Turkey, and now—his heart is filled with vague doubts and haunting fears.

In Asiatic Turkey men had sworn to observe the Constitution to grant Christians equality before the law, to admit Christians into the army, to forget the ancient hatreds and feuds. Yet a Christian Power is taking a Moslem province where practically no Christians lived before, and there are massacres, wars, seizures, open and unashamed. There are plenty of reactionaries of the worst and fiercest type in Turkey to-day and now Italy has given them a text and a popular appeal. As a consequence there are thousands of

poor, harmless folk in danger, and there may be an end of one of the finest dreams, one of the fairest hopes, which this century may ever see.

Far out beyond the Khyber Pass, in Afghanistan, a fanatical and predatory people are watching and listening. Who knows what perilous words are not now being spoken in the bazaars of Kabul and Kandahar?

In Mecca and Medina each year men from every quarter of the world congregate together in the season of sacred pilgrimage. What kind of a tale will the Hajis bear home when their friends and relatives come out to meet them on their return? They will have heard of this war, will perhaps have seen people who have fought in it, will have heard of small defenceless Red Sea towns and villages being shelled, of merchants ruined and helpless trading dhows being burnt. Will they be silent, will they approve, or will they bear home, east, west, north and south, a hopeless tale of oppression and injustice that will animate their bearers with a savage unrelenting spirit of anger and indignation? These are fanatical folk and their religion is that of the sword.

So much of Islam. There is plenty more which is equally undesirable.

The Balkans, for years a hell of intimidation and persecution, of petty strife and major jealousies, ever a menace to the peace of Europe, stand now a noisy threat. Frontier incidents and outrages are signs that we are at least within measurable distance of actual conflagration. Austria will neither have Italy on the east of the Adriatic nor on the Aegean coast and a move in this direction would be deemed an act of war by the Dual Empire; but Bulgaria, Servia and Romania are ready to spring. If Italy's war goes ill in Africa, the temptation to reinstate a damaged prestige by an European diversion may prove overwhelming, and the intrigues of the lesser Balkan States may give her heart to dare Austria's anger. For this reason alone the war has multiplied the dangers and risks of a Balkan explosion a hundredfold.

But the trouble does not end here. Suppose Italy avoids the Adriatic and European coasts of Turkey, she may yet be driven to attack the Dardanelles, an action which would immediately reopen the whole question of the Black Sea, the Bosphorus and Constantinople. The strategic facts of 1812, of 1854, of 1876 are still the strategic facts of 1911. Who holds the Black Sea and the Dardanelles must eventually control the Mediterranean, must hold a predominant commercial and military position. If the Dardanelles comes to be within the theatre of the present war, no Englishman can consider the map with equanimity, for developments may arise which will threaten our Mediterranean outposts and the line of communications which they guard.

Lastly suppose this war end now, end in Italy's favour, the after-effects are not pleasant to contemplate. Islam has been shocked and outraged, Turkey has been disillusioned and humiliated. In spite of efforts to reform, in spite of real reforms achieved, she is stripped of provinces, her subjects are shot for the mere act of self-defence, and her defencelessness is made the excuse for foreign aggression. A long period of turbulence, rebellion, and strife will have been initiated in North Africa. The morality of the world will have received a serious blow, the problems of Balkan pacification, of the material development of Asia Minor, of the Baghdad Railway, of the Persian Gulf, of the settlement of Persia will be henceforth more difficult to solve, more dangerous to the peace of the world.—*The Near East.*

With the Men in the Trenches.

A correspondent has sent the following letter to the *Times* of London, from Tripoli, dated 12th December, which that journal publishes in its issue of the 23rd December :—

When I landed in Tripoli the town and the neighbourhood had not yet recovered from the effects of the recent inundation. Some roads were still impassable; the palm gardens behind the trenches were still dotted with picturesque lakes and pools, and it was easy to imagine what the condition of things had been a few days previously. But the soldiers in the trenches seemed perfectly cheerful.

During the days that followed I spent much time in the trenches and I found always the same keen spirit. I talked with men who had been leading for five or six weeks the monotonous but nervous life of the trenches—monotonous, because each day passed like another, without diversion, almost without news; nervous, because at any moment of the day or night the crackle of musketry among the palms might call them to attention, sometimes to repel a brisk attack, often merely to watch for an invisible enemy, who sniped from the shelter of trees and wells. The strain must have been considerable, but the spirit of the men was always the same. Sometimes they wondered a little when the advance would begin; they were eager to get to grips with the enemy, who bothered them night and

day; but they showed no traces at all of that despondency and lack of nerve which had been attributed to them by some correspondents.

After all, cheerfulness is an attribute of the Italian nation, and it is not surprising that the national characteristics should be evident among the soldiers. What has impressed me more has been the firmness and the balance displayed by the troops. I have watched them under fire, in the trenches and in the desert, and I have seen them in circumstances still more trying. I refer to the ghastly scene near El Henni, where the bodies of their mutilated comrades were found. I took special notice of the demeanour of the many soldiers present on that occasion, and I confess myself surprised at their controlled and dignified behaviour. The things seen then were enough to try the calmness of any spectator, and it would not have been a matter for wonder if the soldiery of an excitable race had lost hold of their control, and given vent to the feelings of horror and rage that possessed every beholder. Seeing what I have seen, I am less than ever inclined to believe in the stories of unbridled massacre which have been so widely circulated on such slender evidence.

During the last few days many Arabs have been coming in from the oasis, to make submission and beg for protection from Turks and desert warriors. Bands of men, women, and children have been coming into the town escorted by soldiers. Here is one picture, taken near El Henni, not very far from the spot where the tortured prisoners were found. A group of Arabs were coming in towards the town. The women were weary, and the soldiers carried the little children to save the mother's fatigue. One held a baby in his arms talking and smiling to it and dancing it as he would his own child. Others carried children on their shoulders, and one had his képi pulled all on one side by the clutching arm of a little Arab girl. They came to a knot of officers, and tried to stiffen to attention. The man with the baby blushed. "Scusi, Signor Colonnello," he stammered "But I have a bambino at home."

I have known the Italian soldier for some years, and now for the first time I have seen him on service in conditions that are hard for a soldier, after experiences that must have tried him sorely. He is not smart, in our sense of the word. In a way, he is even slack. But his spirit is admirable, his cheerfulness unquenchable, and his keenness great. Moreover, he is a wonderful worker. He digs like a navvy, and the trenches he makes in a few hours will keep him snug and safe for weeks, if need be. If there is a fault to find with the troops, it is that they move rather slowly in the attack. But this is a question of leading, the men are not often allowed to display the dash of which I am convinced they are capable. And perhaps the policy of the leaders is justified by the small casualty lists, though, that is a point which opens a wide field for discussion.

The Fighting in Tripoli.

(BY THE "TIMES" MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.)

The Italian operations during the past ten days have not been very fortunate. The weather has been bad. Aeroplane reconnaissances have been impracticable, and a shed built to house one of the newly-arrived dirigibles has been half destroyed by a storm. The distribution of the Italian forces is practically the same to-day as a week ago, but some reinforcements have reached Bengasi, possibly native troops from Eritrea, and there are now nearly 30,000 men available for active operations in Cyrenaica and a forward move on this side is to be anticipated. The special Fifth Division is reported to be still at Naples with its transports ready, but there is nothing to show what mission will be entrusted to it. Many Italian ships have returned to their ports to refit and replenish coal and supplies. The first squadron of the First Naval Division, consisting of the *Regina*, *Blema*, *Vittorio Emanuele*, *Romo* and *Napoli*, reached Taranto on 15th December while the ships of the Second Division—namely, the *Sicilia*, *Re Umberto* and *Sardinia*—were back at Spezia at the same date.

The *Iride* and *Carranca* attempted to reconnoitre Sidi Shid near the frontier of Tunis on 17th December but the landing party was assailed by Arabs hidden among the dunes and was driven back to its boats with some loss and without accomplishing its mission. On the following day a column of all arms marched upon Zanzur, 13 miles west of Tripoli on the road near the shore. The small Turkish garrison, well served by its spies, had received warning of the attack and decamped before dawn, so that no fighting ensued and the Italian column returned to Tripoli. From Zanzur a line of telegraph runs to Gharian and consequently Zanzur has been a very convenient collecting and transmitting station for Turkish intelligence reports from Tripoli. The telegraph office and part of the line were destroyed by the Italians, but the new office on the line will serve Turkish ends almost equally well.

On 19th December a small mixed force 1,700 strong, consisting of three battalions, two mountain guns and a squadron, set out from Ain Zara under Colonel Faro at 7 A.M. to attack Bir Tobra, the re-occupation of which place by the Arabs may have been reported. Bir Tobra is a small oasis ten miles distant from Ain Zara, on the

The Comrade.

track leading south-eastwards towards the Tarhuna Djebel. The column seems to have been badly guided and did not reach its objective till 10.30 A.M. when an attempt was made to surround the enemy, and the guns opened fire. But the Arabs, reported to be 3,000 strong, were found well posted in a good position and made a stout resistance, while parties of horse and foot began to outflank the Italian line. The Italian column, abandoning the initiative, concentrated and entrenched, and in this position was subjected to several attacks during the day and throughout the following night. At dawn the Arabs retired, and the Italians, forming square with their wounded in the centre, retired towards Ain Zara, meeting on their way back some reinforcements which had been sent after them, but had gone astray. In this fruitless enterprise the Italians suffered 84 casualties.

Only last week the writer ventured to remark that it was rare for a regular army to confront the difficulties and dangers of a desert campaign with impunity, and the episode of Bir Tobras will by this time have taught the same lesson to the Italians. It is also clear that valuable and indeed indispensable though aerial scouting is to an army to-day, it is still something of a fair-weather friend and does not at all diminish the need for mounted troops, an arm in which the Italian expedition is not strong. For a whole week at least the aeroplane officers have been defeated by the weather, and it was probably for this reason—namely, the absence of trustworthy information—that the Italian command sent 1,700 men to attack 3,000 in a good position.

Apart from the question of aerial scouting one must continue to entertain some scepticism concerning the success of Italian penetration into the interior, for it still appears to be true that no adequate preparations have been made for the equipment of desert columns. There are three courses open to a staff which contemplates operations in a more or less desert country like the Hinterland of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. Any one of these courses, or a combination of the three, may be adopted, but an advance without principle and method is a real danger. A light railway may be laid down, or posts may be occupied on the chosen line of advance where supplies of water may be collected, or, lastly, camel transport may be employed. A light railway is indubitably the best means of all, but it takes time to construct, requires water in plenty at certain points and is not easily carried across a Djebel district like that which encircles the Tripoli plain on the south and south-east. The second course, namely, that of occupying and preparing posts also takes time, for tanks must be made and enough water collected not only for the permanent garrison, but for the operating column which will eventually advance step by step along the line of posts, while the posts themselves are liable to attack and must be strong.

The third course, namely, the use of camel transport, is apt to turn a staff officer's hair prematurely grey when he reckons up his wants. A camel cannot carry much over 320lb. This means two fantassas, each of which when filled with water weighs 160lb. and has a capacity of 12 gallons. Men require not less than 2 gallons a day for all purposes, horses and mules 5 gallons a day, and camels 10 gallons every fourth day. There are only a few wells on the track from Ain Zara to Gharian, and the best of them—provided that they are not filled up by the enemy—are believed to afford water enough only for two or three battalions. At Gharian determined resistance may be encountered and the Italians may have to fight some 5,000 Turks, supported by a swarm of well-mounted and tolerably well-armed Arabs. Suppose that General Caneva decides to march on Gharian with 12,000 men, including four pack batteries and six squadrons of cavalry. Call it eight marches, including two days' fighting. Then ask a young friend at the Staff College to reckon up how many camels are required to carry water, food, ammunition, sick litters, and other paraphernalia for the force named for the operation in prospect, and see how far General Caneva is likely to be able to march with the 1,000 camels reported to be at his disposal.

The truth is that a desert is the most terrible of all theatres for the operations of a regular army. It was for this reason that Napoleon in his *Commentaries* (Vol. III., p. 16, Edition of 1867) placed deserts before great ranges of mountains and great rivers as the best frontiers for States, and he might also have placed them before the sea, which is in itself not an obstacle but a highway, as the frequent and successive invasions of Britain in old days proved to demonstration. When history is written it will be seen how that great soldier Lord Wolseley agreed with Napoleon's opinion and how deeply it affected his plans for the relief of Khartoum. We modern people who are so very wise, think it a fine thing to do to span the deserts which protect India by railways. So, no doubt, is it, in a sense, and all the enemies of England will pat her on the back for doing it. But when armies have to be piled on armies to make up for the desert defence that we have rashly thrown away, we shall perhaps recall that all faults bring their own punishments, and none more surely than the neglect of principles laid down by the past masters of war.

All depends upon the manner and the principles upon which the Italian command proposes to conduct the campaign, and on

this subject the evidence is not yet sufficiently complete for the formation of an opinion, but little advances followed by little retreats, such as have been carried out since the capture of Ain Zara, do not very much assist the Italian cause and, on the contrary, encourage the brave enemy, whose resistance to Italy must fill all Turks with pride. Italy has a great source of strength in the admirable patriotism and unity of her people at home, while the close and cordial manner in which her two fighting services have co-operated during the war merits unstinted praise. But neither force nor patriotism conquers a desert, which has to be tackled in the coldest of cold blood or may easily bring about the ruin of an army and a State. Fortunately for Italy, the Turks in this crisis of their history are all at loggerheads at home, and it is in the disunion of parties at Constantinople rather than in any other advantage that lies the best hope to Italy of a speedy issue from her African adventure.

Turkish Political Parties.

(*The "Times", 28th December 1911*)

Yesterday the Turkish Chamber by the narrow majority of 107 votes to 99, accepted a motion supported by the Government for the postponement until Saturday of the debate on the proposed modification of Article 35 of the Constitution. Earlier in the day the inter-party Conference which has been endeavouring to arrange terms between the majority and the Opposition abruptly broke down. The Opposition, which now practically means the new Party of Union and Liberty formed at the end of last month, demanded guarantees from the adherents of the Committee of Union and Progress, who constitute the majority, that no attempt should be made to change Article 35 in the present Session. It was the rejection of this demand which brought the Conference to an end. The attitude of both parties will be intelligible enough to readers who have followed our articles and telegrams on the internal affairs of Turkey for the last few weeks. Article 35 regulates the power of the Sovereign to bring about a dissolution of the Chamber. As it stands, it invests him with this power, but only with the assent of the Senate. Said Pasha, it is understood, desires to remove the restriction placed upon the exercise of the Sultan's prerogative by the provision which requires the consent of the Senate. It is also alleged, though with less assurance, that he wishes to have the Constitution so altered as to enable the Sovereign to suspend Parliamentary debates in time of war. The Committee of Union and Progress desire an early dissolution for reasons which will be well understood by the politicians of Continental countries. A dissolution must take place before very long, and they want their friends in the Ministry, and particularly in the Ministry of the Interior, to have the "making of the elections". If the modification were carried, Said would be able to dissolve at once. If, on the other hand, it is deferred for any considerable time the newly-formed Party of Union and Liberty may be able to "develop strength" in the American phrase, to perfect their organization, which is still weak, to shake the grip of the majority on the "machine," and to give play to the various influences which recently enabled them to wrest a seat in the capital from the followers of the Committee of Union and Progress.

The debate on Saturday promises to be of great interest and may be of great moment. Unless Said is supported by the Committee he must, of course, resign, but it is expected that this support will be given him in view of the electoral prospect, whatever doubts may be entertained of his personal devotion to constitutional principle, or of his agreement with the Committee on the prolongation of the war. Said, it is not forgotten, was in friendly relations with Abdul Hamid when Abdul "suspended" Turkey's last Constitution—a suspension which continued for some thirty years. As regards the war, he has already made it clear that he wishes to make peace with Italy, and that he believes it to be impossible for him to open negotiations while Parliament is sitting. At the Salonika Congress the leaders of the Committee took up the most uncompromising position on this subject. They decided unanimously that the cession of Tripoli in any circumstances is out of the question, and came forward as the champions of Islam in a Holy War. The war indeed enabled them to brush aside a good many professions which were beginning to prove highly inconvenient. The most dangerous kind of resistance which has threatened them has been that of the ultra-orthodox Moslems, to whom not a few of their liberal and enlightened doctrines were in the last degree suspect. By appearing as the unyielding defenders of the Faith against the Infidel, they silenced, if they did not satisfy, this group of their opponents. It will not be easy for them to draw back from this position now, even if they are anxious to do so. It seems, however, to be thought in Constantinople that the exigencies of the electoral situation will over-ride all other considerations and that Said may rely upon their support.

Even with this support he may have considerable difficulties to overcome. He must obtain a two-thirds vote of the Chamber

twice over in order legally to effect the desired modifications of the Constitution. As his majority was no more than eight, a very large number of the Opposition Deputies will have to "find salvation" suddenly, if he is to attain his ends by Parliamentary action. Sudden changes of the kind have, however, been known in the Turkish Parliament on former occasions when the Committee were in real earnest to procure them and chose to exert their power. There are, moreover, as our Constantinople correspondent has pointed out, other means by which a dissolution might be procured. The Grand Vizier, so long as he has the Committee behind him, can apply to the Senate for their sanction to a dissolution; and should the Senate display reluctance to grant it, he can threaten to swamp the Upper House by advising the Sovereign to create a sufficient number of puppet Senators who will do the bidding of the Prime Minister. No fears seem to be entertained that the Committee, whose political principles are of the most advanced Liberal and democratic type, would be hurt by this arbitrary resort to the Prerogative. Indeed, it is one of the most remarkable and instructive features in the existing situation in Turkey that the most ardent advocates of Constitutional liberty and of the rights of man are fully prepared not only to strain, but to enlarge, the Prerogative in a most extravagant degree, in the confident expectation that they will be able to employ it for their own party ends. Liberals at home who feel shocked at this apparent violation of political principles on the part of the Committee of Union and Progress must in justice remember that constitutional methods are still in their infancy in Turkey, and that the public conscience has not yet learnt to value them at their true worth.

The Italians at Tripoli.

Having reduced the batteries on the 3rd, on the following day Admiral Faravelli landed a naval brigade on the west shore, in the vicinity of Gilgursh. He still believed the town to be hostile, as early in the morning, when he had sent in a torpedo boat under a white flag, it had been fired upon from the Hamidieh fort to the east of the harbour. This fort was again bombarded. As a matter of fact, as has already been made clear, the entire Turkish force except the few artillerymen had evacuated the town before the date of Faravelli's first bombardment.

TUR LANDING AT TRIPOLI

The Arabs of the oasis were not slow to profit by the evacuation, and on the evening of the 3rd and the morning of the 4th of October they poured into the town, and began to ransack the deserted public buildings. The barracks in the oasis, the gendarmerie post-houses, the arsenal, and Konak were gutted, and on the morning of the 4th the attitude of the looters became so threatening that it looked as if the bazaars and private property were about to be given over to pillage. The consular body, therefore, determined to invite the Italians to land. A white flag was hoisted over the Konak, and an invitation was sent on board the flagship to the Admiral to take over the town and save it from pillage. A further contingent of sailors was immediately landed, and Tripoli was occupied. In all, the fleet landed a naval brigade of 1,800 men, which was commanded by Captain Cagni, the associate of the Duke of Abruzzi in Arctic travel. Captain Cagni, having ascertained that the Turks had marched off into the desert by the Gharian road, established an outpost line that cut off about a third of the western end of the oasis. The main trace of this outpost line followed the fringe of the oasis where it met the desert, and included the pumping-station of Boumelliana which supplied much of the water for the town. Its left flank cut through the oasis just east of the quarter of Shara Shatt, and the right flank, in open desert, was the group of earthworks already described as Gilgursh (Sultaneh). It is necessary to enter into this detail here, as the position thus described, as established for less than 2,000 sailors, is practically the same trace that Italy holds to-day with two infantry divisions. It will be seen that the *enclave* enclosed by this outpost line was about four square miles of densely-inhabited palm-grove. The intricacies of this *terrazzo* have already been described, and it will be well if the reader marks them in his mind, as it has an important bearing on the subsequent development of the occupation. The sailors had barely established their outposts before they were fired upon from the direction of the desert. At first it was thought that this was the work of marauding Arabs who had become inflamed by the pillage in the town. In reality it was the rearguard of Nechat Bey's army, or rather, of the force which he had left behind to keep contact with Tripoli and the invaders,—a touch which he has never relinquished. This rearguard became more insistent in its attacks, and the sailors were much disturbed by it, especially at night. On one occasion when the Turkish skirmishers pressed in to within 300 yards of the Boumelliana Wells, the warships anchored off the coast fired 12-inch shells into the desert for hours together, the result of which active defence was three Turks killed and one wounded by rifle-fire. The navy held Tripoli from the 4th to the 10th October. Towards the end of this period

the sailors became very anxious, their information being that the enemy were preparing to advance to the attack, and they knew that they could not deny them the eastern end of the oasis if they chose to come and occupy it. On the 8th October the Admiral cabled to Rome for support so urgently, that two swift ocean-liners were immediately despatched from Naples with troops. These arrived at Tripoli early on the morning of the 11th, and the troops were at once disembarked and marched to relieve the weary sailors in the outpost line. The first troops to arrive were the devoted 11th Bersaglieri and the 40th Infantry.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE ARMY.

At day break on October 12th the Italian Armada in all its glory arrived from Naples. There were twenty-five large army transports that had been convoyed across the Mediterranean by two divisions of warships and a cloud of torpedo craft. As they steamed into the roadstead in the early light of an African morning they made a picture of suggested strength that was most impressive to the Arab onlookers, who had not yet quite recovered from the nerve-shattering effects of the bombardment. The army began to disembark at once. All this part of the Italian organisation was very thorough. The sappers were put ashore first. With them they had brought material for building piers and jetties. In a few minutes, it seemed these trestle landing stages were erected, and the army was landing in collapsible floats, towed ashore by the men-of-war's launches. The weather favoured the operations, and the army was landed in a remarkably short time. The fleet of transports was followed by a flotilla of Sicilian sailing-boats, loaded to the gunwale with forage. Having discharged their cargoes, these boats were also used to disembark the men and material.

The Italian army landed in very workmanlike shape. The rank and file, who were, from the nature of the mobilisation, picked men, were newly clad in the serviceable slate-grey uniform. They looked to be good soldiers and had all the appearance of being extraordinarily docile. The officers in the junior ranks were keen-looking fellows. They wore exceptionally well-cut breeches and tunics. In the senior ranks, perhaps, they were a little fatigued by age, and unsuited to the rough-and-tumble of an expedition into the desert. As the men were docile the discipline was good, and any professional soldier watching the landing of Caneva's army would have reported upon it as a useful and thorough-looking force of men. Peace calculations, however, only go a little way in estimating the true value of a fighting force.

General Caneva himself landed towards mid-day. His landing was accompanied by all the ceremony that is dear to the Latin's soul. Ships were dressed, and the guns of the fleet thundered the news to town and desert. Caneva himself is a small, stout man, with but little that is magnetic in his personality. He is an ex-cavalry officer, and looks less like a cavalryman than is usual in that smart service. He is from the Austrian provinces and has distinguished himself as an army commander during manoeuvres. His theory of chief-command is a mixture of the aloofness practised by the Japanese in the higher control of armies in the field, and the usual inertia that asserts itself with most Latins after they have reached a certain age. As far as his army is concerned, Caneva is a signature giving effect to army orders. A Latin soldiery requires something more in its generalissimo

CIVIL MEASURES.

It must be immediately stated that the Italians had not the slightest idea of how the administration of an occupied territory should be carried out. The General Staff evidently believed in grandiloquent proclamations and the arrival of the army was signalled by the publication of several proclamations, some of which, if I mistake not, were plagiarisms from Prussian proclamations found in some history of the Franco-German War. The army of occupation started upon its adventure on the hypothesis that the Arabs were hostile to the Turks and friendly to Italy. Caneva spoke in his proclamations of the Turks as "our common enemy." Satisfied with this assumption, no effort was made to collect from the population ten to fifteen thousand stand of magazine rifles that it was known had been distributed to them from the hold of the *Dorme*. No adequate measures were taken, either to police the town and its environment, or to patrol the outlying villages and hamlets in the palm-groves.

A descendant of the house of Karanaway was appointed as vice-governor of the town, and some Moslem as the mayor. With these measures the entire staff and army reposed a confidence in the Arab population which, though engaging enough in the simplicity that prompted it, was a culpable weakness in the open path of war. For a time the Italian clemency prospered, and the rosiest reports were dispatched to Rome of the endearing attitude of the new Arab subjects. There was, however, to be a rude awakening.

THE OCCUPATION OF CYRENAICA.

The ease with which its troops had occupied Tripoli induced the Italian Government to proceed forthwith with the occupation of all the chief ports of the Tripolitaine coast. The procedure was much the same in each case; the fleet blustered up and fired shell into the obsolete Turkish defences, and then sailors and troops were put on shore. At Tobruk and Derna but little opposition, if any, was experienced, but at Benghazi and Khoms the local Turkish garrisons, helped by the Arabs, made strenuous resistance,—so much so that the Italian Government immediately became alarmed, and established a censorship of all news from Cyrenaica, in the hope of concealing the truth. The result of this rigid censorship was that half-truths leaked out, were embellished in the Arab gossip-chambers, and spread through the Tripolitaine as gospel information of Italian defeats. It will be seen later how this foolish repression of information helped the development of the Turkish plans. At Benghazi the small Turkish garrison had so organised the Arabs that they showed to the Italians a really stiff opposition, and the fleet had seriously to come into action to support the landing. The treacherous sea also added to the Italians' difficulties, and rose before the landing was completed, thereby placing the portion of the force already put ashore in a dangerous predicament. The overwhelming force that the Italians could bring to bear, however, was too much for any resistance, however brave and devoted, that the Turks and Arabs could bring against them. The opposition was driven back all along the coast line, but not before the Italians had suffered about 500 in casualties. In no case had the opposition been crushingly defeated, and the Arabs and Turks, though they had perforce to fall back, never lost touch with the Italians or ceased to harass them on every occasion.

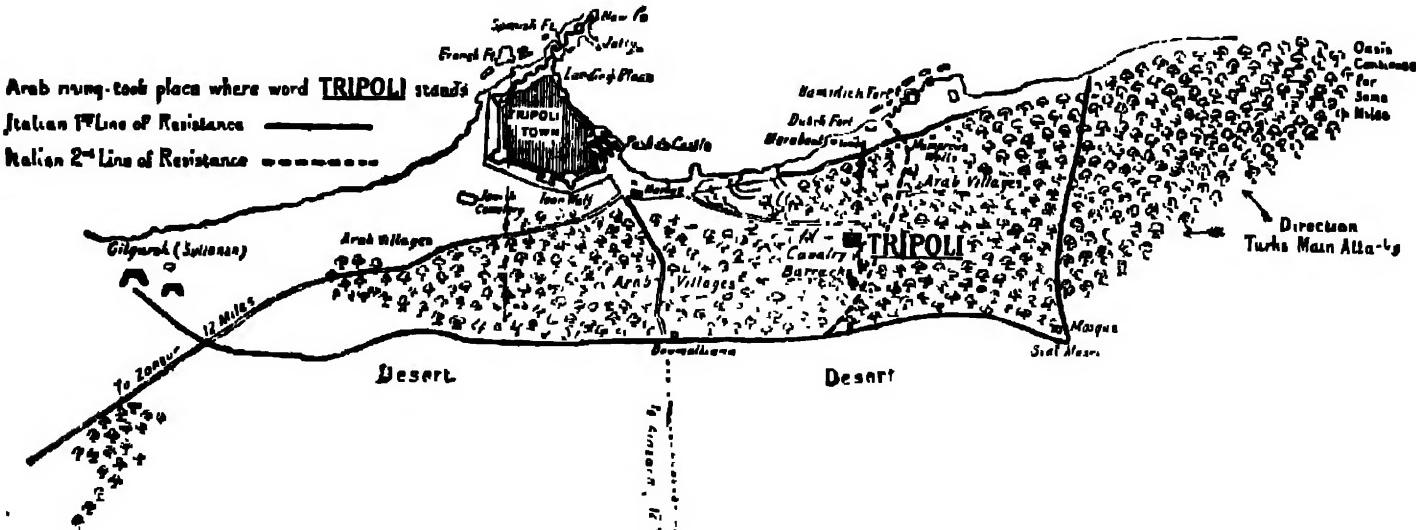
THE ITALIAN PLAN OF CAMPAIGN. [M b]

So far it will be seen that the Italian plans had failed signally in three essentials. They had hoped to have destroyed or captured

In the meantime the Turks had gained expert leaders from Europe, allies from the Bedouin and Berber tribes, and confidence from the Italian inaction and from the stories that were in circulation describing Italian defeats at Benghazi and Khoms. The Turks were in constant communication with their sympathisers in Tripoli. In fact, Turkish officers disguised as Arabs were seen constantly in the town by those who had no wish to betray their presence to the Italians. It was arranged that a great combined attack by every rifle that the Turks could bring against the position should be made on the appearance of the new moon, and that while this attack was being pressed home the Arabs in the town and oasis should rise and take the Italian positions in the rear. It was a pretty plan, and it came within an ace of being successful.

THE ARAB RISING

From October 20 it was generally apparent that the Turks intended aggression. The aeroplane scouts reported groups of Turks and Arabs in "thousands" at the oasis of Zanzur, twelve miles south-west of Tripoli; at Ainzara, about equidistant to the south, and again at the oasis of Azizia, still farther south of Ainzara. Instead of profiting by this information and advancing to destroy these Turkish forces in detail, the Italians awaited developments in their trenches. On the morning of the 23rd of October the Turks discovered that two-thirds of the Tripoli oasis was open to them. They demonstrated along the entire front of the Italian position, and pushed up a strong posse of Arabs into the eastern extremity of the home oasis. Working along this cover, these Arabs were able to approach to within a few yards of the trenches which three companies of the 11th Bersaglieri had cut across the palm-grove. When building their defences on this flank, the Italians had failed to clear a field of fire to their front. Their line of resistance just cut obliquely through the intricate cover of the palm-grove. Walls, cacti, fig-trees, and olive-groves masked the enemy until they were within a few feet of the Bersaglieri trenches. Discovering



the Turkish squadron between Beirut and the Dardanelles, they had been positive that the Arabs would not view the occupation in hostile spirit; and they had believed that the Porte, when they perceived that the blow was struck, would have accepted what the Italians were pleased to term "the inevitable." None of these things had come to pass. The Turkish fleet had escaped, the Arabs at Benghazi had made common cause with the Turks; and the Porte had politely told Italy "to do its damnedest," but that it would not relinquish its sovereign rights over Tripoli. The original plan under which the expeditionary force had been despatched simply contemplated the occupation of the seaport towns. There the troops would await the surrender of the Turkish troops, or their shipment to Turkey with the honours of war. After this Italy proposed to "buy" the inland sheikhs in the usual way, and proceed slowly with the occupation of the hinterland.

The expeditionary force at Tripoli was therefore very astonished when accurate information arrived that the Turkish force, augmented by some thousands of Arabs, was marching towards Tripoli. General Recorri-Girardi, who commanded the 1st Division, had with very slight modifications accepted the line of resistance which the navy had bequeathed to him. The various units had constructed field-works, and the field and mountain artillery had been distributed at intervals along the line. For the rest, little else had been done in the way of military precautions. Except for daily excursions by the intrepid officers of the air-service, practically no trouble was taken concerning the Turkish force in the desert. No forward positions were held to keep the Turks at arm's length and no precautions were employed to keep the unoccupied portion of the Tripoli oasis inviolate. The cavalry were never out in front of the army.

this advantage, the hot-headed Arabs could not restrain from attacking at once. What Neshat Bey intended as a reconnaissance became in the actual oasis a combat d'assaut. So fierce was the onslaught that a few of the Arabs succeeded in breaking through the Italian lines.

It had been arranged through the emissaries that the Turks had sent into the town, that when the Turkish force attacked in earnest, the Arabs of the oasis should rise behind the Italian lines and join in the discomfiture of the invaders. The Arabs of the quarter immediately behind the Bersaglieri lines, not unnaturally, when they saw among them their wild-eyed compatriots who had just broken through the lines, thought that the moment for action had arrived. They snatched their rifles from their hiding places and opened fire upon every Italian they saw. When dealing with such inflammable material as Arabs who have been hourly expecting to be let loose with arms, it does not take long for an outburst to gather way. In a few minutes a cloud of Arabs were attacking the Bersaglieri in the rear. So unprepared were the Bersaglieri for such a development, that the officers believed the attack from their rear to be a mistake on the part of friendly Arabs, and for a time they restrained their men from answering to it. Then the full significance of their awful predicament burst upon them, and they fell in their devoted men back to back. It, may be said of the two flank companies of the 11th Bersaglieri, in the words of the historian, that they ceased to exist.

In the meantime the rising had spread, and the whole intervening country between the Bersaglieri front and the town was alive with armed Arabs, who shot every uniformed Italian on sight. The roads running from the town to the outposts were naturally

The Comrades.

full of men on various fatigues connected with supply, and these unsuspecting escorts were the first victims. Luckily the mounted Carabinieri had just arrived from Italy. They were occupied in the suburbs partitioning their spheres of control when the rising began. They were able to hold the ends of the streets that radiate from the town into the villages. Being a force used to sudden emergencies, they kept their heads, and prevented any considerable contingent of the armed Arabs making an entry into the bazaars, or the town Arabs from joining their friends outside.

THE PANIC.

The rising was so sudden and unexpected that it was impossible completely to ring the town before some of the wilder spirits made their way into it. The Italians say that the rising was inaugurated by shots fired from a house in town where Turkish subjects awaiting expulsion were living. Be this as it may, about midday the shooting had communicated itself to the town, and there ensued an hour of frightful panic. The Christians of the Levant, especially those who dwell under the Star and Crescent, are particularly liable to panic. They live always with the fear of massacre upon them. The Christian and Jewish population of Tripoli is no exception to this rule. The cry went up of "The Arabs are in the town!" In a moment there was a wild rush for the consulates, for the boats, for any building that offered the suggestion of an asylum. The panic was augmented by the circumstance that the market square was filled with camelmen in the service of the invaders. As shots from the Moslem graveyard fell in the market square, the camelmen, seeing no doubt that they and their animals were forfeit in the eyes of Turks or Bedouin, drove their animals into the narrow alleys of the town. This added to the block and terror, to be immediately intensified by the excited action of the Italian soldiery. Men working at the wharves, hospital orderlies, and the guards from the various public buildings, knowing nothing of what had caused the panic, unslung their rifles, rushed into the streets, and in many cases began to shoot. It was during this turmoil that many Arab knives slipped out and struck down the uniformed Italians in the open highway, thereby showing how prepared the Arabs were to be hostile, and how much the Italians had been saved by this premature unmasking of the real feelings of the Arab population. It was about an hour before the panic subsided, or rather before every one had found shelter behind locked doors, except the troops that had taken possession of the streets. In the immediate suburbs, however, desultory firing continued until well into the night.

Desperate things however, had been happening in the oasis, where the line of the Bersaglieri had been broken. The 82nd Infantry carried on the Italian line from the right of the Bersaglieri, and owing to the demonstration made by the Turks along the entire Italian front, the reserves of this regiment had been pushed forward in readiness. As soon as it was realised what had really come to pass in the rear of the Bersaglieri, some one suggested to the Colonel commanding these reserves that he should sweep through the hamlets concerned and re-establish the left of the line. This he proceeded to do, and the few armed Arabs that were menacing the approaches to the town were driven eastwards along the oasis. The bulk of risen Arabs were engaged in the massacre of the two flank companies of the Bersaglieri, and the 82nd drove them into the unoccupied portion of the oasis across the mutilated bodies of their own unfortunate comrades.

THE REPRISALS.

It is no exaggeration to say that events of October 23 shocked the Italian army of occupation from top to bottom. The rising had come as a bolt from the blue. The terrible losses of the Bersaglieri; the massacre of unfortunates caught in the cactus alleys; and the general hopelessness bred of inactivity, had an evil effect upon an army that had started the campaign with "a skeleton in its cupboard." The army looked upon its dead and apprehended disaster. All the lurid legends of Abyssinia, that it had heard from childhood, came back to it as facts in war about to be repeated. There was only one military measure that Caneva could order. He had the prospect of an immediate attack by the entire force that Neshat Bey could bring against him. He had been reminded, rudely enough, that there were seven to ten thousand Turkish rifles still in the hands of the Tripoli Arabs that might be turned against his soldiers' backs. It was, therefore, imperative that the oasis, as far as the Italians held it, should be cleared of Arabs, and that reprisals should be taken against those villages in the oasis in which the rising had occurred. No military commander would have been justified in doing less. The orders were issued, therefore, that the oasis should be immediately cleared, and that all male Arabs found with arms in their hands, or who were shown, from circumstantial or other evidence, to have been implicated in the rising, should be summarily executed. The orders were sufficiently lax and general to permit of a sharp and salutary lesson, as the Arabs had already been warned by proclamation that the possession of a rifle would be considered a capital offence. Caneva and his Staff, however, had not calculated upon what this order meant to troops that had just seen their mutilated dead, who believed that they were again

about to be attacked treacherously in the rear, and who had ever over them the shadow of Adowa. The carrying out of the duty necessitated the breaking up of the troops into small detachments, which loosed the control upon the inflamed passions of the soldiery. Nor did the Staff know how or when to place a period upon the license they thus gave the troops. The result was a retribution upon the Arabs which will live in the memory of the Tripolitans for generations, and which will react for many a year upon the perpetrators themselves. It is not desirable here to go into the details of the days of bloodshed that swept through the Italian portion of the oasis. War is horrid and merciless, and its horror and mercilessness is intensified when killing is done by men actuated by terror. This much, however, should be said in favour of the Italians before this page be turned,—many foreign journalists have used the incident of these military reprisals as a means to sell their own sordid wares, a practice to the mind of the soldier far more reprehensible than fitting the punishment to the military crime of treachery.

THE REAL ATTACK.

The real attack by the Turks was made three days after the demonstration, and when the *enceinte* of palm-groves was practically clear of Arabs. In the early morning Turkish shrapnel began to burst above the date-palms, and certain attacking troops threatened from the desert front. The main attack, however, was reserved for the left flank. The Turkish commander had discovered the vulnerability of the Italians' left and the military value of that portion of the Tripoli oasis the Italians could not hold. Here Neshat Bey had massed the majority of his fighting men who were now augmented by a considerable number of the Tripoli Arabs. The latter naturally enough, after the rising, had preferred the cover of the oasis to the scant security behind the Italians' lines. Again was the weakness of the measures of defence on this front demonstrated. The Arabs and Turks were again able to approach under cover of the groves to within a few feet of the trenches, which had now been taken over by other companies of Bersaglieri. Twice in the same morning the attack was upon the point of overwhelming the defence. The Bersaglieri, however, fought with the greatest courage, and though the Italian field-guns were driven from the pieces they were serving in the trenches, the Bersaglieri swept the exultant attackers back into the palm-trees with levelled bayonets. For three hours a bloody contest hung in the balance, until the arrival of the reserves at last decided the day. The price of victory, however, had been high—so high that the staff at last awoke to the danger of this oasis. Instead of bringing up a brigade and clearing the oasis with the bayonet for good and all, as they might easily have done that afternoon, they decided to contract their front on this flank and retire the line about a mile while they cabled to Italy for another infantry division. In the circumstances these were about the two worst military measures that could have been undertaken. The first had a still further depressing effect upon the troops, and gave opportunity to the Turkish commander to report sensational victories to Stamboul. The second will only swell the tale of sickness which must be the lot of this great Italian army cooped up in Tripoli.

THE PRESENT POSITION IN TRIPOLI.

Up to the moment of writing there is no information that, with the arrival of the 3rd Division at Tripoli, any serious effort has been made to clear that portion of the home oasis where the Turks ensconced themselves after the 23rd October. Beyond re-establishing the line which the 11th Bersaglieri originally held in the oasis, there is no information of the forward move. In fact, General Caneva is reported to have stated that no operations into the interior are in contemplation until the spring. This we can readily understand, since the Italian army is not supplied with a Transport to advance inland with a small force, and yet being without the means of supporting an advance with sufficient numbers to ensure the defeat of its enterprising enemy. In a sentence, Italy does not know what surprises the hinterland of Tripoli has in store for her, and she is very diffident about the best way of finding out. In short, every calculation that Italian statesmen made when they decided to engage upon this Tripoli adventure has miscarried. Italy now threatens to carry the war into the Aegean waters, and *sinistre* shamefacedly suggests that the Powers should intervene to prevent the extension of the zone of operation into Europe. This, however, is Italy's own funeral. It is only a month ago that Italy would have nothing to say to suggested mediation. Then she thought that she could compel the Ottoman Government "to give her best." She has found that the Ottoman Government, instead of "accepting the inevitable," is perfectly content that Italy should pour out her money like water, and undermine her own social structures by unrealised ambitions. Turkey will reply to the bombardment or blockade of any of her Anatolian or European ports by the expulsion of the 50,000 Italian subjects to whom she still extends her hospitality. What Turkey should really hope is that Italy will be driven to land an army either in Anatolia or Macedonia; for sure as she does this she will pay Turkey a *Vis à Vis* indemnity.



تحفہ سال نو
حشمت جان رامبری
گریموون کے واسطے ریکارڈ
بنائے ہیں

جو فروری سنہ ۱۹۱۲ میں
شائع مولیٰ

جب اس بات کا خیال کیا جاتا ہے
کہ اس بے بدل کافی والی کو
اپنے مفتیر کرنے سے سخت نظر ہے
اور اس بنیاد پر اس لے صیہہ
اپنے آپ کر اس موقع سے علیحدہ رکھا
کہ جب محض شرفت کا حامل کرنا
لایت آسان تھا — تو یہ تسلیم کرنا
یہ ہے "ہز ماسترس رائس"۔
(His Master's voice)
کمال اس نئی لطیف کی ترقی میں
حاصل کیا ہے کہ جس نے اس
کے والی کو اس امر کا یقینہ لے گا
کہ صرف گریموون، بھنی لیتند
ہی اسی کی نادرت۔ حسن اور
ٹیکریں آواز کو معنے اس کے کمال
نئی موسیقی کے صحیح اور مطابق
اصل ریکارڈ پر پیش کر سکتی ہے
اور جس گارلٹی کے بغیر اس کا لئے
والی کو صنقاً نہ تھا کہ اس کی
آواز سوانح اس کے ذاتی کا لئے
کسی مفہیم کے ذریعے سے پہلک لک
بنتے — صرف اس امر کے پیش
کے کہ ریکارڈ اس کی نازک خیالیں
کاں پلتوں کی ترکیبیں — سرگماں
اور پہنچے — جوز اور آپ نئی
موسیقی کی نہ رہاں دلھا کے سامنے
اس طرح پیش کریں جس طرح
وہ خود کاٹی اس کو اس بات
پر رضامنہ کیا ہے کہ وہ ریکارڈ
بنائے — مم کو کامل یقین ہے کہ پہلک
اس آواز اور کاٹے سے بیوہ صبور
مرگی اور مم کو فروری نور وہ کند
اس محلت و جائفہ کی ملیں گے۔

اللہ تعالیٰ

دی گریموون کمپنی لیمیٹڈ
کلکتہ ۱۹۱۲ء

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—Morris.

Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 4. Anna 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, January 27, 1912.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign 21.

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The Week.

Home Rule.

Speaking about Home Rule Sir Edward Grey said Home Rule must be passed even if the Irish themselves do not wish in order to relieve the congestion of the Imperial Parliament and unify the Empire. Referring to the agitation now going on in Belfast, Sir Edward said that the affairs of the Empire could not be sacrificed to the opinion of Ulster.

It has been arranged to run excursions for Orangemen from all parts of Ulster to Belfast on the day of Mr. Churchill's arrival. The Nationalists state that they may bring a monster contingent of ancient Hibernians from Dublin to check the Orangemen.

The *Ulster Guardian*, a Liberal paper, demands the arrest of Lord Londonderry, Captain Craig, and others on a charge of treason.

Meetings of Unionists and Liberals are being held in Belfast to make preparations for the demonstrations on the occasion of the meeting to be addressed by Mr. Churchill. The Lord Mayor announced that he personally is opposed to the suggestion that the meeting be cancelled. The Police are enquiring into the situation.

The Orangemen have decided that a solid wall of a hundred thousand men shall surround Ulster Hall and easily and peacefully repel Mr. Churchill from speaking so long as the military are not present. Other Commanding the districts, however, has been

recalled from Switzerland. It is reported that three Dublin regiments will reinforce those at Belfast. The moderate Unionists say they will be content to withdraw their forces if Mr. Churchill is compelled to hold the meeting under military protection but the extremists insist on resistance no matter at what cost.

Sir Edward Carson speaking at Liverpool said that Government after a long series of provocations has thrown down to Ulster loyalists a challenge which would be taken up. The Unionist Council would have been false to their position if they had adopted any other policy in the face of Government's deliberate scheme to provoke disorder or cover Ulster with contempt. Even if it cost great suffering they were determined to see the matter through.

The Belfast Corporation has agreed to let Ulster Hall to the Unionists on 7th February night prior to Mr. Churchill's speech.

It is the Unionist plan to remain in possession of Ulster Hall from 7th February to 8th February.

Unionists are elated at the manoeuvre to secure the hall. They point out that spacious rooms and kitchens of the hall will make the position of the force holding it not too uncomfortable. An audience of picked men is pledged to hold it against all comers and to barricade the entrances.

Anti-Home Rule campaign is proceeding in Lancashire and Cheshire. Sir Edward Carson, Messrs. Walter Long, F. E. Smith and Lord Willoughby de Broke, are the chief speakers.

Addressing a meeting at Manchester, Sir E. Carson announced that he was going straight to Belfast, but with no light heart. He was going on a grave mission for his fellow-countrymen.

Mr. Hobhouse, speaking at Bristol, said that in view of the language of Conservative leaders in the Lancashire campaign, Government was bound to regard threats of violence and of outbreaks seriously.

The Liberal press call on Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Austen Chamberlain, either to denounce the policy of violence or to accept responsibility forthit.

A manifesto issued by Ulster Liberals denies that Mr. Churchill's meeting is a Nationalist gathering. It is wholly Liberal and almost exclusively Protestant. They are determined to hold the meeting despite all forces of lawlessness and disorder. Should rioting ensue, the responsibility will be solely with the Unionist Councils.

Colonel Wallace, Grand Master of Orangemen, says they will stick at nothing to demonstrate that Ulster will fight or die for its liberties.

The resignation of Mr. Percival Hughes, Chief Conservative Agent, has been unexpectedly announced.

27th January.

China.

Reuter wires from New York :—The Board of Foreign Missions has received a telegram from Shanghai declaring that two and a half million people are famine-stricken and that relief is urgently needed. The telegram appeals for at least a million dollars.

Commenting on the fresh difficulty in China owing to the telegram from Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen to Yuan-Shi-Kai to establish a republic, the *Times* describes the telegram as injudicious and insulting unless Yuan-Shi-Kai has shown bad faith towards the reformers of which there has hitherto been no evidence. The *Times* adds that absence of such evidence makes the conduct of the Nanking party appear inexcusable when the reformers have the republic within their grasp. The *Times* fears that they have imperilled the peaceful attainment of their ends and exposed the country to the most serious dangers within and without.

Reuter wired from Shanghai :—The Republicans who need funds to pay the army demand that the China Merchants' Navigation Company pay ten million taels; otherwise the ships will be confiscated and sold. The Directors have asked for time to consult the shareholders.

The situation in China is complicated by Dr Sun Yat Sen's open distrust of Yuan Shi Kai whom he believes to be overmuch influenced by the Dowager-Empress and the younger Manchu Princes, who now seem to favour immediate hostilities in preference to abdication. Yuan Shi Kai is surrounded by powerful enemies and keeps a large bodyguard.

Mesopotamia.

Reuter understands that fresh delay has arisen in connection with Sir William Willcock's scheme of irrigation in Mesopotamia. The Turkish Government is considering the advisability of spreading the work over a longer period, undertaking at present only a third part of the scheme.

The London Mosque.

Mr Ameer Ali, in an interview with a representative of the *Morning Post* on the subject of a mosque in London, said it would cost a hundred thousand sterling to erect a mosque on the lines proposed. A large sum had already been subscribed. The site contemplated was in South Belgravia.

All India Moslem League.

It is now decided that the All-India Moslem League should hold its next annual session in Calcutta and that His Highness the Aga Khan should preside. The dates fixed are March 3rd and 4th March. A record attendance is expected in view of the importance of the question in connection with the administrative changes in Bengal and Behar which are to be discussed.

Bengal's Governor.

The following Press *Communiqué* was issued : "It is His Majesty's gracious intention, after the completion of the necessary preliminaries, to appoint Sir Thomas Gibson-Carmichael, Bart., C.C.I.E., K.C.M.G., Governor of Madras, to be Governor of the Presidency of Bengal."

Home Member.

Sir Reginald Craddock, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces and Berar, made over charge of his office on the 25th instant and immediately proceeded to Calcutta as Home Member of the Viceroy's Council in succession to Sir John Jenkins.

Chief Commissioner of Assam.

Sir Archdale Earle has been offered and has accepted the Chief Commissionership of Assam. Nothing has been settled as to his successor as Home Secretary, but Mr. E. A. Gait is mentioned as the likely nominee.

The Announcement.

The Committee of Management of the Central National Muhammadan Association of Calcutta held a meeting on the 21st January and passed the following :—

The Committee considered the present Muhammadan situation in Bengal arising from the modification of Partition and the creation of a Government for Bengal. Mr. Sultan Ahmad, Barrister-at-Law,

opened the discussion by proposing that a representation should at once be submitted by this Association to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, and to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, urging the adoption of the following remedial measures for safe-guarding Muhammadan interests in Bengal by reason of the modification of Partition.

(a) That at least half of the Indian Members on the Bengal Governor's Legislative Council should always be Muhammadans, in view of the Muhammadan population in United Bengal exceeding the Hindu population by at least two millions.

(b) That Indian Members on the Bengal Governor's Executive Council should be alternately a Hindu and a Muhammadan.

(c) That on District Boards and Local Boards and Municipalities the number of Moslem and Hindu representatives should always be in proportion to the numerical strength of the Muhammadan and Hindu populations respectively.

(d) That the distribution of State Patronage for the whole Province of Bengal should be regulated by the same standard of population, and half of the appointments open to Indians allotted to the Mussalmans and half to the Hindus.

(e) That the allotment of the Provincial Grant for education in Bengal should be separately made in equal shares for Muhammadans and Hindus respectively.

(f) That the District Board and Municipal allotments for education should be divided amongst Hindus and Muhammadans according to their respective numerical strength in each District and under each Municipality.

After a good deal of discussion the proposal was unanimously carried

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Syed Izhar Hussain, Esq., Calcutta	1 0 0 0
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Amount received during the week	100 0 0
Amount previously acknowledged	6,720 4 0
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Loss rebate and M.O. charges	100 0 0
TOTAL	6,720 4 0

TETE À TETE



THAT His Highness the Aga Khan's ancestors first came to Sindh is a matter of history, but it may not be generally known that His Highness was himself born in Sindh. That province—for in nothing else but name and an administrative connection with the Government of Bombay is it part of the Presidency of Bombay—naturally retains a corner of the Aga Khan's heart all for itself, and now that he is in India, he visited once more the place of his birth. The Sindh Muhammadan Association, led by Mir Ayub Khan Sahib, Barrister-at-law, of the royal family of Las Bela, and Khan Bahadur Shaikh Sadik Ali Sahib, Vizier of Kharipur, presented an address of welcome to His Highness and recounted his great services to India in general and to the Mussalmans in particular. The address of the Association is a document which could well be used as a model for addresses of welcome. It gave to the Aga Khan an opportunity not only of thanking his Sindhi brethren for their appreciation of his services, but also of giving them excellent advice. His Highness is, however, too refined and cultured a leader to talk from a height. He concluded his speech with this apology:

"Gentlemen, excuse me for offering advice to the Muhammadans of Sindh, because it is never a pleasant duty to advise. Still I felt it my duty to do so; and if I had not done so I should have felt that I was a very, very bad Sindhi indeed." Although we had published a telegraphic summary of his speech in our last issue, we reproduce in this both the address of the Sindh Association and His Highness's reply, not only because the speech of His Highness deserves the consideration of Mussalmans and others all over India, but also because a vile attempt has been made by an Anglo Indian paper to prejudice people against so brilliant, cultured and distinguished a leader of the Mussalmans of India. With reference to His Highness's deep regret that "practically the only province where the Mussalmans are in a clear majority" should have no Moslem League and, that "no effort should have been made to give the people here political education which will ultimately be a source of strength not only to the Government but lead to the making of a single nation of Hindus and Mussalmans," the *Sindh Gazette* pours out phials of gall, and in a note headed "The Aga Khan's Pretensions," writes that "the insidious undercurrent of thought discernible behind this expression of a pious sentiment gives colour to the impression which has been steadily growing among the more statesmanlike of the Muhammadan leaders that the Aga Khan is not entirely a true representative of Islamic opinion. The text of the adulatory address of the Sindh Muhammadan Association suggests that local Muhammadans have no suspicion as to the state of the Moslem mind elsewhere in India." The utter imbecility and fatuousness of this statement would excite ridicule or pity if "the insidious undercurrent of thought discernible behind this expression" of stupidity did not give colour to "the impression which has been steadily growing among the more statesmanlike Muhammadan leaders" that such bairaks as the *Pioneer* and its Sindh prototype are anxious to use the Mussalmans only as the cat's paw of the narrowest of the bourgeoisie. It is a matter of great curiosity to us to know where such journals gather their knowledge of Indian thought and feeling. Confined within the still very narrow pale of Anglo-Indian society, what chance have they to learn the innermost thoughts of our countrymen? That being the case, is it any wonder that we fail to distinguish the features of the *Sindh Gazette's* informant in that extremely vague description, "the more statesmanlike Muhammadan leaders," and if we still grope in the dark in our effort to find the geographical situation of "elsewhere"—a locality where "the Moslem mind" is supposed to be quite the reverse of the

BUT we must let the *Sindh Gazette* unfold its pretty tale a little longer. It writes: "From Cairo to Bokhara every Muhammadan city can point religious leaders who in Moslem estimation are greater and more distinguished and, we may add,

more revered than he. The Aga Khan in fact seems to be presuming without sufficient authority to proclaim a lead in religious politics such as few Muhammadans of the dominant classes exhibit any readiness to follow." We must admire the bold irrelevance of this statement no less than the broad sweep "from Cairo to Bokhara." We have no doubt that there are many distinguished and revered Moslem divines in all that wide expanse of God's earth, and we may add that they included the great Kazim-i-Khorasani of Nejef, who died suddenly—a victim of some treachery most likely—just as he was setting out with 700 other divines to preach resistance to the aggressions of a "friendly power," and Saqatul-Islam of Tabriz, who was executed on the anniversary of the world's greatest tragedy by "our ally." But what has all this to do with the Aga Khan? Surely neither the Moslem League nor the Aligarh College and the Moslem University of the future can be considered such institutions as to clothe the personality of their President or champion with the sanctity of a high priest. Who ever thought that by following the Aga Khan's lead in politics or availing himself of the Aga Khan's generosity and enthusiasm in the cause of Moslem education, he necessarily became a religious disciple of the Imam-i-Hazir of the Ismailis, that the *Sindh Gazette* should write "Until His Highness makes a clearer avowal of his aims and advances stronger proof that those aims are in no way detrimental to the strength and integrity of Islamic hopes, he cannot properly be said without qualification to be either the leader or the exponent of any Muhammadan thought except that of the Khojahs." We doubt if any Musselman would be so foolish as to regard this Anglo-Indian journal as the Defender of the Faith and Champion of Islamic Orthodoxy. But should one be so foolish, the perusal of the last sentence in this remarkable mixture of cunning and stupidity would at once dispel the illusion. It writes: "In particular His Highness might with advantage explain why he should come to a province more conspicuously loyal and law-abiding than any other in India, to reproach Muhammadans for their 'political' backwardness at a time when the identical slur is being cast upon them by the Indian National Congress, and why he should urge, under colour of promoting inter-racial amity, a fusion of nationalities such as every unrestful non-Muhammadan politician is for ever preaching into Muhammadan ears. Not so taught the late Sir Syed Ahmed." So, it is not orthodoxy in religion so much as orthodoxy in political "cat's pawism" and communal dissensions that lies near to the heart of the *Sindh Gazette*. The speech of the Aga Khan is the best comment on this contemptible statement, and we credit the Mussalmans with more good sense than to believe they need from us any elaborate refutation of such atrocious writing. The one virtue which the Musselman need to develop more than another at the present moment is self-reliance. This must be the advice of all friends of the Mussalmans and the *bete noire* of all their misleaders. This, also, was the firm and solid bed-rock on which that lion-hearted Musselman, Syed Ahmed Khan, laid the foundation of his great fabric. He had proved his loyalty to the Government in a manner which it is not easily possible for others to copy to-day, for we hope the tragic times of the Mutiny would never return. But he had also proved then and since then his courage in a manner that is equally difficult to imitate. We doubt not that the Aga Khan is just as loyal at heart. But if this gifted successor of Syed Ahmed Khan is half as courageous, he is a bold man indeed. We trust he is, and let the Mussalmans thank Allah that he is so, the croaking of the *Sindh Gazette* notwithstanding. We challenge anyone to say he is a more devoted worshipper of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan than ourselves, and we shall yield to few in the matter of a close intimacy with his policy and his work. But we must confess we shudder when we hear any Englishman in these days admire that work and praise that policy, for our sad experience makes us anticipate some extremely reactionary advice to the Mussalmans, and we fear the bones of that most progressive of men must tremble even more violently under his green grave.

It has become nauseating to us to have to write week after week how much we would like to see the Hindus and the Mussalmans united. Such a desire appears to us to be too natural and normal to need a reiteration. But many of our

contemporaries are not of the same mind, and their repetition of such sentiments produces some suspicion that after all the Persian epigram may be true.

مک ۴ در گفتی ۴ در گرد—مک گفتی ۴ در گرد
حلف طورہ بی در دفعہ السیم

(You said it once and I believed it. You repeated it and I began to doubt. You took an oath on it and I believed it to be a lie.)

27th January.

To our mind the best way of convincing people is to act, not to talk, and it is here that the "masterly inactivity" of some eloquent patriots betrays them. In a recent issue the *Leader* offers some remarks about the speculation which is said to be rife in Madras about the likely successor of the late Mr. Krishnaswamy Iyer, and then gives a list of five "talented and trusted men for His Excellency to choose from," not one of whom happens to be a Mussalman. That is not so very strange, considering the Moslem population of Madras, but we have been led to believe that irrespective of caste and creed, Madras has "trusted," a "talented" gentleman to represent it in the Viceroy's Council, and the omission of his name from a fairly long list is surprising. Surely it could not be said that he was not even "partially worthy of our lamented friend" Mr. Krishnaswamy Iyer, a qualification that would seem to satisfy the *Leader's* sense of the fitness of things. But we do not wish to dwell long on such personalities. What has led us to write at all on the subject is the remark of the *Leader* that Mr. Krishnaswamy's appointment and that of Mr. S. P. Sinha "were the happiest that were made, as was that of Sir K. G. Gupta to the India Council, an acknowledgement that cannot so easily be made of the other appointments either to the Executive Council in India or the Secretary of State's Council in London." Our contemporary is quite welcome to its own opinions and it has every right to air them. But after four appointments made to the Provincial Executive Councils, not one of which fell to a Mussalman, it may seem as if the names of Mussalmans have been so rigorously excluded by the *Leader* not only from the list of eligible candidates for Madras but also from the list of satisfactory selections elsewhere in the past with a view to bar out Moslem candidates for the posts in Madras and Behar. It is indeed a strange sign of rapprochement, and if birds can be caught with such chaff, well-meant, of course, for grain, we hope to see in the near future many Mussalmans in the Congress dove-coop.

AN NAMES must now be under consideration for the membership of Councils in Madras and Behar, we think it right to advance the claims not of particular individuals, as some of our contemporaries have done, but of a class that

The Penalty of
Experience.

eminently deserves recognition both in the interests of the people and their rulers. Although there is no statutory reservation of that nature, we believe, and it is generally hoped, that one member of every Provincial Executive Council would be an Indian. But by some curious process of reasoning, it is assumed that the Indian who may be selected for such posts must not be an official. This, we must say, is not only an erroneous but also a mischievous notion. The whole *raison d'être* of throwing open these appointments to Indians is that no community of His Majesty's subjects may consider itself debarred from posts of trust and responsibility, and when Lord Minto recommended an Indian for the post of the Law Member for the first time, and thereafter recommended other Indians for the Councils of the Governors of Bombay and Madras, and Lord Morley accepted his recommendations, they did so in order to vindicate the sanctity of India's Charters of Rights according to which neither caste nor colour, race nor religion, could debar any of His Majesty's subjects from the highest offices of State. The appointments of Indians made to the India Council, which is a consultative rather than an executive body, were made, to some extent at least, in order to give access to Indian views to the Secretary of State for India, and have a somewhat representative character. But although the desire to have the Indian point of view represented in the Viceroy's Executive Council was not wholly absent from the minds of Lord Minto and Lord Morley, it was certainly not the guiding consideration, which was the recognition of merit irrespective of race and religion. The result of this translation of a time-honoured theory into rather startling practice was that it served to vitalise the youth and manhood of India which had hitherto been dwarfed by a practical denial of the rights conferred on Indians by the Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, confirmed as they were by the Proclamation of His late Majesty King Edward VII. In England every young lawyer when he is called to the Bar can promise himself a seat on the Woolsack, and every budding politician can look forward to a portfolio in the British Cabinet, just as in the days of Napoleon every young soldier metaphorically carried a Field Marshal's *baton* in his knapsack. The appointment of Mr. S. P. Sinha to the Viceroy's Executive Council for the first time made something like this possible in India. Every hopeful young Deputy Collector as well as Barrister could dream of a reversionary interest in a Membership of the Executive Council, and those who can look ahead and take a broad view of things can well understand how this feeling tended to broaden the outlook and improve the work of officials and non-officials among our countrymen. But if it is now to be understood that it is only the non-official Indian who can look forward to posts of such responsibility and trust, the disappointment that would thereby result would be tremendous, and we shall go back to the past with its dwarfed ambitions and hopeless drudgery. That would result in a reversion to the very undesirable state of affairs out of which we had just seemed to have emerged, that is, a reward of Anglo-Indian merit in the official world

side by side with a neglect of Indian merit merely on racial grounds. This, we feel sure, no patriotic Indian would desire. It may be argued that an official brings a jaundiced eye to view the vital concerns of the people. But what is in reality an accident of Anglo-Indian rule in India must not be confounded with a principle of universal application. Throughout Europe the highest posts in the administration are open to officials and in fact monopolized by them, and in England itself, which has a Parliamentary system unlike anything we have yet secured in India, all but a few posts in the Cabinet or connected therewith are the perquisites of permanent officials. Before we have secured such a system in India, to reserve all posts for the Anglo-Indian official to the exclusion of the Indian, barring a single Membership in every Executive Council, which itself shall be earmarked for a non-official Indian, is not only putting the cart before the horse, but treating the Indian official with unmitigated injustice. It must also be remembered that hitherto the best Indian talent has almost always gone in for Government service rather than for more independent careers. India is still the land of the Services rather than of Professions. Under these circumstances it is wholly indefensible to close the doors of the Executive Councils to the more talented Indian official, whether a member of the Indian Civil Service or the Provincial Service, while leaving it ajar to the generally less talented Indian who sought an entrance in the wider avenues of the English or the Indian Bar. If this is done, it may become possible for an unsuccessful Indian candidate in the Open Competition for the Indian Civil Service to be called to the Bar, to achieve some notoriety on the public platform or in the Press, and, by dint of sheer canvassing, to obtain a seat in the Legislature, and from that coign of vantage secure a place in the Executive Council, to the prejudice of the successful Indian candidate in the same examination. We do not for a moment suggest that non-official Indians should be deprived of an opportunity of securing such appointments, and in fact at present, when there are not many Indian officials sufficiently high up in the Service to compete successfully with their European brother officer, it will be necessary in many cases to recruit for these posts from the ranks of the non-officials. But other things being equal, we are strongly of opinion that preference should be given to an official whose arduous labours merit the same recognition as falls to the lot of his European comrades, and whose intimate knowledge of administrative difficulties as well as administrative experience makes him a more suitable as well as a more effective conductor to the latter. After all the jaundice is not the result of experience but of the social aloofness of the English. Had this not been the case nobody would have suggested such an unnatural course as is now pursued, *i.e.*, the compulsory retirement of a man of ripe experience in order to keep him away from the highest posts in the land, and to make them the monopoly of the raw, the ripe, or the rotten, as the case may be, but in all cases of one that has no previous knowledge of the country and its problems.

No NEWS seems to be coming from Persia since we were solemnly assured that the Persian Cabinet had accepted Persia all the three demands of Russia, including the one for indemnity to which even Sir

Edward Grey objected, that they were so satisfied with the good faith of Russia that they had not even asked for the withdrawal of Russian troops, that the Regent had declared that the Majlis impeded the freedom of action of the Administration internally and externally; that thereafter the Majlis was closed, its gates locked, and a guard mounted; that the announcement was quietly received and perfect order prevailed; that all papers except the *Majlis*, which had opposed the *Majlis*, (مجلیس لهند) were stopped; that

Yeznani, the Armenian military commander of Persian troops and the Bakhtiari supported the statesman-like action of the Regent, that the Regent and the present Cabinet would conduct the Administration, comforted by the thought that the dear soldiers of Russia were at Kazvin—whence the same Regent had at one time successfully begged them to go away—and happy in the new civilization of Persia which gave her a telephone to ring up the Cossacks whenever the *Majlis* or the *Mullahs* gave the Regent and the Cabinet a more than usually awful nightmare. We did not hear thereafter of the withdrawal of Russian troops although the final acceptance of Russia's terms must either have been the acceptance of boons cheerfully refused before, or the price paid for such a withdrawal. In fact, the Kazvin cantonment and the telephones seemed to indicate the absolute necessity of these troops for the maintenance of law and order. All that we heard was that *Venueyev's* forecast of "a provisional administration in Tehran, with a Russian Governor and Chief of Police, financial control in the hands of Russia, and exclusively Russian tribunals." We have no doubt that even if the elaborate arrangements foreshadowed were not yet been determined upon, before that date, they were simultaneously with the signing of the Anglo-Russian Treaty by Edward Grey. We have had too many weeks of no news

Persia, but we must qualify this statement a little. We learnt a week ago that the Regent had not attended the Palace for some days past; that rumour credited him with a determination to resign; that it even stated that Government—whatever there is of it—offered the Regency, as some small consolation no doubt, to the ex-President of the Majlis; and that he declined! Can the meaning of this be mistaken? The Regent could not perhaps prevent the advance of Russia, and had hoped to buy it off with conceding almost all. But he had found at last that the audacity of blackmailers increases with each accepted demand, and he is man enough now to feel the humiliation as well as the folly of his action even if he was not man enough then to fight and die. But there is more than this. Through the boundless mercy of Allah, wisdom has at last dawned on the British Cabinet, and the more sagacious members thereof have asked Sir Edward Grey the question of questions, *Quo Vadis?* And with the meridian sun blazing full on its face, the *Times* too is roused from the dull and heavy slumbers of the conscienceless, and with a *vultus* *face* that would do the *Daily Mail* credit, "deprecates British advance in South Persia as giving a dangerous handle to the more adventurous elements in Russia." It saves its face—or perhaps the land-grabbing habit is still too strong—for it excepts "one or two points on the Gulf" with a view to "possible occupation." The clumsy subterfuges of the *Times* cannot disguise the fact that this return to sanity has been dictated partly by the fear of Russian advance and partly by the clear intimation which the rank and file of Liberals have given to the Liberal Whip of their change of feeling. The *Daily Chronicle* and the *Daily News* have reflected the opinion of the party, and that fetish of British politicians, a Parliamentary majority, which sometimes clouded even the penetrating vision of a Morley and threw occasional wet blankets over the moral fervour of a Gladstone, has now to be placated with a return to righteousness. A hint from the Master of Elibank to Mr Asquith, and a tug at the coat tails from Mr Asquith to Sir Edward Grey, and—Heigh presto! the thing is done. Lo and behold! the *Times* turns a calculating financier and reckons to the thousandth fraction of a pie the cost of an expedition to the South. In view of the state of Indian finance, "a costly expedition" is now declared, to be "singularly inopportune and impolitic." All this can go down; but when the sanctimonious *Times* makes a virtue of necessity and asks us to believe that "the paramount consideration is that by holding our hand we should give Muhammadians a striking proof of our determination not to take advantage of the complications in a Moslem country for purposes of self-aggrandisement," we are compelled to remind our tremendous contemporary that the Moslems are not such rank idiots as it thinks. A truer test of regard for the feelings of the Mussalmans would be the defence of Sir Edward Grey at Sunderland. There this solemn preacher of platitudes told his audience in the funeral tone that passes for statesmanship that he could not approve of "the maximum of interference which would mean the minimum of friendship," because such policy "would leave us without a friend in Europe." Friends in Asia may not count, but hitherto the only friends of Sir Edward Grey in Europe have proved their affection by using him as a tool in buying Germany off from Morocco, and raiding Persia, and one of them has set a seal on this beautiful paci, first, by refusing assistance to Sir Edward when he mustered enough courage to rattle the sabre against Austria more than three years ago, and, next, by buttressing her own position in Persia in the recent Russo-German Agreement following the Potsdam interviews of a year ago. Sir Edward talks of futility and expense. What could be more futile than such a one-sided friendship, and what policy more expensive than the one which extends the North-Western frontier of India by the extinction of one out of two of our buffer States? When Sir Edward talked of a request for interference in Mongolia, surely he could not have expected people anywhere in the world to accept the situation in Mongolia as a satisfactory analogy for the Persian crisis. Mongolia formed no part of the Anglo-Russian Convention, and it is not a very dignified proceeding when Cabinet Ministers stand up to throw dust in the eyes of their own political supporters. Evidently his audience resented this and point blank asked him to say what steps he was taking to prevent Russia annexing Persia. Steps? Annexation? But "Russia was not annexing Persia." This reply reminds us of the story of a stolid and unemotional person who was shown the Niagara by a volatile and habitually enthusiastic guide "Look at the huge mass of water, this awful expanse. Look at this tremendous river rushing headlong to the abyss below," etc., etc. rattled on the wound-up guide "Well, yes," said the unmoved sightseer, "and what is there to prevent it?" That is just what we ask Sir Edward Grey and the India Office which assures the London Moslem League that "the Government's general policy is to secure that Russian influence, which has long existed in the North, should not be extended in any direction prejudicial to India". Well, and what is there to prevent it? The *Times* has already assured the Mussalmans, for whom it shows a belated solicitude, that the independence of Persia and the word of Great Britain which guaranteed it, are not worth the bones of a single British Grenadier. The fact is obvious—even though Sir Edward Grey, the India Office and the *Times* may not know it—that the Russians too have overheard this noble utterance. Is it any wonder then, that their calculations are based on the funk and want of

humanity and common decency displayed by Sir Edward Grey and his journalistic supporters? The India Office assures us that "as soon as order is re-established the situation in Persia will revert to its normal state." This is vague enough, but surely "normal state" cannot mean the Russian occupation of the north. But, then, the question is, has order yet been re-established in Egypt since Tel-el-Kebir? A whole generation has been too short for our own Government to re-establish order there. The test of British consideration for Islam would be the voluntary evacuation of Egypt. But we shall be told that this would be a breach of faith towards those who have invested money there on the expectation of a permanent British occupation. Who made it "permanent" is more than we can say? But two can play at that game—and Russia knows it. Well, and what is there to prevent her?

WHEN IN AN IMPORTANT SPEECH President Taft had said that he saw no reason "why matters of national honour should not be referred to Courts of Arbitration" and that "if we can negotiate and put through agreements with some other nation

to abide by the adjudication of National Arbitration Courts in every issue which cannot be settled by a negotiation, no matter what it involves, whether honour, territory, or money, we should have made a long step forward by demonstrating that it is possible for two nations at least to establish between them the same system which through the process of law has existed between two individuals under a Government," it seemed that national patriotism was at last becoming legalized and humanized. On the other side of the Atlantic also Sir Edward Grey referred eulogistically to these "bold and courageous words," and all seemed to be intent on the creation of "genial atmospheres." That Mr. Stead was jubilant goes without saying, but the Prime Minister, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Mayor all joined in precipitating the millennium. Mere Asiatics can well be excused if they too dreamed of a dawn of righteousness and legality in international dealings. But had they only considered that the first great war after Tsar Nicholas's Rescript which laid the foundation stone of the Hague was waged by the Tsar himself they should not have been so childishly credulous. The more superstitious among them would have been warned by the fact that Sir Edward Grey's eulogy of arbitration was delivered on a thirteenth, the 13th of March. But they were no more superstitious than reflective, and the raid on Tripoli caught them just as unexpectedly as the charge of bison may catch a Club Man in Piccadilly. Poor Mr. Stead has been disconsolate, and after having sent missions all over the world, and written to every paper in Christendom, is absolutely silent. But Italy has at last taken pity on his wrinkles and grey hair and announced with much considerateness for the feelings of an old man that she will refer an important question concerning the war to the Hague Tribunal. When M. Poincaré, the French Premer, jealous no doubt of the attentions paid by King Victor Emmanuel to Herr Von Kidderlen Waechter, told Italy plainly that the capture of the *Carthage* and the seizure of Turkish members of the Red Crescent Society from the *Manouba* would be dealt with like the trespass of a schoolboy in somebody else's orchard, Italy suddenly remembered her international obligations and "proposed that the cases of seizure of French vessels shall be submitted to the Hague Court of Arbitration." As France was in no mood to refer such trifling affairs to the Hague, specially when Italy herself had not considered her claims to Tripoli worthy of that august tribunal's investigation, Italy once more climbed down and "gave assurance of a speedy solution in a friendly conversation between the two Governments," and promised that only "if any differences remained, they would be settled by arbitration." "Bold and courageous words" these, as Sir Edward would say.

We PUBLISH in our correspondence column a letter from "C. U. E." condemning with justifiable warmth the masterly inactivity of the "leaders" of Mussalmans in the matter of collecting funds for the relief of war sufferers in Tripoli. We may also mention here that a kind friend has sent us his young nephew's letter from his school at Clifton (England) which he received a few weeks ago. That letter confirms "C. U. E."s account of Moslem feeling in a very significant manner. He writes.—"I have been thinking and praying every night and day about the ill-treated Moslems in Tripoli and almost everywhere. I every night in bed think what I could do if I was a man or if only God could show some sign or shape some idea into my head by which I could help the sufferers, I would do it though all were against it. I know it would be madness for me to say anything about being sent there to die for our religion, for although it would be a noble death yet very little use or help would come out of it..... At the present moment what is most needed is the union and determination of Mussalmans throughout the world to keep their liberty and specially their religion..... But that is where the point comes in. Ninety-nine out of hundred only think of themselves and do not care what happens to their other brothers..... But so much more I should like to say that even if a man at the present

moment rose, so that he might rouse the drooping souls of Mussalmans I doubt whether anyone would take any notice of him. By anyone I mean the majority Every Mussalman who has any thought or concern of his religion could not fail to be a still greater adherent of his religion if he passed a few years in this country. We ought to take from the Christians this one thing and that is 'Unity.' May God bring about this Unity in us which we are lacking and make us all stronger than we are." He adds a postscript to his sister in which he says—

پھاری آتا — میں اپنے ہوں اور آپکی خیر بیس ہداوں کے
کرم سے لیک چاہتا ہوں — مجھکے آپکا خط پاکر نہتھ رکھنے
ہوں اور ہا مکر اپنے ستر کے آپ اون ڈجوار سے مسلمانوں کو
جو کہ تربیت میں میں کوئہ خبائی دیتے میں میں میں
مر رات سوئے سے پلے دعا اولیٰ دامت مالکتا ہوں —
ہدا کرے کہ یہ سفری دعائیں ہدایتی لظر میں جائے
پا دین اور مدد اونکو جلد پہنچے —

Here is this lad of 15, telling his uncle in the easy undress of a private letter, without the studied poses of the Press and the theatricality of public platforms, that he thinks every night in his bed what he could do if he were a man "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings" say the Christian Scriptures. We could ourselves tell what Mussalmans in India could do—if they were men. But we must not be unjust. It is a case of good men badly led, or not led at all. No doubt some of their leaders have displayed the good sense we associated with them. (We shall not call it courage, for it does not need any courage to subscribe to a fund declared to be not only legal but also humane by the highest authority in India.) But there are others—and these the most vociferous when some action or policy of the Hindus had to be condemned—that possess conceit and love of notoriety greater than the average "leading lady" of a dramatic company that loves to see her name in the largest letters in all playbills. These have been strangely silent and modest during the War, and if the habits of a lifetime proved too strong, have only used their voices and their "influence" in reporting to Deputy Commissioners against poets and journalists whose shoe latches they may not be fit to tie. Does not the letter of this young Mussalman show that even the women that love the *purdah*—we wish the "leaders" could love it a little—have come out almost for the first time to help a public movement. We honestly think that Moslem women are far better fitted—in spite of their lack of what passes for "education" in these days—to lead the Mussalmans than these emasculated misleaders. And what of the simple cogitations of the young lad? May we not say with Hali,

نہ ماے کی ناٹھر کی جاہ + کوئی لاہے بھٹک کی لاہاں
(In the place of the calculating wisdom of old age may some one bring us the heedless folly of childhood.) We fully agree with "C. U. E." that we should now actively appeal for funds for the war sufferers in Tripoli. Our "self-denying ordinance" held good only so long as the "misleaders" had not displayed their utter incapacity to lead public opinion. Then we had felt sure that the collections would prove "an excellent index of the extent to which the sufferings of the Mussalmans abroad are felt by their co-religionists in India." But since the "leaders" have abdicated their thrones, every well-wisher of the people has a duty to lead them aright. Let us assure these retiring monarchs that they shall never regain the seats of the mighty and we shall be able to say, as Cromwell said of his Parliament, "not a dog barked when they departed."

Verse.

Woman.

Of powers on earth that make or mar man's life
Is chieftest woman. Conscience, honour, truth,
Ambition, love of peace or love of strife,
Religion, chance that comes when life is smooth,
And turns its course awry, or fear of death,
Are all most potent arms of destiny;
But woman crowns them all. From her a breath,
A tone or token, touch, or glance of eye
O'ermasters all. O! Woman! thou art Fate
Without Fate's blindness. Not divine art thou,
Yet surely nearest God in form and state
Of all His works.

And when He carved thy brow,
Sweet friend, and lit thine eyes with light of day,
He shed on thee His most divinest ray.

Wasiti.

The Comrade.

"Italy's Friendship."

WHEN the sudden and unprovoked Tripolitan raid of Italy shocked the world, the instinct of the British Nation, which admires fairplay and sympathises with the bullied weak, dictated its unanimous condemnation of such aggression to the British Press. That was, of course, before the cold calculations of the Blue Funk School of diplomacy threw a cold douche on the moral enthusiasm of the Nation and the Press. Since then indignation against Italy is being rapidly transformed into disgust and derision in the bulk of the British Nation, while the so-called Imperialists are being greatly exercised by the likely results of yet another White Power boasting the white flag of surrender after provoking a semi-Asiatic people. This, as we have said, is a later phase, but the "Imperialism" of Mr. L. J. Maxse, the editor of the *National Review*, must be commended inasmuch as he alone among the British journalists wired to Italy at the time of the early outburst of moral indignation against that country that this was nothing but "half-penny hysteria" and did not reflect the views of the British Nation. It is perhaps the name of his Review alone that connects him with the Nation, for we should be sorry to know that so vulgar a writer and so rabid a Review represented the best mind of Great Britain. As a matter of fact, our readers will be glad to know that he does not, and nothing could illustrate this better than the fact that even out of the small number of Tory Die-Hards, it is Mr. Maxse alone who is still wallowing in the Last Ditch. It is nothing strange, then, that in a paragraph of "Episodes of the Month" in a recent number, headed "Hysteria and Sense," he commands to "able editors" the article of Signor Gian Della Quercia (E. Capel Cure) on "Italy's Friendship." "We ask our Italian friends to believe," says Mr. Maxse, "that their detractors have neither reflected nor affected British public opinion," and as a proof cites the denunciation of another Last Ditcher, Lord Willoughby de Broke.

Mr. Capel Cure prefaces his article with the remark that "the lust of slandering our neighbours, or the passive delight of hearing evil against them must be classified, in the psychology of pleasure, among the natural instincts of mankind." If the natural man, man created in the image of his Maker, is a slanderer by instinct, then surely should we all lose faith in mankind. But the instinct of slander is ingrained only among people of the type of the writer, whose slanders against Turkey and the Mussalmans fill the place of long and vainly expected Italian victories in Tripoli in the "psychology of pleasure." What Mr. Cure evidently condemns is the instinct of a righteousness which prefers to be right with two or three than in the wrong with a million. He flatters the British Press with "its repugnance to playing the part of *vix clamantis in deserto*" and "that 'God-I-thank Thee-that-I-am-not-as-other-men-are' air which characterises the Britisher on the Continent" and expresses his contempt for "foreigners." And all this flattery is meant to win "England's" "Friendship." The "other men" are, of course, the Germans and Austrians, and Mr. Cure, playing upon the notorious weakness of that pale grey Liberal, the Foreign Secretary, asks, "Has England so many friends as to render superfluous the ancient sympathy of the Italian people, and even if that be so, is the moment well-chosen on her part for making jottings of it?" This subtle hint is highly artistic, and even the unconscious condemnation of the Pharisee of European Politics may go down to-day with the British people. But when slaves were freed by Britain the part of *vix clamantis in deserto* was not regarded as a reproach by this island nation. The writer paints a glowing picture of Britain-worship in Italy, and in the same breath shows the hollowness of his flattery by saying that British condemnation of Italian brigandage immediately produced "a sense of uneasiness in the Italian mind as to the perfect soundness of the idol so long worshipped here . . . Cracks were suspected and looked for and the search soon ended . . . in the discovery of serious fissures."

It is highly instructive to read in this article that in many ways Italy is not yet a united nation. "The wearying clash of local interests, the petty clamour of party strife that daily sub-disintegrates, disintegration, the deep hereditary antagonism between North and South," all go to show that Christian Italy is no more free from internal political warfare than Moslem Persia or Turkey and the natural inference that it was to drown all these quarrels at home that foreign aggression was thought of cannot be set aside by the grandiloquent assertion that so universal was the desire for war that all these voices of dissension were hushed. If an Asiatic were to hear a European descanting on the superior virtues of Europe as against Asia, he would learn to regard them as apes. But when he overhears them describing hostile European nations or Presses, or rival political parties, the concession to humanity is so generous that he is tempted to regard them as little better than the army of Sennacherib. The Moroccan sultan did better to teach the latter lesson to Asia, and what little of truth, justice, and moderation

left by European critics of each other to Europe after the Moroccan settlement has vanished in the course of the war in Tripoli. Mr. Cure does not leave even a shred of respectability to Italy in talking of "the epithets bawled from Cathedral steps by windy demagogues against the criminal scheme, born of priests and bankers, of enticing the gullied proletariat" of the South, and when he repudiates the condemnation of the war by the North by referring to it as "the protest of a decimated faction of noisy charlatans backed up by the sweepings of the Milan goal," asserting that the audience attracted by the "windy demagogues" "were there to hear abuse and to wound policemen," adding with superb sarcasm that "they were, besides, Northern Italians," the world must be excused if it is a little sceptical about the war's success in welding together "these unhomogeneous interests."

And what is his justification of the war? According to Mr. Cure the causes were "as complex as those which led to the first Crusade." This is an unfortunate reference, for Mussalmans are being persuaded everywhere to think that the aggression in Tripoli has no religious aspect. But if the causes of that aggression are similar to those which led to the first Crusade, then nothing could well be more degraded than the Tripolitan raid. Gibbon has analysed most elaborately the complex motives of that Crusade in his famous fifty-eighth chapter. Are we to believe that once more "a difference of religion is a worthy cause of hostility," that "obstinate unbelievers may be slain or subdued by the champions of the Cross," and that "Grace is the sole fountain of dominion as well as of mercy"? Are we to believe that as in the eleventh, when according to the *penitentials* of the Latin Church, "a modest sinner might easily incur a debt of 300 years"—each year of penance counting for the penurious in the fantastic arithmetic of the Church as 3,000 lashes—just so in the twentieth century also the successor of Urban II. hastened mobilisation by giving to the Italian Army "full receipt for all that might be due of canonical penance"?

Mr. Cure is silent on this point, but as regards the temporal motives he writes that "from the economic standpoint the movement was opportune and imperative, oportune because of the solid financial status of the country and the immense growth of riches during the last fifteen years, and imperative as an outlet to the emigration of the southern provinces. The political moment, too, was mature. The apple desired in the green by Mazzini and Cesare Balbo, the almost ripe apple coveted by Francesco Crispi, was now about to drop from the rotten branch and hands were stretching out to seize it." This reasoning reminds us of the thrifty servant who used to stint himself throughout the month and at the end of it nearly spent the month's wages in getting drunk like a lord. If the savings of the last 15 years are to be used in bombarding the Tripolitan desert at a cost of three million sterling a week, the Italian nation, if it has any sense left, would soon send that Government right about which overtaxed it or underfed it so long in order to have huge surpluses. The simile of the apple is equally unfortunate. No fruit has wrought more havoc in the world than an apple—unless it be the grape. But the gusto with which Mr. Cure sings the beauties of the apple takes the mind irresistably back to the lines of a lover of Italy, Byron, who wrote a poem which the young idea has in these modern days tabooed for the grown-ups as likely to undermine the innocence of middle age. He describes a young lady's dream, and some apologist for the morals of Byron may discover in these lines a beautiful allegory of the Italy of the future.—

And in the midst a golden apple grew
A most prodigious pipkin—but it hung
Rather too high and distant; that she threw
Her glances on it, and then longing flung
Stones, and whatever she could pick up to
Bring down the fruit, which still perversely clung
To its own bough, and dangled yet in sight,
But always at a most provoking height.
That, on a sudden, when she least had hope,
It fell down of its own accord before
Her feet; that her first movement was to stoop
And pick it up, and bite it to the core;
That just as her young lip began to ope
Upon the golden fruit the vision bore,
A low flew out and stung her to the heart,
And so—the wail with a great scream and start.

For that is exactly what has happened to Italy. Tripoli, like the apple of the young lady's dream, may have been "vital to her unfolding, nay to her very existence." She may have felt herself "too long outraged and patronised by turns, but always despised." She may have had "accounts to settle with the Moslem," and she may have thought that "it was well that her sons should abandon the wordy skirmishing which was making them a nation of quarrelsome attorneys." Like Bob Acte's courage, which was sounding out and needed a word or two about his honour edged in every now and then to keep it up, with a moment's hesitation "the new spirit that was throbbing in her womb" have been stifled. And how is Adowa matched to the ignominious treasuring of Derna and Bengasi, Tripoli and Tobruk? How is that stain

wiped off by "an army of 80,000 men squatting on the coast equipped with every modern war appliance, including aeroplanes and dirigibles" who "have not yet even begun to attempt the conquest of the two provinces," although "opposed by a mere handful of regular Turkish troops, strengthened by a few thousand tribesmen without any real organisation, any artillery or transport worth mentioning, and most of them armed with obsolete weapons"? It may be that the Turkish victories are "only on paper," as Mr. Cure wishes us to believe. But the burden of winning victories lies not on the Turks but on the Italians, who have to place something to their credit to balance the overdue account of Adowa. Will the fact—or fancy—that Turkish victories are mere falsehoods "made in Germany" make less inglorious the advice of the *Tribuna*, that no advance should take place into the interior but that "the Italians should content themselves with holding the coast towns and waiting till economic pressure drives the Arabs into submission"? And does the statement of the Turkish Ambassador that "if Tripoli is not retaken to day it will be certainly retaken to-morrow" still appear to Mr. Cure as a "masterpiece of deep humour"?

None of these questions are answered even by the rabid bark of Mr. Maxse against the "intractable Turk" which, originally heard through the Christmas number of the Italian paper, *Il Giornale d'Italia*, issued for the benefit of the Italian Army in Tripoli, is now reproduced in the New Year number of the *National Review*. Is it possible that Mr. Maxse is so wholly devoid of a sense of humour—which is almost the same thing as a sense of proportion—that he can write as he does without fear of involving himself in the same ridicule with which the Italian forces have covered themselves? "We were indeed greatly impressed," writes the editor of the *National Review*, "by the close and capable co-operation between preparation and policy, which contained useful lessons for other countries. Of the 'atrocities' campaign organized against Italy by so-called 'war' correspondents totally ignorant of all wars, many of whom had never been near this particular war in Tripoli (*Nearer, at any rate, than you, Mr. Maxse!*), the less said the better . . . We have a saying, 'accidents will happen in the best regulated families,' and men otherwise intelligent are capable at times of making idiots of themselves (*Whose conduct is this meant to explain, the War Correspondents, the Italian Army's or your own, Mr. Maxse?*) It is not the Italian Army, whose fame is beyond the reach of detractors, that stands to suffer from the campaign of calumnies . . . At this season the thoughts of Englishmen naturally turn to the gallant forces who are upholding the honour of their country across the water and bearing their share of the white man's burden." With the New Year resolutions are formed even though they do not always become facts. If the thoughts of Englishmen do turn to the Italian forces, they must be hoping that these "gallant" forces would evince more resolution than they have yet shown and would endeavour to uphold the honour of their country in a more dignified situation than the depth of a ditch.

Mr. Cure is not satisfied with the English Government's declaration of neutrality, because it was "more the affair of the rulers than of the masses." It is precisely this that makes us condemn the Foreign Secretary and still repose some confidence in the masses, although they appear effete and inert. Mr. Cure does not regard Mr. Asquith's pledges as above suspicion, because he did not withdraw certain English Navy instructors to the Turkish fleet earlier, and because even that quintessence of efficiency, the new Pharaoh of Egypt, could not cast a fine enough net along the Egyptian frontier—which during the war ought certainly to have been the Turkish frontier as well—to entrap in its meshes the intrepid Enver Bey, "the handsome warrior saint of Islam." And the last count in the charge against England is that "any statement, however infantile, is accepted provided that its tendency be anti-Italian . . . while the official assertions of General Caneva, a soldier and a gentleman, are disregarded or impugned." We have no personal acquaintance with the General and cannot say whether he is a boor or a gentleman. But if half that has been related about the blood-lust of the three days of October, and the subsequent bombardment of hospitals and shelters for the wounded, be true we shall have to revise our notion of a gentleman a great deal before we even discuss his claim to be one. Be that as it may, his claim to be a soldier is being daily disproved by the inactivity of his subterranean army lying snug and safe in the trenches. We have had a taste of the flattery which Mr. Cure is ready to shower on the British, and towards the end of his article we are treated to a feast of frankness. "The terms 'bullying' and 'piracy' applied to the taking of Tripoli, and the maudlin cant indulged in on the just fate of treacherous Arabs . . . betoken an absence of humour and a short memory of the part of those who upheld, and with reason, (*The Master!*) the becatomb of Dervishes at Omdurman . . . In short, the first stone had better come from 'him that is without sin,' while the garb of outraged morality in which accusations are clothed brings to mind the lines of the English poet.

'O for a forty nation-power to chant
'Thy praise, hypocrisy!'

27th January.

To this impassioned harangue are attached certain pains and penalties. They are the threatened loss of "the affection of Italy gained at her birth" but which is in danger of being "heedlessly thrown away now that she is coming of age." We are seriously informed that "it is ill deriding a young man engaged on his first enterprise." We are asked to believe that "Italy is not more merely the trustee for Europe's National Gallery"—why the claims of the organ grinder are entirely ignored is more than we can say—"but a nation which after years of modest patience, has shaken off the diffidence of childhood and developed to the consciousness of her strength and her mission in the world." What does the poet say?

کرے تو نہیں اس کو اڑاں گے اس کو اڑاں گے
تو نہیں اس کو اڑاں گے اس کو اڑاں گے

All this has evidently been anticipated in those quarters which were reminded of Italian acquiescence in the ruthlessness at Omdurman and the raid on South Africa with its "military exigencies." For before the article ends a reference is made to Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's message to Italy which "unquestionably represents the responsible and effective public opinion of England." Mr. Maxse goes still further, and, in two pages inset after the paper was ready, not only quotes Mr. Chamberlain's interview with a representative of the *Morning Post*—"than which there is no more influential paper in England"—in which the most cynical of British politicians "gratefully remembers the attitude of the chivalrous Italian nation during the South African War, when the British Government and the British Army were the objects of a similar campaign of mendacity waged by several English newspapers now attacking Italy," but also invents an unnumbered page giving in a most prominent manner the views of Lord Roberts that "in war it is usually the severest measures that are, in the long run, the most humane," that "*no soldier will put any credence in the report* that women and children were deliberately killed by the Italians," and that "only those who have had experience in war in all its phases have the right to judge the expediency of reprisals, and then only when they have access to the information which was at the time in the possession of the directing staff." Who can say that these champions of political chivalry and military morality have not made an *amende honorable* for the "half-penny hysterics" of people who, on occasions at least, consider Christ to be a safer guide than a Chamberlain and believe that the Prince of Peace had some right to lay down certain clear rules even for judging "the expediency of reprisals" although he was no Field Marshall? We can tolerate the cant of expansion, but when journalists begin to assert that "civilization will have little to regret in the substitution of the rule of one of the wisest of Christian monarchs for a régime more blighting than that qualified by Gladstone's classic phrase as 'the negation of God,'" we must say it is time that these civilized pagans ceased to take the name of God in vain.

Bengal Mussalmans and the Moslem League.

We are glad to announce that at a General Meeting of the Bengal Provincial Moslem League, held on the 20th instant, it was decided to invite the All India Moslem League to hold its next annual session in Calcutta. The All-India Moslem League has accepted the invitation and preparations are already afoot to make this a record session both in point of numbers attending and the importance of the topics of discussion. His Highness the Aga Khan has promised to participate and welcomes the invitation of Bengal. As the session would take place on the 3rd and 4th of March, in the matter of dates it has not been very fortunate, for Christmas is really the ideal time for such gatherings and the Holi holidays during which it is now proposed to hold the session are too short to allow many Mussalmans from other provinces to participate in the deliberations without considerable difficulty and self-sacrifice. But Christmas fell during the Akhia-J-Mubarrum this year, when no such meeting could have been convened, besides coming too soon after the busy days of the Durbar. If the gathering in March is smaller than the Mussalmans desire, one more reason would be adduced against the suitability of Calcutta as the capital of India. But we hope this will not be the case, as the far-reaching changes announced at the Durbar make it desirable that political representatives of Moslem India should soon meet in large numbers to discuss them and express an opinion thereon, and that such a deliberation should take place within earshot of the Government of India.

Another and a still more important reason is that the Mussalmans of these provinces have been hard hit by the announcement. The question of the Partition from being a provincial concern had somehow come to be an All-India question, and its annulment demands the earliest consideration of the Mussalmans of all the provinces of India. Moreover, the Mussalmans of Bengal are not yet strong enough to be left exclusively to their own resources. This fact may not flatter the Mussalmans of Bengal some of the prominent men among whom love flattery better than franker friendliness. But it is all the same a fact, and the joint

family system of Islamic brotherhood as well as of Hindu law is opposed to the dereliction of weaker brethren in a fierce struggle for existence which is characteristic of free competition, whether of Darwinian Evolution, the Manchester School of Economics, or the National Congress of educated India. We have no desire to anticipate the conclusions of the All-India Moslem League, but we earnestly hope that the forthcoming session will at last succeed in convincing the more prominent Mussalmans of Bengal that isolation in politics, especially that of the backward portions of a community, whatever it may be in theory, is far from splendid as judged by results. Bengal has the largest Moslem population of any province in India, but it is also almost the most backward, and the contrast that it presents to the self-assertive Hindu population is startling. When this is the result of a century and a half during which Calcutta was the capital of India, we shudder to think what would happen if the same isolation continues and the same flatteringunction is applied to themselves by the prominent Mussalmans of Bengal after the transfer of the Capital to Delhi. Wilfully they are part of one and the selfsame chain, and we call upon them and the Mussalmans of the rest of India to remember that the weakness of a link is not only the weakness of that link itself but also of the entire chain.

This is such a worn-out truism that we would be ashamed to parade it anywhere—except in Moslem circles in Bengal. But, in spite of the annulment of the Partition, a section of its Moslem population is still hugging the wretched isolation which has cost it so much as a treasure of incalculable value. The Burdwan Conference, that ill-omened raven's croaking which preceded the annulment of the Partition, was nothing but a symptom of the narrowness and petty jealousy to which we have referred. But although the shining lights of the Burdwan firmament showed their inconstancy in one important respect, they have proved their steadfastness in another. Now that the Government have acted upon their advice and modified the partition exactly as they wished it at the Burdwan Conference, these good people are anxious to make their dupes forget that the misery which they mourn to-day was at least prayed for by themselves, if not actually the result of their prayers. So much for inconsistency. But they have been consistent also. They still persist in boycotting every person whom they regard as non-Bengali. Residents of Bengal who were born in Behar or Northern India, or who still have a home there in addition to a domicile in the province in which they work and earn a living, were evidently excluded from the meeting convened at Dacca last month, and although the notice of another meeting to be held at Calcutta on the 17th and 18th February generously announces that delegates elected to attend it "need not necessarily be permanent residents in the districts," not one of the convenors of the forthcoming meeting also belongs to the class of people conspicuous by their absence at the Dacca meeting. As we have said before, some of those who attended the Dacca meeting, and those far the most self-assertive, are just those who wanted the Partition to be annulled and who ought to have rejoiced at the Durbar announcement. Yet they had the hardihood to participate in a meeting held to record a protest against the annulment, and now that the Mussalmans of Bengal have to fortify themselves against a minority of the population of their province, almost stronger than a majority anywhere else in India, they bring with them the same narrowness and the same spirit of isolation in laying the foundation-stone of the new fabric.

We hope the forthcoming session of the All India Moslem League would prevent this effectually, and complete the work of broadening Moslem Bengal which the last Provincial Muhammadan Educational Conference has so well begun. The League should impress the people of Bengal with its catholicity of sympathies and its breadth of view, and while leaving no stone unturned to convert the so-called leaders of Bengal themselves to its own views, it should be the last resort wear off the people from these "leaders." We are conscious that Mussalmans at this juncture must give up quarrelling among themselves, and regret more than we can tell the use of such plain speech; but we are also not unaware that too great an anxiety to respect the susceptibilities of those who never respect the susceptibilities of others should not be allowed to weaken the new foundation.

The Dacca meeting proposed that "in view of the recent administrative changes it is desirable that one strong representative association for the whole of Bengal be established, with headquarters at Calcutta and branches in all districts and sub-districts, to promote the advancement and welfare of the Muhammadans of Bengal," and at a recent meeting of the Committee of Management of the Central National Muhammadan Association it was decided to invite Eastern Bengal Muhammadans to join that Association, in a body and "to take an active share in working it up, in view of Eastern Bengal being now united with Bengal." We hope that the union of the two Bengals would be followed by the union of various Moslem organizations in the two provinces. But when the process of amalgamation commences, we trust some facts will be borne in mind by the organizers. In the first place, existing organizations should be used as far as possible instead of setting

neglected altogether. In the next place, two and not more than two organizations should be formed, one for the advancement of education and the other for the promotion of political interests, each with more or less exclusive and certainly distinct functions. And, finally, whatever new organizations are formed, they must not be wholly independent of Imperial organizations of the Mussalman of India such as the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference and the All-India Moslem League. We are not whole-hog admirers of these institutions, and are, in fact, among their severest critics. But our criticism is directed against them chiefly because we consider them to be the only possible organizations for the whole of Moslem India, and we are fully convinced that the energy of the architect as well as of the critic should be usefully spent in building them up and improving them, rather than frittered in destroying them and vainly endeavouring to build up other smaller constructions that, lacking a well-conceived general plan, lie scattered here and there all over the country. "Unity is strength" is a motto that has not lost its intrinsic force even in the vapid atmosphere of Bengal. While the Hindus of Bengal seek to dominate the whole of India, and wish to lead public opinion "from Calcutta to Peshawar", it would be even more disastrous in the future than it has been in the past if the Mussalmans of Bengal cut themselves off from their co-religionists elsewhere, and stand up to proclaim "Divided we stand, united we fall." If in saying all this we have offended the Mussalmans of Bengal our only apology is that we have always claimed to be their friends, never their flatterers.



H. H. The Aga Khan at Karachi.

The following is the text of the address presented to H.H. the Aga Khan by the Sind Muhammadan Association and H.H. the Aga Khan's reply :—

To His Highness Sir Aga Sultan Muhammad Shah, Aga Khan, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., etc

May it please Your Highness,—We the members of the Sind Muhammadan Association, on behalf of ourselves and the Muhammadans of this Province, respectfully offer our most sincere and hearty welcome to Your Highness on your visit to Karachi, the Capital of Sind.

We are naturally proud of our Province, because the light of Islam first penetrated Sind before it spread over other parts of India, because it is famous for its extensive trade with Persia, Afghanistan, Russia and other countries all over the world; and because it is the birthplace of Akbar, the greatest and mightiest Muhammadan Emperor that ever ruled over India. but we are none the less proud that our Province is also the birthplace of Your Highness the greatest and most distinguished Moslem leader of the day. This circumstance while affording us special joy in acknowledging Your Highness as the recognized leader of the Muhammadans of India in matters educational, social and political, makes it incumbent on us to pay Your Highness greater homage than the Mussalmans of other parts of India have done. We are rejoiced to find Your Highness—a worthy son of our soil—in our midst to-day, and are happy to see that Your Highness has, by your condescending to accept our humble address, placed us in a position to express our high appreciation of the noble and philanthropic deeds which Your Highness has hitherto performed, and is still performing with the object of spreading education among your Moslem brethren and ameliorating their condition.

Your Highness, we are rejoiced to note, has distinguished yourself as the real patron of Muhammadan Education in India. Your distinguished and successful public career as a leader of the Mussalmans, and your untiring zeal in, and disinterested devotion to, the cause of Moslem progress have not only endeared you to all right-thinking and patriotic Mussalmans, but have laid them as well as their posterity under a deep debt of obligation, the memory of which will ever remain in bold letters on the pages of history. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to recall to our memory some of the rights and privileges conceded to Indians by the Government through your intercession and exertions. The foremost among these is the Reform Scheme carried out in accordance with the gracious Declaration of His Majesty the late King-Emperor, whose sudden demise plunged the whole world into deep sorrow. The expansion of Legislative Councils on a wider representative basis has given the people of India, and specially the Mussalmans, a larger opportunity than they had before of being associated with the Government in the administration of the country. Your Highness' unique success in having Government to abolish the Quarantine Rules enforced against the pilgrims who embarked from India for the sacred City of Mecca, has earned the blessings and gratitude of the entire Moslem world.

The ill-treatment meted out to Indians in South Africa and the great hardships endured by them rightly moved Your Highness' sympathy, and the strenuous efforts consequently put forth by Your Highness to get their grievances redressed, are too widely known to need a mention here.

The onerous duties and responsibilities of managing the affairs of the All India Moslem League whose sphere is not confined to the narrow limits of political activity nor to the attainment of mere selfish ends, but which embraces catholic interests in the broadest sense of the term, have also fallen on your shoulders for the most part.

All politicians of the day are unanimous in asserting that the Hindus and the Muhammadans are ordained by God to be partners in the mightiest and most glorious Empire the world has ever seen and that the chief need for India at the present moment is to bring about a healthy national unity by establishing harmonious relations between the two communities and relegating to the background all national animosities and religious differences. The ardent desire of loyal and peace-loving patrons, we are gratified to note, resulted in a magnanimous proposal for the formation of the Hindu-Muhammadan Peace Conference, which emanated from Your Highness, was seconded by the Right Honourable Syed Amir Ali, upheld by Sir William Wedderburn, Bart, and favourably hailed by the whole nation. Nothing has afforded us greater pleasure than to know that the recognized leaders of both the communities met at Allahabad on New Year's Day of the last year and appointed a representative committee to discuss the questions laid before the Conference.

Several schemes are frequently propounded for the advancement of our community, but we assure Your Highness that few of our leaders have grasped the root-evil so rightly as Your Highness since we perceive that all your energies and exertions have mainly been concentrated on the wide diffusion of education amongst high and low, rich and poor of all Indian communities alike—education that would take into account social changes, intellectual ideas, and moral and physical aptitudes and adapt them to various circumstances and needs. This, if we rightly understand, is precisely your motive in establishing a denominational University for the Moslems.

The eager desire which has ever engrossed Your Highness' thought is the advancement of the scheme for the establishment of a Moslem University on sound financial basis—a legitimate want that was prophesied by the great Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, K.C.S.I., the founder of the M.A.O. College. The dream of our most revered Sir Syed was realized when the Moslem population of India heard with feelings of profound gratification of the announcement of Your Highness' intention of giving a lakh of rupees towards the foundation of the Moslem University to be established at Aligarh in commemoration of the visit of His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor, George V, or the auspicious occasion of His Majesty's Coronation Durbar at Delhi in December last, which august event has been celebrated with due pomp and splendour.

Your Highness' numerous private charities in furtherance of the education of Moslem youths, your Annual Grants of Rs 12,000 and Rs 6,000 respectively to the Aligarh College and the Anjuman-i-Islam School, Bombay, and your handsome donation of Rs 35,000 towards the establishment of the College of Science, initiated by Your Highness, to commemorate the auspicious visit to the great Moslem Institution at Aligarh of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales (now His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor) have acted as a stimulus to rouse the generosity of well-to-do Muhammadans all over the country. To crown all, your announcement of a princely donation of Rs 75,000 towards the building of the proposed Mosque in London to commemorate the sacred memory of His late Majesty the King-Emperor Edward VII, the Great Peacemaker of the Word, was hailed with gratitude from all corners of the Moslem world.

Your Highness has espoused the cause of national advancement without distinction of caste or creed, and has rightly earned the esteem and gratitude of the whole nation. We in turn have not forgotten the parental advice imparted by Your Highness at the last session of the League to the effect that—to quote Your Highness' own words—"Our loyalty to the Throne must be absolute and our relation with the Hindus and other Indian communities who share that loyalty must frankly be most cordial."

We take this opportunity of respectfully tendering our sincere felicitations to Your Highness on the most exalted distinctions of K.C.I.E. and G.C.I.E. bestowed on Your Highness by His Most Gracious Majesty the late King-Emperor Edward VII, on the G.C.S.I. lately bestowed on Your Highness by the present King-Emperor and on various decorations conferred on Your Highness by foreign Monarchs, all of which have been bestowed in considera-

tion of the eminent services rendered by Your Highness in the cause of educational, social and political advancement of the Indian people in general and the Muhammadans in particular. M.L.

In conclusion it is our most sincere and fervent prayer that the Almighty God may grant Your Highness long life to enjoy your well-earned distinctions and that Your Highness may continue to be the recipient of still higher honours that may yet be in store for you. It is likewise our earnest prayer that He may give you health and strength to extend your helping hand towards the amelioration of the condition of the Moslems and other communities of the Indian Empire in general and of the Province of Your Highness' birth place in particular, which, being in great need, also expects a share of your liberality to commemorate your connection with, and present visit to, it. AMEN.

Welcoming Your Highness again in our midst and wishing Your Highness long life and happiness, etc., etc.

After the address had been read, K. B. Sheik Sadik Ali handed over to H.H. the Aga Khan a beautiful silver casket containing the address. His Highness was then garlanded by Sheik Sadik Ali amid loud cheers.

H.H. the Aga Khan then rose amidst cheers and made the following speech : —

VAZIR SAHIB, MR. LAWRENCE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I must thank the Sind Muhammadan Association most sincerely for their great kindness in presenting me with this beautiful casket and doing me the honour of asking me to come here this afternoon and giving me an address on my arrival here. You have reminded me that I am a native of Karachi. And although I live in the Deccan, I assure you that not only this fact but also the fact that this province is so full of my co-religionists—that this is practically the only province where they are in the clear majority—makes me consider often their position and status here.

You have very kindly referred to my humble services in the cause of the political awakening of the Muhammadans of India and in the foundation of the All-India Moslem League and in the general work carried on during the last few years for bringing Hindus and Muhammadans together in common loyalty to a common sovereign in the same country. Well, this work is essentially due to one fact, viz., that there has been in certain parts of India a Muhammadan revival within the last few years—a revival which has not yet reached this province and which if further delayed would retard the position of Muhammadans here a great deal more.

Gentlemen, I strongly feel that the Muhammadans of Sind have great opportunities before them like Muhammadans of other parts of the country—opportunities which, if taken advantage of by them in advancing their social, moral and educational interests, will surely and gradually lay solid foundations of their amelioration and advancement and will benefit them and brighten their future. But in order that these results may be achieved the first condition is that these opportunities must be taken advantage of and must not be allowed to slip, leaving us where we are.

Gentlemen, as regards the recent changes announced at Delhi, I feel convinced—and here I am giving my personal opinion and am not speaking as President of the Moslem League—that they will do good to the country and to the Muhammadan community. I feel that they will do good to Bengal. Even to East Bengal they will do good while taking some advantages from them. The advantages must, however, be carefully and energetically safeguarded by East Bengal Muhammadans. These changes—specially the change of the capital—will benefit this province a great deal, if the people take advantage of the opportunities and make those sacrifices which have to be made in order to profit by such opportunities.

Gentlemen, if you allow me to give you an immediate piece of advice I may tell you that it is a matter of sadness and deep regret—regret which is felt throughout India, in Gujarat, Madras and elsewhere—that there is no Moslem League here in Sind, though Leagues have been formed in so many districts throughout the country. Not only is there no Moslem League here, but no effort has been made to give the people here political education, which will be ultimately a source of strength not only to Government but also ultimately lead to the making of a single nation of Hindus and Muhammadans.

You have referred to the work done by others and myself in connection with the treatment meted out to Indians in South Africa. While we have constantly fought against the unfortunate attitude of the Colonial Government and the colonists, I warn you that that attitude is in no small measure due to our own fault. For owing to want of education, social evils and economical backwardness we have placed ourselves in a position which makes it possible for others to heap such indignities upon us. If greater efforts be made for educational, social and national progress, our fellow-countrymen will undoubtedly be given better treatment.

Gentlemen, the great need of Indians, the greater need of Muhammadans and the greatest need of this province is Education; it is not enough to send boys to school, for it is not in this way that character is formed. This will give them more patriotic learning which must necessarily be dangerous—which will do them more harm than good. Muhammadan education divorced from religion—nothing would be more fatal than that, for then you will not imbibe the spirit of sacrifice, nor the spirit of nationality, nor will you know the beauty and the higher purpose of life; while your loyalty in such circumstances cannot be of the right and real kind, for real and genuine loyalty must be based on the spirit of peace which religion alone inculcates, upon love of fellowmen which religion alone teaches.

This being the view of the vast majority of Muhammadan leaders—in fact, the view of practically all the leaders—it was held that a Moslem University was a necessity. So the work was started and up to this time twenty lakhs have already been found. I may here tell you that the Government of India has promised to give us a charter as soon as thirty-five lakhs have been collected. Now thirty-five lakhs are a mere drop in the ocean compared to the wealth of the Muhammadan community. I know the poverty of the community, but I am sure if they realised the urgent need for the University, it would be easy to collect the amount.

Gentlemen, I am sorry to find that with one exception of His Highness the Mir of Khairpur—whose generosity in contributing a lakh of rupees to the Moslem University is felt throughout India and is in fact realised more in Bombay and Madras than here in Sind—with this exception practically nothing has been done in Sind for the Moslem University. Of course the usual excuse is advanced here to justify the dereliction of duty—backwardness of education and the consequent need of educational facilities in Sind. Now I grant that the Muhammadan community here is extremely backward in education, but it is a short-sighted policy that this backwardness should stand in the way of its support to the University scheme. For if Sind renders due help in the establishment of the University and the University becomes an accomplished fact, the next step will be to have a network of Muhammadan colleges all over India on the lines of the present Aligarh College, i.e., Residential Colleges. This must necessarily and immediately follow the University in order that the University may draw upon the provincial residential colleges for its alumni. And once a system of such colleges is founded, Sind will be one of the first to get such a college. In regard to the establishment of such a college here, I give you the assurance that I shall help you and that you will get money for it from all parts of the country. There is already before you the scheme of Mr. Lawrence for removing the Sind Madrasah to an open-air site. Once you remove it there, why not raise it to a college? The idea will easily become a reality, if you are prepared to undergo the necessary sacrifice. When we started the idea of the Moslem University, it was proposed that every Moslem should be called upon to pay a month's income. But very few have actually done that. Nevertheless we have got twenty lakhs. Now, if the work of collection is begun in this province on those lines and conducted systematically by house-to-house visitation, I am sure you will be able to accomplish a great deal and collect a good amount for the University.

If I give you a word of advice as to what is the need of India, of Sind, of Muhammadans of India as well as of this province, I would say that great need of the time is Self-reliance. As one who has seen a great deal of the world I assure you that you have now got better opportunities than the people of many other countries for raising yourselves under the aegis of British rule and under the sovereignty of our Gracious King-Emperor. The future depends on you and you alone—on the efforts put forth by you for uplifting yourselves, your community and your country.

Gentlemen, excuse me for offering advice to the Muhammadans of Sind, because it is never a pleasant duty to advise. Still I feel it my duty to do so; and if I had not done so, I should have felt that I was a very, very bad Sindhi indeed. I must thank you heartily for your kindness. I hope the time is not far when you will have here a very great college like the Aligarh College run by the Muhammadans of Sind—when not only the Muhammadans of this province will be more educated, but every Muhammadan Zamindar will be an educated gentleman spreading the progress of modern science in the service of his work for the good of himself and his brothers.

At the close of his speech His Highness was given an enthusiastic ovation, K. B. Sheik Sadik Ali garlanded Mr. Lawrence, the Hon'ble Mr. and Mrs. Webb and Mr. T. H. Vinter. As His Highness rose to leave the hall, Mir A. ab Khan called three rounds for His Highness, which were responded to. The assembly then dispersed.

CORRESPONDENCE



Turkish Relief Fund.

To THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

Sir,—In a recent issue of your journal you write as follows —
"The subscriptions collected for the relief of the War Sufferers in Tripoli are an excellent index of the extent to which the sufferings of the Mussalmans abroad are felt by their co-religionists in India."

This seems to me so far from actual facts that I feel compelled to traverse your statement, not indeed to minimize the feeling which has been aroused in Muslim India by Italy's shameless piracy in Tripoli (for to do so would be both hypocrisy and crime), but to emphasize, in view of the painfully small amount of subscriptions, the utter disproportion of the sums collected to the strength of Muslim feeling. But my real aim is to goad into action the self-constituted leaders of the community who are betraying the hollowness of their flimsy pretensions for leadership by their lack of active interest in the most awful crisis in the fortunes of the Muslim world. True, they have called meetings in every nook and corner of India and denounced the Italian aggression in the most approved style of the Congress, but the question is, what have they achieved. No doubt Indians as loyal subjects of a neutral Power cannot offer their personal services to the Turkish Government, but this is all the more reason why they should give some other practical shape to their sympathy.

That this has not been done is due entirely to the default of the "leaders" who have foolishly thrown away their one chance in life when they could boast a following if they had headed and organized this movement. There is no Muhammadan who knows of this iniquitous brigandage of Italy and does not wish to contribute to the Turkish Relief Fund, but for want of organization hundreds of thousands of rupees must never reach the victims of Italian bloodlust, and the heartache of millions of His Majesty's Mussalman subjects must ever remain a secret to themselves and a matter of doubt to their Rulers.

When I speak of the public eagerness to subscribe I am relating personal experience, for when we opened the fund in the place from which I write, subscriptions poured in, from a pice to a thousand rupees (all cash, no promises) till in about three weeks a vast sum was collected and despatched. On the other hand, in a wealthier town close by, which boasts of a District Muslim League, a great meeting of protest was called by a substantial gentleman, and full-throated denunciations were hurled at the Italians—and lo! a couple of months later a subscription of Rs. 5 appeared in your esteemed journal against this worthy's name. It is useless to find fault with this gentleman, for I am sure that as a Mussalman he must be crying his eyes out in secret grief. But he probably belongs to the school of "fine old gentlemen" who cannot actively participate in any movement, however innocent, unless it emanates from the immaculate hands of a District Officer. But may one ask, where was the (District) Muslim League all this while? This is indeed a painfully instructive instance of our incapacity to help ourselves.

In your opinion, Sir, the total subscriptions up to the 5th instant could not be less than Rs. 5,00,000. I do not think half that sum could have been collected up to that date, as all the larger figures you have noted they do not exceed Rs. 1,50,000, while the smaller sums at the highest computation cannot well be over Rs. 50,000 (if that much). Now this, in my opinion, is absolutely disgraceful and reflects nothing but shame on the educated Indian Muhammadans and their organizations.

The Egyptians are raising thousands of pounds weekly, besides sending volunteers, doctors and medical stores to Tripoli, and I have reason to believe that similar efforts are being made in the rest of the Muslim world except India. After the bombast of

our condemnations, are we not ashamed at the poorness of our results, not only before the Muslims abroad but before the whole of the civilized world? I must confess that the jibes of the *Leader* at which you were so indignant a little while ago are eminently well deserved if we do not bestir ourselves and set about making up for lost time.

An indirect, but none the less valuable, result of organized attempts to raise subscriptions will be the enlightenment which will thereby be diffused among the masses. It will create a taste for newspapers and gradually wean the public from their implicit credulity in cock-and-bull stories. Would not this alone be ample recompense for any labours bestowed on this work of charity?

I earnestly appeal to the League, the various Anjumans and organizations throughout the country, and to the Old Boys of Aligarh to throw off their indifference and to organize for the purpose of helping forward the Turkish Relief Fund, and to preach and give effect to the boycott of Italian goods. If this is done the people will be able to furnish what may truly be called an "index of their feeling", and I am confident the masses will soon equal, if not surpass, the amount which has been laboriously raised for the University.

As for the attitude of the *Comrade*, Sir, I do not see why it should have subjected itself to the self-denying ordinance by "purposely refraining from special appeals". Your eloquent support of a pious cause cannot affect the voluntary character of the benefactions, else it is inexplicable why the University Fund should have been an exception to the rule. For my part, I hold it to be the duty of every Muslim paper to publish frequent appeals to examine the work of the various organizations and to keep up to the mark all persons in charge of the funds. May I hope that you will not consider yourself, in the future, obliged to forego "the benefits accruing to you here and hereafter"?

C. U. E.

19th January, 1912



Anecdote.

MARK TWAIN was taken by a friend to the studio of Whistler who was putting the finishing touches to a picture. When Whistler inquired his guest's opinion of the picture, Mark Twain remarked that it did very well, but "he didn't much care for that cloud." He appeared to be on the point of rubbing the cloud with his gloved finger. In horror, Whistler exclaimed. "Don't touch it, the paint's wet!" "Oh, that's all right," replied Mark, with his characteristic drawl, "these aren't my best gloves, any how!"

LORD HALDANE'S geniality is proverbial. Here is an illustration of his manner of meeting an embarrassing situation. Some time ago he was addressing a meeting, and was remarking that the Army had not been his only love, when a lady made an interruption and another rushed on to the platform and spoke to him. "These ladies," said his lordship, "really choose a most embarrassing moment in my speech. I had just observed that the Army had not been my only love. Let me therefore free myself from misconception. I was about to admit that I had flirted with the Law."

A PARIS contemporary publishes an interesting anecdote of the late King. At a house party at Hatfield, in honour of the Kaiser, the invited guests included the Prince of Wales, the Portuguese Minister, and M. Waddington, the French Ambassador, and his wife. During the evening Madame Waddington's diamond necklace became unfastened, and after vainly attempting to fasten it she called the Portuguese Minister to her assistance, but he was not more successful. Everyone was interested in the little mishap, and then the Kaiser relieved the monotony by observing, "There is Portugal trying to strangle France." The remark was greeted with laughter. The Prince of Wales rose to assist Madame Waddington and then the Kaiser, in a grave tone, added, "It is really a serious matter: England is mixed up in it."

OF LORD HOUGHTON, father of the present Earl of Crewe, the following good story is told:—He had seen the portrait of an admiral in a shop in Wardour Street, and offered £5 for it. The dealer wanted £10, but ultimately came down to £7 10s. Lord Houghton would not go beyond the £5, however, and did not get the picture. Soon afterwards, visiting a neighbour in Yorkshire, Lord Houghton caught sight of his friend the admiral hanging in the dining-room. He recognized him at once, and said. "Halloa! who's that? What have you got there? Something new?" "Yes," replied the friend; "he was a celebrated admiral who fought with Nelson—a fine portrait, too—recently bequeathed to us—an ancestor of my wife's." "Ah, was he?" said Lord Houghton. "A month ago he was within two pound ten of becoming one of mine!"

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

THE SHIRAZ correspondent of the *Times of India* describing briefly the fighting at Kazerun with the tribesmen says --Until the tribesmen, who have fired on the escorts, can be taught a severe lesson, matters will remain in rather a critical state. Unfortunately, the nature of the country is such as to render the giving of a military lesson with the force at present in the country almost an impossibility and looks as if before long considerable reinforcements must be sent. At least, one infantry brigade would be required with a brigade of mountain artillery and some odd troops, such as pioneers, etc., for making the road fit for the use of large forces. It is not known as yet how many of the tribesmen are up but if all those in the neighbourhood of Kazerun rise, it will give even a division a very difficult job. The cause of the discontent is undoubtedly the feeling that the British have come to interfere with the very lucrative trade of highway robbery which has been the monopoly of these tribes. It may seem curious that the telegraph line from here to Kazerun and Bushire has not been cut. This is probably because it is being used by the enemy, as one of the three wires of the line is sold off to the Persian Telegraph Department who have a separate telegraph office here and also separate offices at Kazerun and at Bushire. As it is more than likely that there are Kashgais and others here in sympathy with the rising in the Kazerun valley and on the passes above it the line is very useful to them. It is certainly most useful to our troops, for, by attaching field telephones to the line, they are able to communicate with either Shiraz or Kazerun from any stage.

As it is quite probable that the Persians will have construed the results of these two engagements as victories for themselves, the boycott has practically ended though up to a few days ago there was still a difficulty about Hamals, for these men remembered the fate of the boy who carried a melon to the camp and had his face blackened and his body beaten for the offence.

On Sunday on the news of Tabriz having been bombarded by the Russians reaching here, an indignation meeting was called at which the Mullah presided. It is said by many that the Chief Mullah started the boycott with the idea of being bribed to stop it, an end that he did not achieve.

There is no further news of interest from Southern Persia and the roads about Shiraz are reported quiet.

The Persian Consul-General in Calcutta has received official information from Teheran to the effect that the Persian Government has established peace and order in the southern parts and the Governor for Fars and Swedish officers are being sent with instructions to take stringent measures to maintain peace and the increased security of roads.

Relying to representations of the London Moslem League, the India Office states that the Government has reason to believe the negotiations between Russia and Persia, which it has done its utmost to facilitate, are on the point of reaching a satisfactory conclusion, in which case, so soon as order is re-established, the situation in Persia will revert to its normal state. The Government continues that it is unable to intervene in particular disputes concerning only Russia and Persia, for the Government's general policy is to secure that Russian influence, which has long existed in the north, should not be extended in any directions prejudicial to India.

Sir Edward Grey speaking at Sunderland, replied to attacks of a section of the Liberal press on his foreign policy which he said was not his but the Cabinet's. These critics, he said, really advocated the maxim of interference which would mean the minimum of friendship because their policy would leave us without a friend in Europe. It was the duty of any Government, Liberal or Conservative, said Sir Edward, to resist a policy which was既st futile and expensive that could be adopted. Sir Edward continued that the latest selection of his critics for our interference was Mongolia and said "If we are going to interfere actively in Central Asian questions far beyond the Indian frontier, we shall incur not only a present heavy naval expenditure but a vast increase in military expenditure." Replying to the question as to what steps Great Britain was taking to prevent Russia from annexing Persia, he said that Russia was not annexing Persia. If you are going to say that it is the responsibility and duty of Great Britain to guarantee the independence of the whole of the countries like Persia you will impose on Great Britain burdens greater than it can bear and an expenditure far greater than at present."

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

St. Petersburg, December 29.

ACCORDING to the latest advices the situation at Tabriz no longer justifies the slightest anxiety. Nearly 1,000 Russian troops are concentrated in the city. The Russian Consul reports that quiet is restored and that no more troops are necessary.

It has now become known that the uprising of Fedais nearly resulted in the wholesale massacre of the Russian force, which then numbered about 150. Before the end almost the whole of the ammunition was expended. Had the Fedais continued the fight a day longer the Russians would have been overpowered. Many here are asking who was responsible for the grave blunder of depleting the Tabriz detachment on the eve of an outbreak which had been openly prepared. It was this blunder which caused indirectly the loss of Russian lives, although it does not absolve the Fedais and their counsellors from responsibility for the dastardly attack.

Since the untoward consequences are traceable to Russian blundering, it may be questioned whether St. Petersburg was wise in deciding upon a punitive policy involving the abrogation of the sovereign rights of Persia. The Russian Government, of course, does not dream of annexing Persian territory or of countenancing the restoration of the ex-Shah--indeed, so long as Russian troops remain in Persia it may be safely asserted that Mohamed Ali will not resume the Throne--but the highly complex, responsible and dangerous task of meting out retribution to the Tabriz revolutionaries is likely to provoke further unjust accusations against Russia.

The story of the massacre of hundreds of women and children by the Russian troops is an absurd lie invented in Teheran. The rumour originating here of differences between M. Kokovtsoff and M. Sazonoff regarding Russia's policy in Persia has just as little foundation.

Among the callers at the Foreign Office to-day were Sir George Buchanan, the British Ambassador, and M. Louis, the French Ambassador, who has just returned from Paris. Both had prolonged conferences with M. Sazonoff.

Teheran, December 29.

Foreign Consular telegrams from Tabriz, while admitting that women and children were probably killed in the bombardment and that civilian town-folk were killed in the street fighting, deny the charge of general Russian inhumanity but state that full details are still unknown. All fighting has, however, ceased; and disarmament is proceeding with Persian co-operation. The Deputy-Governor is in *hast* at the British Consulate.

The Teheran elections are notified for Wednesday. It is said that the early withdrawal of the Kazvin force is contemplated.

Tabriz, December 29.

The disturbances here began with a street collision between a Russian patrol and Persian Fedais on the night of the 20th. Their outbreak was a complete surprise to all, including the Russians, whose position was for some time precarious. Finally, however, after the arrival of reinforcements and the bombardment of the citadel and positions of the city, the Russians drove the Fedais out of the citadel and their occupation of the city is now complete. There were no casualties among the foreign residents. The Russian losses are believed to have been between one and two hundred. The majority among the native non-combatants was not large, and the reports of atrocities by the troops on both sides are unfounded.—*Reuters*.

Teheran, December 29.

It is stated at the British Legation here that the British Acting Vice-Consul at Shiraz informed the local authorities of his intention before sending out the Sowars to meet Mr. Smart. Mr. Smart has not yet reached Kazerun.

It is believed that the Russian Government does not intend to demand an indemnity from the Persian Government for the disorders at Tabriz, but that it will impose certain conditions on Tabriz itself.—*Reuters*.

Reuters' Correspondent learns that the 14 American officials serving under Mr. Shuster consider their contracts violated by Persia's acceptance of the first two clauses of the Russian ultimatum subjecting their appointments to the approval of Great Britain and France, and that they do not contemplate remaining under any chief other than an American.

Reuters' Agency understands that the Persian Government has expressed to Great Britain its regret for the attack on Mr. Smart, and has declared that every possible step will be taken to prevent a recurrence of disorder. The British Government received yesterday of the receipt by the Acting Consul at Shiraz of a letter

from Mr. Smart stating that the latter was still at Mahomet Ali Kashguli's house wounded in the thigh, but that he was proceeding at once to Kazerun.

St. Petersburg, January 2.

The Russian troops at Kazvin are being withdrawn to Resht. This movement is ostensibly prompted by a desire to strengthen the forces on the Caspian littoral, but in reality denotes the final abandonment of the idea of a possible march to Teheran and as such must be welcomed in the best interests of all the Powers immediately concerned. Some criticism in the Russian Press is presumably explicable by its indignation at the recent outrages upon Russian troops, the authors of which have been executed.

Teheran, January 2.

It is reported that the Russians executed the Sikat-ul-Islam, the greatest ecclesiastic in Azerbaijan yesterday at Tabriz, with seven others, the day being the 10th of Moharrum, the Shi'ite mourning. Two regiments are being withdrawn from Kazvin to Resht in small detachments.

January 3.

The news is now definitely confirmed that on the 10th day of Moharrum the Russians hanged the Sikat-ul-Islam and two other clerics and the principal members of the Anjuman in the public square at Tabriz. The Government made every effort to suppress news in Teheran and the public did not suspect anything until to-day, but to-night the news seems to be spreading, though it is not yet public property. Whatever justification the Russians may have had on grounds of policy for the execution of so universally revered an ecclesiastic on the most sacred day of the Persian Holy Week, their action shows a lack of appreciation of the position of the Europeans scattered throughout Persia.

Moslem Feeling.

The Committee of Management of the Central National Muhammadian Association of Calcutta held a meeting on the 21st January and passed the following Resolution —

That as loyal subjects of the King, and deeply interested in the peaceful and contented development of the Indian peoples under the aegis of the British Crown, the Committee feel their duty to invite the attention of the British Nation to the ferment the Russian advance into Persia has already caused in India, to its injurious effect on the feelings of the Mussalman people; and they respectfully and earnestly join in the appeal that England should use her best endeavours to save Persia struggling for regeneration from a course of treatment which, if persisted in, must inevitably lead to her dissolution, a consummation neither desired by Great Britain nor conducive to the interests of the British Empire.

Transport in Southern Persia.

The following information is from the report of H.M. Vice-Consul at Bushire (Mr. H. G. Chick) on the trade of that district in the year ended 21st March, 1911, which will shortly be issued —

The chief importance of Bushire is as a forwarding town for the province of Fars, and as a terminus for exports from the country, before the troubles attendant on the change of constitution it was the most important commercial seaport of Persia. In 1907-8, partly owing, perhaps, to constitutional disturbances in the provinces bordering the northern frontier, the trade of the port of Bushire was flowing in steadily towards the high-water mark of its normal expansion. In the present state of the development of the country, from 1908 onwards the prosperity of the port, the hinterland, and the whole province of Fars has shown a steady decline, by reason that the focus of Persian anarchy has changed to the southern provinces, and engulfs a large portion of the region which formed a market for British goods imported via the Persian Gulf.

The two main factors of moment to commerce are : (1) Security of the great caravan route, (2) security in the province of Fars.

Reference was made in the report for 1909-10 to the arbitrary change in the route followed which had been effected to suit the dictates of the Ilkhan of the Kashgai tribe, who was being paid several hundred pounds each month by muleteers and merchants in order that they might make sure of merchandise passing safely through his tribal country.

The year under report opened with a mountainous route via Bozazan, Dukki and Jirreh being followed. Owing to complications in the political situation at Shiraz, the Kashgai chieftain withdrew his guards from the Jirreh route in May 1910; the post was twice attacked in following the telegraph road. The latter road became too dangerous for caravan traffic beyond Kazvin, and no parcels for up-country were accepted by the post. At the beginning of June the original route via Firuzabad was adopted, and the Persian Government held responsible by the British Government for its security and compensation for goods robbed along it.

In July 1910, the expedition of the Governor of Bushire against the chief of Tangistan made the road unsafe for caravans in the immediate proximity of Bushire. By October 1910, several caravan robberies had occurred on the Firuzabad route, and out of a caravan of 400 mules leaving Bushire on 20th October, 200 mules and their loads were carried off, including a great quantity of British-owned goods. Meanwhile the road between Shiraz and Isfahan had become even more dangerous owing to constant robberies, and caravans ceased to circulate except at intervals. The tribesmen on their autumn migration down country were particularly severe on the British telegraph lines destroying and robbing freely.

There was no immediate improvement after the issue of the British Note to Persia on 14th October, 1910. In November there was a movement by merchants resulting in caravans returning to the Kazerun route, for the Firuzabad route becomes impassable after the rains. The first caravan to pass, consisting of 383 mules, was robbed, 184 loads and 260 mules being carried off. Between October and December merchants forwarded only at great risk. In December letters were talking twenty days to and from Shiraz instead of six days. On 30th December the Persian Government stated officially that they were holding the Ilkhan of the Kashgais responsible for the security of the Kazerun route. No robberies occurred on the Bushire road after 5th December, when extraordinarily severe cold and snow made the road impassable for caravans over the passes till the end of February 1911. Meanwhile the new Governor-General, charged with putting Fars in order, had arrived early in January 1911, and his progress was marked with a certain amount of disturbance along the road. In March 1911, hostilities in the neighbourhood of Bushire prevented caravans from passing for some time. The Shiraz-Isfahan road remained practically closed to caravan traffic up till the end of the year, and, despite the arrival of Persian soldiery, three or our large caravans were attacked and looted in February.

The amount of the claims put forward by British commercial houses and traders and entered against the Persian Government for looted goods or denial of justice now totals about £4,950 as regards claims filed at Bushire, and about £9,000 as regards claims filed at Shiraz.

The state of the province of Fars prevented any supplies of goods which reached Shiraz from being distributed in the outlying districts, and in consequence the bazaars both in Bushire and Shiraz, remained in a condition of spasmodic congestion. Peddlers, village dealers, and petty merchants could not circulate freely. The important sub-districts of Lar, Kasa, Kazerun and Behbehān were the scenes of considerable fighting and plundering. The Governor-General of Fars was twice changed in the period, after failures to deal successfully with the political situation; and increased loss of control and centralising power in the province reacted most unfavourably on trade.

On the other hand, the route to Mohammerah and then via Ahwaz to Isfahan has not made good the decrease in forwardings via Bushire, and owing to congestion, insufficient supply of transport and the partial closure during the severe winter weather, a heavy accumulation of stocks at Ahwaz occurred by March 1911, and goods were experiencing excessive delay in reaching their destination. Whereas in a particularly bad year like 1900-10, 4,187 bales arrived at Isfahan over the Ahwaz road, in 1910-11 only 152 more bales reached Isfahan; in the last four months very few indeed.

A continuation of unfavourable conditions on the two main trade routes to Isfahan — which is one of the most important commercial centre of the Persia — had a particularly bad effect on business in cotton piece goods from Manchester.

In connection with the insecurity and frequent impassability on these southern trade routes, and the consequently reduced import of British goods during the past three years, it may be noted that in the year ended March 1910, there was an increased import, as compared with the preceding year, of 1,318 tons of Russian piece goods into all Persia, as against a decrease of 1,874 tons of British goods.

No steps were taken by the Persian authorities to remedy the levy of blackmail, which is such a heavy charge, and reacts so unfavourably on trade passing over the road to Shiraz. These exactions have risen, according to the muleteers' statements, as follows.

	Per Mule Kraas.
In June 1907 ...	... 3·70
" January 1910 ...	... 11·15
" June 1910 ...	... 10·80
" October 1910 ...	... 13·60
" February 1911 ...	... 11·90

Thus on every ton of goods over a distance of only 180 miles these sums amounted in 1910-11 to the equivalent of from £1 7s. 5d. to £1 14s. 7d.

Lord Lamington's Speech.

LORD LAMINGTON delivered a lecture under the auspices of the Outlook Tower Committee in Drumsheugh Hall, Edinburgh, on "The Present Crisis in Persia." Professor Geddes presided over a large attendance.

Lord Lamington, who was received with applause, said he was there under the auspices of a society of a non-party character which took a philosophic view of things, and he considered that it was an advantage to secure the attention of people of that class who could take a cool review of the existing situation in Persia. He did not wish it for a moment to be supposed that he had any particular enmity against Russia. On the contrary, he wished Russia in the management of her wonderful Empire all success. All countries, he supposed, had ambitious policies of aggrandisement, and it was necessary, therefore, for those other countries affected by such policies to watch themselves. Above all he wished to have every possible relation of good will with the great country of Russia, but his view was that the policy which he wished to outline in the course of his remarks would secure that their relations with Russia should remain peaceful. Though he was a Unionist, he was not going to attack the Government at the present time. He believed the Government was strongly animated by a desire to secure a united and independent Persia; but what he would ask was—Had they taken those measures which were necessary to ensure that result? Going on to inquire what was the interest of this country in Persia, Lord Lamington pointed out that for generations they had policed the Persian Gulf, they had charted its waters, and made its navigation safe. They had settled disputes on shore, they had made expeditions and put down disorder, they used to keep a regiment at Baghdad, they had exercised all the duties and responsibility of sovereignty, but they had never acquired any territory or demanded any payment for their actions (Applause.) Now why did this country do all this? It was because they recognised that the fortunes of Persia were propped up with those of India. This had been formulated by Lord Curzon, who had said that Persia was the outlying glacis of the defences of India. There was also the consideration of their Indian trade with Persia and the Gulf, as also the fact that they were directly connected with Persia by that small but highly educated and commercially-minded group in India the Parsis.

Before 1907 there was no doubt that Russia was paramount in Northern Persia. At that time Persia was governed, or mis-governed, by the ex-Shah, who was practically a tool in the hands of Russia. Well after the Japanese War Russia was in an enfeebled state. This country had just emerged from the South African War, and about that time began what might be termed the German scare. Hence it was that they proposed an agreement with Russia in reference to Persia. That agreement took final shape as the Anglo-Russian Agreement. The first article of it stated that the object of the Convention was to secure the independence and integrity of Persia. The Government had assumed in debate that those who criticised their policy attacked the Convention. That was not so. Personally he highly approved of the Convention. What they complained of was that the maintenance of the integrity and independence of Persia had not been adhered to. There had been a party in Persia endeavouring to obtain some form of constitutional government from that corrupt ruler who was now ex-Shah. That culminated soon after the Convention was signed in a rebellion. The Shah was driven from the country and a Provisional Government was set up. That movement was looked upon as a godsend by those who wished to see the Convention carried out, as it was hoped that a new and improved Government might put Persia in a position to secure independence. But the two outside Powers gave no help. Some people did think that this country did not give that support to the national Government of Persia that might have been expected from it. (Applause.) Russia, of course, wanted a weak Persia. This country wanted a strong Persia. But in their policy of doing nothing that might offend Russia they had certainly excused almost every step that Russia had taken. He quite admitted that Persia might have failed in the attempt to establish constitutional government, but that was not to be wondered at in a country that for centuries had been under the worst form of government in the world, and which had such physical difficulties between the two parts of the country to surmount, with none of the resources of civilisation to enable them to do so.

He did not hesitate to say that Russia had viewed with the greatest dislike the movement on the part of Persia to put her house in order. He had a mass of information to prove his contention that it had not been the desire of Russia to see Persia entirely independent, and, perhaps unintentionally, he did not think the resources of diplomacy had been exhausted by the British Government in their endeavour to combat this attitude of Russia. Surely, without the slightest hostile feeling to Russia, they must look at her past history in other parts of the world. Look at her in the East, in Mongolia, in Central Asia. Had the policy there not been all along like what she was now taking to assert her supremacy in Northern Persia? It had been the Russian policy in the past to try to get a footing in Northern Persia and to follow that up by seeking a position in the Persian Gulf. It had been the policy of this country to prevent that on the part of Russia, and it had been his view that the Convention did give them the means of securing an independent Persia, of setting up a buffer state between Russia and themselves, and of restoring the ancient kingdom of Persia to be an integral force in the world's politics. But he was not so hopeful of that as he was

when the Convention was signed. Russia had thwarted Persia from obtaining a necessary loan with which to carry on the Government. Russian troops had steadily advanced into the country, and he thought there could not be a doubt that Russian officials had connived at the return of the ex-Shah of Persia to cause dispeace in the country.

Speaking of the Shuster incident, Lord Lamington said that no one denied Mr. Shuster's first-class ability or his honesty. Presumably he relied on the Convention's meaning what it said, and as the paid servant of Persia he with his fourteen American conditions were getting the finances into order. He was accused of lack of tact, which was a poor charge on which to base the invasion of a country. In regard to the Stokes affair, possibly Mr. Shuster might have given way, but he wanted the best officer he could get, and Captain Stokes had been three years in Teheran. Our Government had allowed Captain Stokes to resign his commission in the army in order to take up work in Persia, so evidently in the first instance they saw no harm in his appointment. But the details of this and the other many incidents were immaterial construed in the light that the Russian's predominant position was not to be modified by the declaration establishing Persian independence. This made the position extraordinarily complex, and it was impossible to see what was to be the outcome of events. He much doubted whether Tabriz would in the future ever be under any authority except that of Russia. All that could be done was to secure the withdrawal of Russian troops from Kazvin whence they threatened Teheran. This should be done in compliance with our undertaking that on Persia accepting the terms of the ultimatum Russia would remove her force, this must be done, as thereby alone could the partition of Persia be guarded against. That would be a calamity that must be seen by everyone. Where would the boundary be drawn, and how should they defend it, and at what expense? He believed there was a strong party in Russia in the Duma opposed to the policy of territorial aggrandisement, and it would be in the interests of Russia as well as ourselves to keep Persia as a buffer state, unless she was really making a bid to come down to the Persian Gulf. Any such action was condemned in the strongest terms by Lord Lansdowne in 1903.

Sir Thomas Holdich recently showed in a lecture in London that from time immemorial there had been great irruptions into India for the purpose of loot and of aggrandisement in some way or other, and that India had in the whole history of the world always been an aim and object of people by which they might secure wealth. These irruptions had generally taken place through Northern India, through the great passes and over the vast mountain system, but, as Sir Thomas Holdich pointed out, nowadays very likely any inroad into India would lie through Persia. Therefore it behoved us in the interests of India, for the sake of our prestige in India, to see that nothing was done calculated to weaken our position on the frontier. Therefore he would say frankly that it was in the interests of India that they should endeavour to secure the independence of Persia, and that they should do so in the interests of those who had so gallantly during the last three or four years against such adverse odds maintained some form of government. He did not wish to see their gallant efforts altogether frustrated. It had taken many centuries to evolve our constitutional system. It took Japan forty to fifty years to evolve hers. Surely it was rather hard, when under such difficulties and with such lack of experience the Persian people had managed to carry on a form of constitutional government and had carried out great reforms, to add insult to injury by accusing the Persian Government of having brought misfortune on their heads by foolishness, as some of the leading organs of the press had said. His opinion was that we should admire those who had honestly tried to carry on some constitutional government. We ought to show them that we of Britain, the home of freedom, were their friends and viewed with sympathy their desire to establish freedom in their homes and country. He hoped that public attention would be awakened before it was too late and would be able to strengthen the Government in what he knew to be their honest desire to see the letter and the spirit of the Anglo-Russian Convention carried out.

Mr. John Cowan moved the following resolution:—"That this meeting urges upon His Majesty's Government the necessity of Russia withdrawing her troops from Persia in compliance with her undertakings and in order that effect may be given to the Anglo-Russian Convention, which was intended to secure the independence and integrity of Persia."

Lord Lamington, in reply, said that he believed that it was necessary for the securing of good feeling between Britain and Russia that Persia should be set up as a free country.

Press Opinion,

The "Times."

From to-day's telegram we are justified in saying that the Russo-Persian crisis is on the eve of settlement. The French Government, we are told, have definitely accepted the terms of the

Russian ultimatum, and it is even stated, though not quite so definitely, that Mr. Shuster has already been dismissed. This was the first and most essential of the demands, and on it the Russian Government showed themselves inflexible. On the other two points, the right of Russia and Great Britain to veto the appointment of foreigners of whom they disapprove, and the payment of an indemnity, it was understood that some concessions, of form in one case and of substance in the other, might be made to Persian susceptibilities and Persian interests, and on them a compromise acceptable to both parties has apparently been reached. The Persian Government are warmly to be congratulated on their decision to yield and on the determination with which they have overcome the resistance of the Majlis, the vast majority of whose members seemed resolved to defeat every attempt at an amicable settlement. If the Majlis had had their way it is hard to see how Persia could have escaped humiliation and disasters far more serious than any involved in the acceptance of the ultimatum. In face of the excitement prevailing in Teheran and other centres it needed no little courage on the part of the Government to follow the unpopular if sensible course they are now reported to have adopted. We trust that their action will be appreciated in St Petersburg, and that the Russian Government will show their appreciation by doing everything possible to make the settlement as little unpalatable as may be to Persian *amour propre*; and that the policy of both the Russian and the British Governments will be so guided as to consolidate the Anglo-Russian understanding and to promote the interests of Persia along the lines recently laid down by Sir Edward Grey, whose arguments were warmly endorsed by the *Narne Premya*. After all, neither of the two Powers is entirely free from responsibility for the unsatisfactory developments of the last few months in Persia. The main blame must be ascribed to the incapacity, and worse, of the Persian governing Classes, and to the tactlessness of Mr. Shuster, whose remarkable qualities as a financier and an administrator were not matched by any corresponding grasp of political conditions. But there have been faults and mistakes on the other side. The Stokes affair reflected no credit on either the British or the Russian Foreign Office, and the negligence with which the Russians permitted the return of the ex Shah, and the passive attitude of our own Government until a short time ago, undoubtedly helped to bring about the crisis.

December 27

The long telegram from our Teheran correspondent which appeared yesterday on the latest developments in Persia is not very reassuring. The Government have indeed got rid of the Majlis for the present, and the disappearance of that utterly childish and impracticable Assembly removes an obstacle to many indispensable measures. On the other hand, it may serve as a pretext for the continuance and the spread of disorders in the provinces, which already threaten this ancient Monarchy with dissolution from within. The explanation which Vosuk-d-Dowleh gave to an assembly of merchants of the course taken by the Regent is unanswerable. It is, that the Majlis impeded both the external and the internal action of the Government, and it imperilled that action, we may add, to a degree which made either a reasonable foreign policy or a decent administration of home affairs impossible. Therefore, the Regent argued, it must be closed, and he has closed it. The step is unconstitutional, of course, but we believe it to have been justified in the best interests of Persia. The explanation was promptly followed by action. The session was closed by a Rescript, which contains, it is noted, no reference to fresh elections at an early date. The doors of the Parliament House were locked and a guard was set over the building. Martial law has been proclaimed in Teheran, and all the newspapers, except one, have been suppressed. This step followed naturally on the dismissal of the Majlis; for, from the beginning of the revolution, the tone of most of these journals has been reckless and violent in the extreme. On Sunday some of the Deputies attempted to hold a meeting of protest in the bazaar, and when they were dispersed by the police they retired to a mosque, within whose sacred precincts they appear to have been suffered to continue their oratory un molested. If, as is supposed, Yezdim and the Bakhtiari favour the action of the Regent, more than oratory will be needed to disturb him. Apparently he means to endeavour to carry on the Government with the help of the present Cabinet.

As we anticipated on Saturday that body has sent a reply to the latest Russian ultimatum which the Government of St Petersburg have accepted as satisfactory. Persia, of course, has had to assent to all three of the Russian demands, but that which relates to the future appointments of foreigners to posts under the Persian Government has undergone some slight modification in form. Persia now agrees not to make any such appointments without first exchanging views with the British and Russian Legations. It is not yet positively stated that Mr. Shuster has sent in his resignation; but, as the Persian Government have been informed that he accepts the ultimatum, he manifestly recognizes that he can no longer hold office with advantage to the country. The difficulties threatened by the attitude of the Imperial Bank, which refuses, it is said, to disburse the funds in its keeping without his authority until his successor has been named or the law has been altered, will doubtless be got over.

They illustrate the wisdom and the urgency of Sir Edward Grey's suggestion to the Russian Government that such a successor, acceptable to both England and Russia, should be appointed without delay. The choice of some competent foreigner, who will discharge with equal zeal and ability, but with more tact and discretion, the responsible duties which he undertook to perform, is plainly the first step in that constructive policy for Persia which Sir Edward has declared that we are bound to take in hand as soon as the present crisis is over. In the sketch of that policy which he drew in the House shortly before Parliament rose, he insisted, as we have often insisted in these columns, that the foundation of all progress in Persia must be financial, and a sound financial policy is out of the question until Mr. Shuster's post is adequately filled. Without order there can be no revenue and no trade, and without money there can be no police and no Gendarmerie to keep order. It is because he realizes this fundamental fact in the position that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs advocates the co-operation of England and Russia in bringing about a loan to Persia, and that he deprecates the exacting of Russia of a Persian indemnity.

The latest news, it must be acknowledged, does not encourage the expectation that the prosecution of a constructive policy is well within sight. Though Persia has acceded to the ultimatum, the end of the crisis appears to be remote. Since Thursday last Russian troops have been in conflict with Persians at Tabriz, Enzeli, and Resht. Accounts differ, as is usual in such cases, about the origin of these affrays, but however they began, their continuance must hamper and retard the practical adoption of the policy which Sir Edward Grey has commend to Parliament. The statement from Teheran that the fighting in Tabriz has been desperate and that the Russian losses there have been heavy receives some support from the St. Petersburg message published on Monday, which asserts that the Viceroy of the Caucasus has been ordered to send all available reinforcements to Tabriz. It is, of course, inevitable that, where Russian troops have been attacked on Persian soil, Russia should show that attacks of the kind are not to be made with impunity. It is natural, too, that Russian newspapers should speak of such attacks with indignation. We should, however, be sorry to suppose that the language attributed in a Reuter message on Monday to a high official in the Russian Foreign Office, or that employed by the *Narne Premya* in regard to the collisions at Tabriz and the other Persian towns could be taken to express the views of the Russian Government. It cannot but have a bad effect on influential sections of British opinion, and it cannot prepare the way for the future policy in Persia which Sir Edward Grey has described as the policy of this country, and which we believe to be also the policy of the Russian Government.

The "Near East."

The sudden return of the ex-Shah with his devoted follower, Aishad ed Dowleh, was alleged to have strengthened Russia's policy of non intervention, and, in fact, caused little material change. The attitude of Mr. Shuster and the appointment of Captain Stokes were the primary factors in the ensuing complications. That Mr. Shuster is not only convinced that he is acting in the best interests of the country, but that he has also done excellent service, we have every reason to believe. The whole-hearted support he has received from the Majlis is sufficient proof of this, but he cannot be complimented on the way he has played his cards. So much has been said of the mutual sympathy between Russia and England that one might well have thought that an easy way out of such temporary embarrassments might well have been found, unless, of course, some sinister intrigue is at work behind the scenes. And if such be the case, his letter to *The Times* put the game into his enemy's hand. But the consequences of the negotiations may be of far greater importance than the *affaire* itself. We have by no means fathomed their full extent. One thing is very certain, and that is our co-operation with Russia has resulted in the defeat of the very aim which we have pursued so long—the maintenance of Persia as a buffer State. We cannot but suspect that the loud advertisement in Russian newspapers of Russia's non-intervention policy was part and parcel of a well-dovised scheme. There was no need to trouble about an ex-Shah; the more disturbance, the better; an aggressive move, of course, on the plea of protection of interests, would only come at the right moment. A great many words have been wasted on our loyalty to the Anglo-Russian Agreement, a phrase which seems to give such general satisfaction to the St. Petersburg Press that one is almost led to construe "loyalty" as meaning "connivance." If, however, the Foreign Office has winked at such callous tampering with Persian influence, there must have been strong reasons for such a course of action. Was it perchance due to apprehension of any friction with Russia in the present complex state of European politics? Were this the case, the real value of the Triple Entente can be gauged at once. But for the moment conjecture is unseasonable. The glass into which we are gazing is dark. It will be clearer when Russia presents the bill for her expenses in sending up troops. That will be the moment for appraising the real worth of our diplomatic tactics.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

REUTER wires from Rome:—Four hundred Turks and Arabs attacked the block-house at Benghazi on the 18th instant but were repulsed, losing 29 killed.

Another fierce all-day battle was fought at Tripoli on the 19th instant. The Turks attacked the Italians, who were erecting two forts at Gargaeus. The Italians repulsed the Turks, but were themselves compelled to withdraw at nightfall, as their defences had not been completed. The Italian casualties numbered fifty, while those on the Turkish side are reported to have been heavy.

While those on the Turkish side are reported to have been heavy. Italian warships later bombarded Zoua. The bombardment of Zoua was due to the garrison having opened fire on Italian patrol boats. Many buildings were destroyed as a result of the bombardment, and the Turkish trenches demolished.

Reuter wires from Rome.—Italians re-occupied Gargarella
They found no traces of the enemy within a radius of five miles. This is regarded as confirming the seriousness of their losses. The enemy admit having had over 150 killed alone.

Reuter wires from Rome:—The Italian Government has ordered the release of the French steamer *Carthage* on receiving satisfactory assurances from France.

The *Masouha* mail steamer, seized by Italians, was released on her landing twenty nine Turks, who, the Government was informed, were officers taking money to Tripoli from Marseilles.

The Captain of the *Manouba* says the seizure of the vessels was due to his refusal to surrender the Turks, who he declares are Red Crescent male nurses.

The German steamer *Schleswig*, accompanying the French mail steamer *Manoubi*, was searched at the time of the seizure of the latter vessel, but was released.

A committee of French shipowners has requested M. Poincaré to make a strong protest against what they describe as the continued violation of treaties, citing the case of the *Manouba* as an example and to expedite the establishment of International Prize Courts.

and to expedite the establishment of International Prize Courts. Reuter wires from Paris:—French papers are full of very strong comments on the Italian seizures of French steamers. They demand that firm measures be taken to prevent a recurrence of such incidents. Some attribute Italy's action to the influence of a third party exercised in connection with the visit of Herr von Kiderlen-Wächter, who arrived in Rome this morning. They also declare that the release of the vessels will not close the matter, as the Government will insist on compensation.

The *Molin* states that France claimed the liberation of the *Monosba*'s Turkish passengers, but Italy refused.

A telegram to the *Daily Chronicle* from Paris states that France intends making a naval demonstration off the Italian coast in the event of Italy's reply to the captured Turks being unsatisfactory. The paper adds that orders have been sent to Toulon to hold a squadron in readiness. Whether this is true or otherwise the situation seems grave and is complicated by the mystery of a telegram in cypher to the Consul at Cagliari telling him to surrender the Turks while the French Government asserts that no such telegram was sent. The French papers hint that the telegram was tampered with and talk of the famous Em's despatch preceding the Franco-German war. The Italians maintain that their action was justified. They declare that the prisoners carried no surgical appliances and were not doctors.

Not a word has been received confirming the statement in the *Daily Chronicle*.

While the French papers on the 22nd instant continue to insist upon the liberation of the Turks who were removed from the French mail boat *Manoucha* on the ground that the national honour is involved, they assure Italy that France will afterwards loyally investigate the identity of the Turks. They express the conviction that friendship between France and Italy is strong enough to ensure a prompt settlement of what is simply a misunderstanding.

Reuter wires from Paris :—There was an unprecedented scene of enthusiasm in the Chamber of Deputies on the 2nd instant, even the Socialists applauding, as the result of a statement by M. Poincare, the Premier, that neither in international nor in civil law could France surrender the Turks seized on board the French steamer *Mahouna*. Only after Italy had given up the Turks could the necessary investigation be permitted. M. Poincare said he had taken steps to this end and was confident that Italy would recognise the necessity of settling such incidents in conformity with justice and preventing any recurrence. Italy's reply, he continued, gave assurance of a speedy solution in a friendly conversation between the two Governments. If any difference remained, they would be settled by arbitration. M. Poincare explained that the French Charge d'Affairs at Roma was responsible for the surrender of the Turks to Italy. Regarding the

steamer *Carthage* he pointed out that Italy had committed an error to the detriment of French interests. The Premier concluded his speech by the declaration that the incidents were powerless to disturb the relations between France and Italy, which were based on common memories, affinity of race, and mutual interests.

Reuter wires from Paris:—Italy has proposed that the cases of seizure of French vessels shall be submitted to the Hague Court of Arbitration.

The French papers of all shades of opinion applaud M. Poincaré for his firmness combined with conciliatoriness. They state that Government informed Italy that provided the Turks were brought back to a French port, the identity would be investigated and the testimony of Italians taken. All other points of dispute would be submitted to the Hague. The papers add that France will insist upon compliance, forcing, if necessary as far as a diplomatic rupture.

There is every prospect of an amicable settlement of the Franco-Italian dispute regarding the *Manouba* incident. Reuter wires from Paris on the 24th.—M. Legrand, French Charge d'Affaires at Rome, has demanded that Marquis Di San Giuliano, Minister for Foreign Affairs, release the Turks who were removed from the *Manouba*. Marquis di San Giuliano has delayed reply until to-day and will in the meantime confer with the Premier. Reuter wires from Perim on the 24th.—The Italians have stopped the Austrian Lloyd liner *Bregenz*.

Reuter wires from Hodeidah on 16th January.—An Italian gunboat has overhauled the British ship *Africa* going from Hodeidah to Aden, near Perim, and removed twelve Turkish officers, including Riza Bey, the famous Yemen veteran.

Owing to the activity of Italian warships in the Red Sea and the Mediterranean and the consequent prohibitive insurance, the banks find it impossible to ship gold from Asia Minor to Europe and Egypt, where it could be profitably employed.

Italy has notified the Powers that she has established an effective blockade of the Ottoman Coast in the Red Sea, between latitudes 15 degrees 11 minutes and 14 degrees 30 minutes (in the neighbourhood of Hodeidah and opposite Massowa) and further that vessels attempting to evade the blockade will be dealt with in conformity with international law and treaties.

Reuter wires from Constantinople.—It is reported that the Italians have cut the cable between Suakin and Hodeidah.

The Aden correspondent of the *Times of India* in his letter, dated 15th January, says.—The Italian warships still appear to be very active cruising in the Red Sea and searching all suspected ships in Hodeidah and other Turkish ports in the Red Sea and country craft going from Djiboutti and other places to the Turkish ports.

According to advices received last evening from Hodeidah the Italian cruisers *Aretusa* and *Piemonte* went to Abbas, a place on the coast which lies some distance from Al Gabbana and bombarded it, destroying some buildings and huts. From Ibn Abbas, the warships proceeded to the Turkish port of Lohia which is about one day from Hodeidah and opened fire on it but no serious losses are reported. The Italian cruisers are now reported to be bombarding Meedi and Sulif which are some twelve hours' distance from Hodeidah. In view of the operations of Italian warships and destroyers, the dhow trade between Aden and Turkish ports in the Red Sea is now practically at a standstill. Some of the Aden merchants and traders who are interested in this trade have submitted a petition to the Political Resident protesting against the operations of Italian warships in searching and seizing their dhows. The Aden Chamber of Commerce is taking the matter up and will probably make representations to the Resident on the subject.

Cawasjee's steamer *Africa* was stopped yesterday by Italian warships at a point some hours' distance from Perim while on her way to Aden, and twelve Turks who were on board the steamer were seized. The Turks were coming to Aden from Hodeidah and are now reported to have been taken to Massowah. One of them was released on showing that he was a trader and arrived here to-day with a Turkish doctor.

Reuter wires from Constantinople.—A telegram from Jaffa states that an Italian warship on the 19th instant bombarded Khan Yunis (Syria, close to the Egyptian frontier).

The Moslem League has collected mainly from India a sum of £2,400 sterling for the Red Crescent Fund. Two doctors, a dresser, a dispenser and two male nurses are being sent to Tripoli almost immediately, with equipment as a small field hospital for the relief of the sick and wounded Ottoman combatants.

Renter wires from Vienna:—Count von Arco, Austrian Premier, is reported to be critically ill.

The Press has recently made violent attacks on the Count in connection with his over-friendly attitude towards Italy, and there have been rumours of his resignation.

Reuter wires from Rome:—Herr von Kiderlen-Waechter, German Minister for Foreign Affairs, visited Marquis di San Giuliano, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Signor Giolitti, the Premier. The King on entering the banquet in the evening conferred a high decoration on Herr von Kiderlen-Waechter. Herr von Kiderlen-Waechter has left Rome.

News by the English Mail.

Rome, December 29.

THERE has been a sharp engagement outside Derna. On the morning of the 26th a force under the command of General Delbruno advanced up the Derna river with the object of protecting the engineers who were repairing the aqueduct which supplies the town with water. The column came into contact with a large force of the enemy, who attempted a turning movement against the Italian right. General Capello delivered a counter-attack, and succeeded in driving back the Turks and Arabs. The Italian force then retired to its intrenchments, having lost three killed and 77 wounded.—*Reuter*.

The Ottoman Embassy has received the following official information on the fighting at Tobruk on the 23rd instant:—

"The Commander of the Turkish forces at Tobruk has informed the War Ministry in Constantinople that on December 22 he made a successful attack upon the fortified positions of the enemy. The battle lasted the whole day and night. In spite of the heavy fire of the warships and the forts' batteries, a Turkish detachment obliged the enemy's garrison to retreat and took possession of the fort. Arms, ammunition, machine-guns, stores and one mitrailleuse fell to the Ottoman troops. In their forward movement a Turkish corps succeeded in cutting the retreat of the enemy, who dispersed in the direction of the coast, incurring the loss of three officers and half of their effective, while the total losses on the Turkish side were seven killed and a small number wounded. The valiant Sheikh Merri, who together with his five sons fought at the head of his tribe in amongst the dead, Nedjib Bey, a Turkish lieutenant, was the first to enter the fort. He destroyed the mitrailleuses of the enemy and carried one across to the Turkish camp."

[* * An Italian semi-official statement contradicts the Turkish version of this engagement, and says that the Turks were repulsed with heavy loss.]

Constantinople, December 30.

Pursuing their obstructionist tactics, the Opposition and a group of the independents, by abstaining from attendance at the Chamber, prevented a quorum from being obtained. The proceedings were, therefore, of an informal character. Nevertheless the Grand Vizier, who was accompanied by the entire Cabinet, explained, in a long statement, the proposed modification of the Constitution, which, he said, was necessary for the establishment of a strong Government able to carry out the reforms required by the country. Continuing he quoted a letter to the *Temps*, which stated that if Italy was able to prosecute her African venture successfully, it was because of Turkey's internal quarrels. Mahmud Shevket Pasha, Minister of War, declared in an emphatic manner that no Cabinet to which he belonged would think of striking a blow at the Constitution. Besides, the glorious Ottoman Army was there, the guardian of their liberties. (Applause.) The Grand Vizier and the Ministers then withdrew to deliberate on the situation, and after an absence of an hour the Grand Vizier announced to the Chamber his decision to resign, as he felt that the Government did not possess a sufficient majority. He added that the responsibility for the situation thus created devolved upon the Opposition. Mahmud Shevket Pasha denied the report that an officer of the Adrianople garrison threatened him with death, and added that the report was spread for the purpose of sowing dissension in the Army.—*Reuter*.

(FROM THE "TIMES," OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, January 3.

The Cabinet has been formed without Tahmat Bey, who has declined office for the present. Memduh Bey, Minister of Justice, will act as Minister of the Interior. Emrullah Effendi takes the place of Abdurrahman Sherif as Minister of Education. Sitiyan Efendi becomes Minister of Public Works, and Aristidi Pasha Minister of Mines and Forests. There are no other changes.

Cairo January 3.

In order to preclude the possibility of an eventual demand for an indemnity on the part of Italy the Egyptian Government is continuing to take the most stringent measures for the prevention of the smuggling into Tripoli of arms and ammunition destined for the Turkish forces. With this object the coastguards have been reinforced by a detachment of infantry sent a fortnight ago to Sohail and by police posts have been established all along the coast from Sohail to Alex-

andria, and the western land frontier of Egypt is being carefully watched. The latter task is carried out by swift camel patrols and trackers. In the belief that the Turks might attempt to send contraband of war and small parties of soldiers by way of the Suez Canal, posts have been established along this line as well, and a camel corps detachment and some infantry have been despatched to Ismailia. In all between 500 and 600 men, consisting of coastguards, police, Bedouin trackers, and the troops mentioned, are being employed.

Rome, December 29.

The declarations of Count Aehrenthal before the delegations in Vienna, following as they do the equally friendly manifestations made towards Italy by Count Andrassy, give great satisfaction in Italy, where there is for the present moment no desire to see any weakening of the Triple Alliance. Both the Rome Ministerial newspapers, however, the *Popolo Romano* and the *Tribuna*, while noting the tribute paid by Count Aehrenthal to the good faith of Italy and the sincerity of her attention not to extend the sphere of war, seem disposed to resent a little the supposition that any possible disturbances in the Balkans could be attributable to the struggle in Tripoli. If Balkan complications do ensue the fault will not lie with the Italians, but with the policy of the Committee of Union and Progress, who not only made war inevitable, as far as the Italians were concerned, but have also done nothing since to excite hatred of Turkish rule among all the non-Turkish populations of the Empire. Further, although Italy fully shares Count Aehrenthal's wish that peace may speedily be concluded with honour for both belligerents, the *Tribuna* thinks it right that he should remember that for Italy there can be only one honourable condition of peace, namely, entire and full sovereignty in Tripoli and Cyrenaica such as was formulated in the Royal Decree of November 5.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, December 31.

THE failure of the inter-party negotiations and the resignation of the Cabinet which followed it yesterday came as a surprise. This turn of events appears to be due in part to desertions from the Committee, and in part to a certain misunderstanding between the Grand Vizier and the Committee leaders. As I pointed out in my message of 26th December and as proved by certain passages of his speech addressed to Ottoman public opinion yesterday, Said Pasha from the first resented the readiness of the Committee leaders to discuss alterations in the present Cabinet or the formation of a new Cabinet with representatives of the Opposition. He therefore availed himself of the first good pretext offered to resign office. The lesson was not thrown away upon the Committee party, which decided, at a meeting held last night, to press for his re-appointment to the Grand Vizierate and to render him unswerving obedience and support for the remainder of the Session. This decision, if adhered to, may prove the salvation of the *bloc* which for a variety of reasons is most unwilling to dispense with the present Grand Vizier. But it is now doubtful whether the Committee possesses more than a bare majority, if that, in the Chamber. The Union and Liberty Party with their Greek allies muster nearly 100 votes. The attitude of the eight or nine Armenian Tashtnakist Deputies is doubtful. The failure of their committee to secure the election of their nominee to the Patriarchate has shown them that their recent policy is not altogether favourably viewed by the strong Conservative element among the Armenians and the recent abstention of their Deputies from voting may be a prelude to a change of attitude towards the Committee of Union and Progress, which hitherto as a general rule they have supported. Seven of ten Albanian Deputies belonging to the Committee including Bedri Bey, father of Mazhar Bey, Vahi of Kossovo during the insurrection in 1910, seceded last night and the balance of Parliamentary power seems for the moment to be held by some 25 Independents, mostly Committee insurgents who are supporting the temporary suspension of Parliamentary debates and opposed to any further modification of Article 35. The Committee will doubtless make every endeavour to regain their support, but personal questions are likely to make reunion difficult. A great responsibility now rests on the Sultan, who, I believe, has been advised by the Committee to reappoint Said Pasha as Grand Vizier, with Nessib Effendi, Grand Cadi of Egypt, as Sheikh-ul-Islam. The alternatives are an Opposition Ministry—the composition of which has taxed the imagination of even the local political prophets—and a Cabinet d'Affairs. His Majesty is known to favour the temporary prorogation of Parliament. Reports concerning his attitude towards a dissolution of the Chamber vary. In any case it is well known that he shares the anxiety of every patriotic Ottoman in regard to the present crisis.

(FROM THE "DAILY MAIL" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, December 31.

AT last definite developments have taken place in the Turkish political crisis. Said Pasha yesterday resigned his position as Grand Vizier, because, owing to Opposition obstruction, he was unable to pass the amendment to the Constitution enabling the Sultan to dissolve the Chamber without the approval of the Senate.

27th January.

To-day, the Sultan re-trusted Said Pasha with the formation of a new Cabinet. The Opposition sent a deputation to the Sultan to-day. I happened to be in the Palace when they came. They assured the Sultan that the country was in a desperate condition, and stated that they did not want to interfere with the Imperial Prerogative, but they urged him not to appoint Said Pasha as Grand Vizier again. The Sultan snubbed the deputation with fatherly dignity with the remark that the appointment of the Grand Vizier was his affair.

News from Turkish Sources.

Al-Liwa, December 28.

Our Aden correspondent writes that news received this side from various sources states that the Ottoman Government is endeavouring in a determined fashion to increase its influence and prestige in the Red Sea and is on the lookout for important strategical points. The Vahi of Yemen had asked the Porte to forward some artillery and ammunition to Shaikh Said immediately. Two regiments of infantry and some batteries have been sent.

Mocha news states that a considerable quantity of war materials has been collected there from Taiz and other places, and more than a thousand troops have been concentrated. Arab tribes are also assembling there in thousands. All Italian goods have been rigorously boycotted. In Mocha and Hodeidah everything suspected to be of Italian manufacture is immediately cast away. There is no limit to the enthusiasm and the excitement of the people. All old jealousies have vanished and the one thought of all, whether denizen of the town or dweller of the desert, is to safeguard the Ottoman Caliphate.

CONSIDERABLE light is thrown on the state of affairs in Tripoli by a letter of Osman Fikri of Tripoli which he has written after his leaving Tripoli to *Al-Liwa* and which is published by that journal in its issue of the 7th January. He writes that the Italians rush into mosques and jeer at the prayers. Once a *Muselm* was killed by them as he was intoning the call to the *Zuhr* prayers. Women are forced to go about with uncovered faces on pain of death.

While all this will pain the Mussalmans—except such perhaps as are opposed to the *punish* of Moslem ladies—the following would pain the pro-Italians who sing psalms of praise of Italian courage. Osman Fikri says he is an eye witness of the fact that Italian soldiers are ordered to attack the Turks but refuse to do so and one such soldier was sent to prison in his presence.

Italy has established a court composed, beside of Italians, of Haji Qasim Mirza, formerly an official of the Ottoman Government, Ibrahim Kabir formerly *Musti* of the city and Amin Farqani. The Italian authorities send for the Sheikhs and compel their sons to enlist in their army and whosoever refuses to do so is brought before this Court and sentenced to death.

Some of the prominent Mussalmans of Tripoli who have sold themselves to the Italians include Mustafa bin Qadarsh, the Deputy for Homs in the Turkish Chamber, two former Revenue Officials under the Ottomans, a Municipal Commissioner, a merchant and a poet. Mahmud Shafeeq, the brother of Qarmanli, who was also a high Turkish official is among them, and Sheikh Abdur Rahman, who was the Qazi, has been re-appointed as such by the Italians. These and other less prominent men display Italian medals on their breasts and endeavour to induce Mussalmans to submit to Italy.

Moslem Feeling.

The Committee of Management of the Central National Muhammadan Association of Calcutta held a meeting on the 21st January and passed the following Resolution :

That in view of the profound feeling of indignation at the Italian invasion of Tripoli, in violation of the Law of Nations, which, as the most recent reports coming from the East attest, is not confined to Mussalmans, and of the certainty that a continuance of the conflict will aggravate the bitterness on both sides, and that any extension of hostilities, as has been threatened by Italy, will add to the growing unrest, the Committee of the Central National Muhammadan Association feel it their loyal duty to appeal to their fellow-subjects all over the British Empire to urge upon the Italian Nation to desist, out of regard for their own traditional love of liberty, from the prosecution of the war to subjugate a people, whom they had avowedly gone to liberate from the Turkish yoke, and who have now shown by their determined opposition their repugnance to submit to a rule wholly alien to them by race and religion; and that in any case the Italian Army, in remembrance of their own struggles, should not treat as "rebels" the inhabitants of the invaded country fighting for freedom, or be permitted to destroy their date and olive plantations which supply their chief sustenance.

Al-Liwa states that till the 20th December 78,879 guineas had been collected by the Red Crescent Society of Cairo. Collections in the neighbouring districts are not included in this amount. The Alexandria Fund, for which the 24th instalment is being collected, is also excluded. An earlier issue states that "during the last week single Provincial Branch of the Red Crescent Society has collected 8,413 guineas."

Al-Liwa states that in appreciation of the affection and sincerity of regard towards Prince Zia-ud-Din shown by H.H. the Khedive during the former's visit to Egypt, H.I.M. the Sultan sent to the Khedive a special *firman* expressive of his great satisfaction together with a valuable portrait of himself. The portrait is an object of art, the Sultan's name being inset in the Kufi characters in diamonds. The whole frame is formed out of precious stones skilfully pieced together and has the Turkish Crown in diamonds and rubies at the top.

Al-Tarayyib, the Arabic journal published in Constantinople, states in its issue of 18th December that the Red Crescent Society's party from Egypt with medical stores and necessary equipment and a body of medical men had reached the seat of war. One of the earliest discoverers of the Dum-Dum bullets used by the Italians was a member of this party, and thus the rumours carried from the seat of war and denied from Rome have been fully confirmed. Sixty members of this Society from Egypt are at present working on the field. It is difficult to praise their enthusiasm and love adequately.

Al-Liwa publishes in its issue of the 19th December the telegraphic communications that have passed between Abdul Aziz Saood, the Amir of Najd, H.I.M. the Sultan, the Grand Vizier, the Minister of the Interior, and the War Minister, showing the readiness of the Chief of Najd to serve the Caliphate with men and money and the Sultan's appreciation of his offer, together with the War Minister's promise of acceptance should necessity arise.

Bombardment of the Hospitals.

Mr. Alan Ostler, the Special Correspondent of the *Express*, who is with the Turk and Arab force at Ain Zara writes from that place under date of 25th November.

Hitherto the truth about Tripoli has been sedulously kept by the Italian censors from reaching Europe; and I believe that since the news of that hideous massacre of women and children leaked out nothing has been known.

But though that massacre—I could add a score of almost incredible details to those already made known—though that massacre is Italy's most revolting crime against civilisation, it is by no means the only one.

The Italians have bombarded our hospitals here, although the white flag flies from the roofs. This is not done in ignorance. Bombs have been deliberately dropped on them from aeroplanes; and the Italian gunners, having watched the hurried transference of sick and wounded from one hospital to another, have intentionally made a target of the new shelter.

They have flatly refused to allow any medical stores to reach the Turkish army. Our doctors have not enough drugs or surgical instruments, and bandages have to be improvised from strips of clothing. Our sick and wounded—among them an English officer, who has lain in bed for six weeks with dysentery—are suffering for want of proper attention. The Italians know it, and have refused the application made to them for permission to pass medical stores through to the Turks.

The Bay of Sollum.

THE western boundary of Egypt was authoritatively shown in a map sent by the Sultan to the famous Khedive, Mehemet Ali in 1841. This map was accidentally burnt and the Turks refuse to produce their copy of it which would settle a dispute that subsequently arose as to where that boundary actually lies. Desultory negotiations on the point have been in progress between the Egyptian and Turkish Governments since 1904. Britain has always contended that Sollum was within Egyptian territory. The Turks said Ras-el-Kanais was the border.

When the Tripoli war broke out, Italy proclaimed a blockade of the coast as far as Ras-el-Kanais. The Egyptian Government objected and Italy acknowledged a "geographical error," and fixed the limit of her operations at the westward of Sollum Bay. The Turks have now ceded the disputed territory to Egypt until the termination of the war.

The importance of Sollum Bay to Egypt is this.—Tobruk to the west of it has a good harbour which, if Tripoli eventually falls to Italy, could be made a powerful naval base, from which the Powers of the Triple Alliance could threaten the Eastern Mediterranean. The Bay of Sollum provides a much finer harbour than Tobruk, and its possession by Egypt deprives the latter of its strategic value.—*Times of India*.

Very erroneous descriptions of the Bay of Sollum, which has recently been occupied by the Egyptian Government, have appeared in some of the Home papers. It has been called "an excellent port" and "a potential naval base," while one journal wrote of it as "the finest harbour in these parts." All this is nonsense. Sollum is not a port at all but an anchorage, offering shelter only from westerly winds in seven or eight fathoms. Its value lies in the fact that it is the nearest point on the Mediterranean to the Siwah oasis, and is the sea end of the most direct route along a string of oases to the Soudan. Sollum has also been described as close to Tobruk, which is also misleading, as there is a good hundred miles of coast between them. Tobruk is a more important anchorage and would be of great value in any struggle for naval supremacy in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean. In 1801 the French Admiral, Gauthier, saved his squadron by putting into Tobruk, of which the British officers, according to Rear-Admiral Smyth, who surveyed the coast in the early part of the last century, were "utterly ignorant." Tobruk, however, as we have pointed out, is a long way from the Egyptian frontier.—*Statesman*.

A puzzling arrangement has been reached between Turkey and Egypt in regard to the extreme eastern strip of the Tripoli Coast, some two hundred miles long. It is important chiefly because of the good, deep-water roadstead at Sollum. Egypt has always contended that this territory was part of the Vilayet of Egypt granted to Mehemet Ali and his descendants. The dispute has never been settled, nor even seriously pressed, and the map accompanying the firman of 1841, if it ever was drawn, has been lost. Turkey now makes over this region to Egypt to be occupied temporarily during the war, subject to final settlement at its close. No authoritative explanation is forthcoming. There is apparently some anger in Italy, but only among the less well-informed.

Italy had already partly allowed the claim of Egypt by withdrawing this bit of coast-line from the blockade. Turkey, presumably, is glad to diminish the eventual gain of Italy. Italy, on the other hand, may well have consented from the first to pay blackmail in return for a free hand to carry out her brigandage. France, by a parallel movement, has occupied the disputed oasis of Djane, which the Turks had so long defended against her. It is generally assumed that Egypt and Great Britain are in this contest on identical terms, and that we are interested in Sollum as a possible naval base. Malta one would have thought sufficient! It may be useful to remember that the Khedive is very largely interested in a light railway scheme to serve this whole region between Cyrenaica and Alexandria.—*Nation*.

A great deal of ink has been wasted in the newspapers over the despatch to Sollum of a small Egyptian force to reinforce the coastguards who are there engaged in preventing the smuggling of arms into Cyrenaica. A portion of the German Press has made a gallant effort to represent it as a move against Italy and as an attempt to extend the borders of Egypt at the expense of the territory annexed but not yet conquered by the Italians. In this they have failed, as they were bound to fail Italy, by excluding Sollum and the coast to the east of Sollum from the area of the naval blockade it established at the beginning of the war, recognised that it was Egyptian territory and not included in the provinces to which she laid claim. As the Egyptian force was sent to Sollum by arrangement with the Porte, which withdrew the small Turkish guard originally stationed there, attempts to excite feeling in Turkey have been equally fruitless. The territory in question has always been claimed as Egyptian by the Egyptian Government, and though at times the Porte has tried to maintain that the frontier was much further to the east at Ras el Kanair, it has never seriously resisted the Egyptian claims. The duty of preventing the contraband trade in arms has made it necessary to establish a frontier post there as at other places. The generosity has been recognised both by the Italians and the Turks, and the attempts of third parties to make mischief out of it may be safely disregarded.—*Near East*.

Paris, December 22.

The *Temps* this evening discusses the comments which the Egyptian occupation of Sollum have excited in Germany, Italy and elsewhere. The special reasons which have rendered this action more than ever necessary in view of the campaign in Tripoli are recognised, and the British explanations are accepted here as they appear to have been accepted in Italy. It is acknowledged that the occupation does not constitute a new departure, and that, far from being directed against Italy, it is calculated to limit, if not altogether to suppress, the Turkish contraband arms traffic in Cyrenaica. In French opinion the incident, out of which mischief-makers have endeavoured to make capital, has served to proclaim afresh the friendship between England and Italy.

According to the same journal the situation of the oasis of Djane in French territory is so indisputable that its occupation by French troops can scarcely be made the subject of an exchange of views with Italy.

The Salonica Congress of 1911.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT LATELY IN SALONIKA)

The decisions of the annual Congress of the Committee of Union and Progress, held at Salonika in 1910, were published in The Times on October 3. Although the Congress of 1911, which sat at Salonika from September 30 to October 10, occupied itself with the consideration of numerous questions, some details of which are already known, the subjects to which the Assembly must have devoted most of its attention seem to have little connexion with the decisions already published. An account of the intimate discussions of the latest Assembly of the Committee, which reached me from a trustworthy source, is therefore of peculiar interest. The importance of the document is increased because, whilst the ideas of the Committee are shown to have been modified in some respects, the determination of the leaders of this still important organization to maintain the specially privileged position occupied by the Turks in Turkey is as apparent as ever. Moreover, most of the decisions by which the Congress seems to have desired to make a demonstration of its change of policy—a change brought about by recent events—are counterbalanced by others in a way which proves that concessions granted in one direction are to be rendered valueless by regulations made in another.

The Congress decided that religious associations must not interfere in politics. But the Moslem population must be convinced that the Constitution is not in contravention of the Sacred Law; while more intelligent and sympathetic methods must be employed for spreading the use of the Turkish language among the non-Moslem elements of the population. Small Governmental offices would have to be filled by Christians who knew the Turkish language, but such posts as that of Vali or Muressarif must always be occupied by Turks. At the same time, a Christian might be nominated as Vali of one province in order to prove that the Government is not anti-Christian. For the present the disarmament of Christians must be discontinued, because its prolongation causes too much disturbance. The authorities must, however, carefully ascertain where the Christians are in possession of arms and where they are not. The Moslem population must be armed, and Turkish bands should be secretly employed for the pursuit of Christian bands and for the extermination of people who are in communication with revolutionaries. For the present the settlement of Muhajirs in Turkey by the Government should be discontinued, but if immigrants wish to instal themselves in Turkey they should be shown districts in which they can live. The attitude of the party headed by Sadik Bey has given the Congress cause for anxiety since it has been encouraging the Ottoman Christians, while its policy is to be on good terms with the Balkan States.

It was decided that the attitude of the Committee towards the Albanian question should be changed. In future Albanians ought to be allowed to use their language in the schools and to have books in the Albanian (Latin) characters. Whilst, too, the Koran and other religious books must always be printed with the Arabic characters, the Albanians could have a transliteration of their religious books printed in a parallel column with the Arabic version. Numbers of Khojas must, however, be sent to Albania with the object of opening schools, popularizing the Arabic letters, and spreading a knowledge of Turkish history amongst the Albanians. The separation of the Rumanians and of the Orthodox Albanians in Epirus and in Thessaly from the Greek Church should be favoured, and a hatred of the Greeks and of the Greek Church should be fostered among the Albanians. Prayers must be allowed to be said and sermons to be preached in Albanian in the Orthodox churches.

Although the Sublime Porte had promised to grant to all Albanians the same concessions as those promised to the Malissori, the Committee considered that the Government ought not to act hastily in this matter. In principle all Albanians should be allowed to carry arms; but only those who have themselves purchased arms should be in practice allowed to carry them, and only when it is considered necessary for the defence of the country.

A Congress of delegates, summoned from all the Moslem countries of the world, ought to meet annually in Constantinople, to discuss questions of interest to the Moslem world. Branches of the Committee should be formed in all Moslem countries, especially in Russia and in Persia. The Muhammadans of Russia ought to be persuaded to make revolutionary propaganda among Russian soldiers. As many Tartars as possible should be induced to become members of the seven branches of the Committee which already exist in Russia. Efforts should be made to bring about an understanding between Persia and Turkey, with the ultimate object of effecting a political and economical union between the two countries. The Turks in Bulgaria and in Bosnia and Herzegovina, who should be advised not to emigrate, should be organized in such a way that they would be in touch with the Committee of Union and Progress. Large numbers of Turkish boys from Bulgaria ought to be educated in Turkey and subsequently sent back as masters to the Bulgarian schools. Schools must be opened with the object of pushing the Turkish

language among the Pomaks (Moslem Bulgarians) in the hope of making them forget the Bulgarian language. Turkish teachers should be also sent to Bosnia and Herzegovina and attempts made to persuade the Turks in these provinces not to favour the Servian aspirations and to learn German rather than Servian in the Schools.

The Congress unanimously decided that, although the loss would not be material but only moral, Tripoli could not in any circumstances be ceded to Italy—if Italy does not abandon it, the war must be continued indefinitely. Great sacrifices must be made to increase the efficiency of the Army and to create a Fleet. For this latter purpose the taxes throughout the Empire ought to be doubled for four years. This increased rate of taxation would produce every year £T 5,000,000. In four years, therefore, a sum of £T. 20,000,000 would be available for the creation of the Fleet. War with Greece was still possible, because the Hellenic Government had not renounced its aspirations in Crete and in Epirus, and might utilize the present occasion to press her claims. Turkey must therefore be prepared for war. One section of the delegates considered that, had Turkey declared war against Greece two years ago, the rebellions in Albania and in the Yemen would not have taken place. Under these circumstances good relations should be cultivated with the Bulgarians, who might be granted some concessions in certain districts. Many delegates thought that Servia and Montenegro had come to some agreement about the future status of the Sanjak of Novi Bazar and of Albania. For this reason an understanding between Austria and Turkey ought to be favoured. In spite of this, owing to the outbreak of the present war, a section of the Committee thought that it would be better for Turkey to establish good relations with the Powers of the Triple Entente. Nevertheless, it would not be opportune to break with Germany.

The Congress condemned the policy of Hakkı Pasha, and wished to hand the ex-Grand Vizier over to be tried, because the delegates felt that by being on good terms with the Triple Alliance the Turkish Government had indirectly furthered the annexation of Tripoli by Italy. At the same time many delegates felt uncertain whether England would guarantee the present *status quo* in European Turkey and in Asia Minor if the Ottoman Government decided definitely to ally itself with the Powers of the Triple Entente.

Hadjı Adil Bey, the President of the Committee, stated in his speech that the Committee had founded two normal schools, besides opening numerous primary schools and creating literary and scientific institutions. Much had been done to effect the improvement of the educational system provided for Turkish girls. The Committee had supplied money for the publication of many scientific, agricultural, and religious books. Within the Committee a *succursa* had been created for sending young men to Europe and for providing them with information on various subjects which they can utilize in society and in the Press. The President considered that the decisions of the Congress should facilitate the union of the various elements of the Committee, whose members should not endeavour to preserve conservatism by fanaticism because by so doing they would increase the already existing desire for decentralization in the country. He denied that the Committee has acted in opposition to the traditions of Islam or sympathized with Freemasonry.

The Congress resolved that administrative decentralization or any form of local autonomy would be against the interests of the State. The inspection of non-Moslem schools by Government inspectors must be continued. The Government should settle some of its disputes with the Patriarchate and recognize some of its at present contested rights. The number of primary schools for girls should be increased, and a certain sum should be allowed in the Budget of each vilayet for elementary education. Large numbers of Christian boys should be educated at the expense of the Government.

As I have already said, some of the decisions are framed in a slightly more liberal spirit than prevailed last year; but it is clear that the Committee has decided to pursue to the last a policy of assimilating the subject races. The Young Turks have not yet learnt that, in order successfully to accomplish the very difficult task which they have undertaken, it is necessary not only to promise equality, fraternity, and justice to their non Moslem fellow-countrymen, but also to give to them and to Europe some proof that endeavours are really being made eventually to fulfil these promises.

Party Politics in Turkey.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople.

To take the events of the week *scrutinum*, Said's proposals for the modification of the Constitution have received the official benison of the Salonika Committee, and have been laid before the Parliamentary Committee for the revision of the Constitution. The Committee has Ismail Hakkı Babanzadé as its chairman. Nearly two-thirds of its members are deputies of the *blk*, and there can be no manner of doubt that it will pronounce in favour of the modification. Then the struggle will begin. Said can hardly hope to obtain a two-

thirds majority in the Chamber, still less in the Senate. The Upper House will have to be packed by the creation of puppet Senators, and short of a *coup d'état* one does not see how Parliament can be dissolved or prorogued without a Constitutional crisis. Meantime confusion has been worse confounded by the introduction of the question of the "djournals." I have referred to this important question in previous letters. The *Tanin* has threatened the Opposition with their publication, and it is believed that the local leaders of the Committee were inclined to advocate this measure a few days ago. The Opposition countered by accusing Said Pasha and others of delation, and Barış Bey, Deputy for Dibra, gave notice of a motion accusing the Grand Vizier of having helped the ex-Sultan to destroy the Midhatian Constitution, and of having sent anti-Constitutional reports to the Palace. Said did not wait for the motion to be discussed. On Wednesday he appeared before the Chamber and read his "secret report" to the ex-Sultan, which was not a "djurnal" (secret denunciation) but a "laiba" (report written in answer to a question from the Sultan). The story can be summed up in a few lines. Ismail Kemal Bey had written a memorial to Sultan Abdul Hamid urging the restoration of the Midhatian Constitution. The autocrat studied this document and sent a High Court official to Said Pasha with a request for a report on the subject. Said simply replied that he did not consider that Turkey was ready for Constitutional Government. So far so good. What Said Pasha averred in 1900 many other Turks repeated till three years ago. But in continuing his defence the Grand Vizier made a grave error in reading two reports: one by a Palace official who informed the Sultan that Kiamil Pasha, asked for his opinion // Ismail Kemal's memorial, expressed the conviction that the country would not be ripe for a constitution for a century: the other written by Kiamil in the early days of his Grand Viziership in 1908, in which, while abstaining from any expression of confidence in the Constitutional panacea, he called Abdul Hamid's attention to the activity of the revolutionary forces in Turkey, and warned him that any failure to satisfy the demands of the Young Turks might have dangerous consequences, given the temper of the people. This was all harmless enough; what annoyed the House was Said's obvious attempt to save himself by pointing out that his former scepticism as to the chances of Constitutional Government in Turkey had been no greater than that of his rival.

It was at this moment that Mahmud Shevket Pasha did his best to place the discussion on a more dignified footing. He warned the Chamber in impressive language against the dangers of disunion. Neither Muslem nor Christian could gain anything from a policy of personalities and recriminations. Internecine strife would open the door to the enemy. The Christian would find that neither his language nor his schools would be respected by the invader; while the Moslem would see himself reduced to the status of a mere client. Morocco and Persia were object lessons to all who could read the signs of the times. As for the "djournals," those which had been made use of "for purposes of blackmail" had been stolen before the appointment of a special Commission to examine these documents, and during the confusion which followed the occupation of Constantinople by his troops. "I am not," continued the Minister, "in favour of the publication of these documents. If this is done it will be almost impossible for us to find any honest men to carry on the work of Government." He added that he had refused to expel officers guilty of delation in the past from the Army. He believed in giving them a chance of "starting fresh" and proving their worth under happier conditions.

The Chamber did not indulge in much applause of the War Minister's speech, but many of his shafts went home, and for the last three days we have heard less of the "djurnal" question than at any time in the last three weeks. His appeal on behalf of union has been taken seriously by the Albanian Nationalist deputies and by a group of Independents, who have urged the two parties to come to at least a temporary arrangement with regard to the Constitutional question. The Union and Liberty group and its rival have appointed delegates, who are now discussing the situation with the object of arriving at a compromise. So many efforts on behalf of internal peace have failed during the last two years that one cannot but feel somewhat sceptical as to the outcome of this inter-party conference, yet it is to be hoped that at the last moment the leaders on each side will recognise that further strife will inevitably provoke a crisis. A repetition of the events of 13th to 24th April might be the end of Turkey in Europe.

Press Opinion.

The "Tanin."

(SPECIALLY TRANSLATED FOR THE COMRADE.)

For some days past, rumours of peace have been in the air. In introducing his proposals for the modification of the Constitution, the Grand Vizier had said that among other things, during the time of war, it would expedite matters if Parliament were to be dissolved and Government saved from constant intervention.

A wrong interpretation has been given to the words of the Grand Vizier which have in certain quarters been considered as conveying a meaning favourable to peace. As if the Turkish Government was ready to enter into peace *pourparlers*! The fact was that the Grand Vizier only mentioned it as one of the arguments in favour of his proposal in a general way. To make the matter clear the *Agence Ottomane* has given an emphatic denial to the rumour.

In spite of this denial some telegrams from Europe still speak of probable speedy termination of hostilities. It is not impossible that currency may have been given to the rumour by Italians who are likely to be benefited by it. The prolongation of the war is causing a serious drain to the Italian finances and the situation at home in Italy is giving rise to anxiety. The Italian Parliament has not yet been summoned. The rumour of probable peace is therefore likely to placate public opinion in Italy. On our part, it would be a great mistake, we believe, to think of peace at this juncture. We shall not be far wrong if we declare that from our point of view the war in Tripoli has almost not yet begun. For the war with a handful of Turkish regulars supplemented by thousands of Arab *mujahids* will not be decided on the ground covered by the guns of Italian warships. Our enemies will encounter inland an opposition based on a plan of resistance for years. It took the Italians more than two months to occupy the stretch of ground which the strong guns of their men-of-war could pound. The interior of Tripoli, that is to say, the whole of Tripoli and Fezzan, is still Ottoman to-day, and stands determined to fight to remain so for ever.

The latest telegrams show that the Italians who last ventured out a little into the open beyond Ain Zara received a terrible chastisement and had at last to retire with severe losses. Had these telegrams come from Ottoman sources, some exaggeration could perhaps be attributed to them. But we cannot doubt the truth of the reports since they emanate from the correspondent of the *Temps*, who has never been known to be guilty of the least exaggeration in our favour. An enemy, who has to beat a precipitate retreat after sustaining a loss of 400 or 500 killed as soon as it dares out of Ain Zara a little to the south—what fate will it meet, it may well be conceived, if it happens to penetrate say a few hundred kilometres into the interior? It would be senseless for us to talk of peace now, when all expectations of our greatest successes depend on the war being prolonged and taking place in the interior, when the events are exceeding our expectations and the longer the hostilities continue, the more buoyant we are getting. At such time surely we do not wish even to hear of peace being discussed. War! war to the knife, war to the bitter end. With all our might, with all our determination War! This alone is the creed that will save Tirabas-ul-Gharb for us.

The event of the greatest import that has happened during the last few days in connection with the war is the annexation of Sollum—which had been under diplomatic dispute so far—by the Government of the Khedive—temporarily or permanently. What effect this will have on the trend of events it is possible at the present moment to foretell. So much cannot be denied that the situation has taken on a new complexion. It would not matter much if the question of Sollum remained where it is. But will not other questions be out of it, affecting the attitude of neutrality professed by the rest powers with regard to Tripoli? As we have said, it is impossible to vouchsafe any answer to this question at present. Is it not full of meaning that the question can be put at all?

A phase full of meaning, is also the present state of the question of Crete. The Cretans have resolved in an explicit manner to elect Deputies to represent them in the Greek Chamber of Deputies at Athens. They elect their Deputies and proceed to send them. In what manner the protecting Powers have frustrated their attempts is known to our readers. The attitude of the Hellenic Government with regard to it is that if the Deputies were to arrive they would not be admitted. So long as this contumacious attitude is maintained we are not apprehensive of any cause of difference arising between the Ottoman and the Hellenic Governments, and we hope and pray the Government at Athens will continue in this unpartisan attitude, for otherwise a cause of tremendous difference will be created, and necessarily the tranquillity and harmony in the Balkans, already strained, will be disturbed.

The "Near East."

From the field of war there is little of importance to chronicle. After the check they suffered at Bis Tobras the Italians in Tripoli appear seem in no hurry to advance further inland, and are busy fortifying their advanced post at Ain Zara. In Cyrenaica, where the Turkish and Arab forces are commanded by Enver Bey, the invaders have made no progress at all but have been kept off the defensive in the coast towns well within the range of the protective fire of their war vessels. Although they have now an army of 50,000 men squatting on the coast equipped with very modern war appliances, including aeroplanes and dirigibles, and are fully supported by a mere handful of regular Turkish troops, concentrated in an army of thousand tributaries without any real organi-

sation, any artillery or transport worth mentioning, and most of them armed with obsolete weapons, the Italians have not yet even begun to attempt the conquest of the two provinces. In the Italian Press the military critics, who are evidently as ignorant as the rest of us of what, if any, are the plans of the Government, are busy discussing the next stage of the campaign. The *Tribuna* suggests that there should be no advance into the interior, and that the Italians should content themselves with holding the coast towns and waiting till economic pressure drives the Arabs into submission. On the other hand, a writer in the *Corriere della Sera* hints that there will be a general advance within the next few weeks, carried out by a combination of railway construction, camel transport, and the pushing forward of advance posts to become bases for further advances. The *Tribuna* wisely refrains from discussing the effect upon public opinion in Italy of the inglorious course it proposes, or the demoralisation that would scarcely fail to set in among an army of 80,000 men when they found that their chiefs did not dare to lead them against an enemy immeasurably inferior to them in numbers and equipment. We are doubtful, too, of the efficacy of the economic pressure on which the *Tribuna* relies to make good the military miscalculation of the Italian Government. For some years past the trade of the Tripoli Hinterland has been deserting the northern routes in favour of those to Nigeria and the West Coast, and the economic effect of sitting still in the coast towns would more probably be to ruin the trade of Tripoli and other places than to drive the Arabs into submission. But it must not be forgotten that the Italian garrisons would like the Spaniards in Morocco to be constantly exposed to attacks. The more courageous course recommended in the *Corriere della Sera* would mean the beginning of a real war, and almost certainly, as Field-Marshal von der Goltz thinks, a long and obstinate one.

Proceedings in the Austrian and Hungarian Delegations have been of more than usual interest, following as they have done on the open quarrel on matters of foreign policy between the Foreign Minister and the late Chief of the Staff, Baron Conrad von Hoetzendorf, who was evidently very strongly backed. On the whole Count Aehrenthal, who has been accused of excessive friendliness towards Italy and of insufficient cordiality towards Germany, may be satisfied with the attitude of the Delegates. The Hungarians gave him their whole hearted support, and though the Austrians were not so uncritical they ended by granting the Government a four months' vote on account. One result has been to check the Press campaign against Count Aehrenthal and against Italy. The debates have, however, not given complete satisfaction in Italy, where, from the beginning of the war, every reference to it has been resented that has recognised any point of view but the Italian. Count Aehrenthal avowed his confidence "in the good faith of the Italians and the sincerity of their intention not to extend the theatre of operations. But he seemed to fear that their action might lead to trouble in the Balkans, and regretted that he had been unable to find a suitable basis for peace. This has been quite sufficient to arouse Italian susceptibilities, and the Italian newspapers abound in native protestations. Italy, they exclaim, is quite willing to make peace—on condition that she receives, in full sovereignty, the two provinces she has "annexed," but has, so far, as we have already pointed out, failed even to begin to conquer. If the Turks will not surrender them they must be regarded as the real disturbers of the peace and held responsible for all the consequences that may ensue. If Count Aehrenthal really wished for peace he would bring pressure on the Porte to force it to consent to the dismemberment of the Empire. The fable of the lamb and the wolf never had a better illustration in international politics.

We doubt very much whether these childish outbursts reflect at all accurately the feelings of the responsible statesmen in Italy. They must by this time have realised that the adventure into which they plunged their country is far more serious and more dangerous than they bargained for. We have no doubt that they would gladly make peace if they could see a way of making it compatible with Italian prestige. The Porte, we imagine, is in the same disposition, and it is certainly confronted with the same difficulty. Among the European Powers there is an ardent wish to see peace restored before the spring, and renewed attempts at mediation may be expected in the near future. The Turks, who, both in the Austro-Bulgarian *coup* of 1908 and in the present case, have been shamefully treated by Europe, cannot fairly be expected to be guided by any consideration save that of their own interests. None the less, they would, we are convinced, do well to make considerable concessions to conclude peace. The honours of the war have been almost consistently on their side; but the isolated handful of men in Tripoli can scarcely hope to prolong their resistance indefinitely. The campaign of outrage and provocation conducted by the Bulgarian internal organisation in Macedonia is only one sign that the enemies of Turkey are preparing to raise the Macedonian question on the earliest possible occasion. The Balkan Governments, correct as their attitude has hitherto been, would regard the raising of that question while Turkey was at war with a European Power as a heaven-sent opportunity. The attitude of Austria-Hungary is ambiguous, and in Sofia the development of the internal situation is being followed with a keen and certainly not friendly interest.

27th January.



تھنہ سال نو
حشت جان را مہوری
گریموں کے واسطے ریکارڈ
بنائے ہیں

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اپنے مفتیر کر لے سے سخت لفڑی ہے
اور اسپ بہنیاں ہر اس لے میں
اپنے آپ کو ان موالع سے علیحدہ رکھا
کہ جب محض شیرت کا حامل کرو
لایافت آسان تھا — تو یہ تسیلیم کرو
یو ٹکے "ہز ماسٹرنس وائنس" —
کمال اس نے لطیف کی ترقی میں
حاصل کیا ہے کہ جس لے اس
کافی رالی کو اس امر کا بلین دلا
کہ مرد گریموں کو بھئی لعینہ
ہی اس کی نادر — حمین اور
غیرین آواز کو مدد اس لے کمال
جن موسیقی کے متعین اور مطابق
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اور جس کارتن کے بغیر اس کا لے
والی کو منظور لہ تھا کہ اس کی
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کس مفہیں کے ذریعہ سے پہلک لک
پہنچے — صرف اس امر کے بلین
لے کہ دیکارڈ اس کی نازک خیالی —
کام پلٹون کی ترکیبیں — مرنگیاں
اور پہنچے — ہوت اور آپ نے
مورثی کی تھر دان دلیاے سامنے
اس طرح پیش کریا جس طریقے
وہ خود کا اس کو اس بادا
پور رفائد کیا ہے کہ وہ دیکارڈ
بنائے — ہم کو کامل بخوبی کے پہلک
اس آواز اور کا لے سے بیجھے مسرور
ہو گئی اور ہم کو نوری نوری ہوا
اس مخفی وہانشائی کی ملوگی۔

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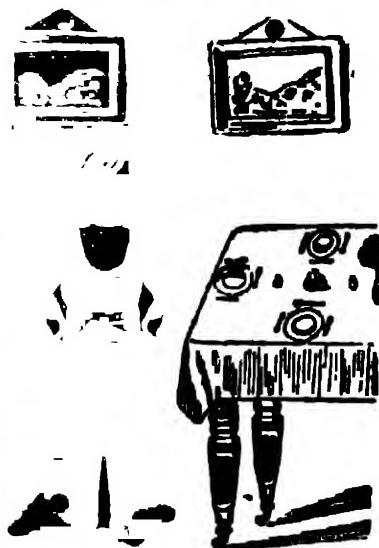
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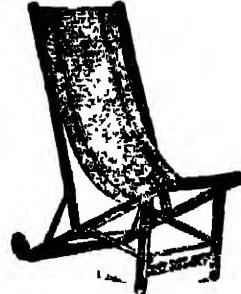
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Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 5. Anna 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, February 3, 1912.

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take place in Belfast and reaffirms his intention to hold it there. Mr. Redmond, in a newspaper article, ridicules "the insolent bluff of Orangemen and the noisy minority of Protestants in Ulster," and says that Englishmen will be fools if they allow themselves to be diverted by stupid, hollow and unpatriotic bellowings, from the great policy of binding Ireland to the Empire. Lord Londonderry, replying to the letter of Mr. Churchill with reference to the Belfast meeting, says the main objection of the Ulster Unionist Council is removed if the meeting is held outside those districts which passionately resent Mr. Churchill's action. The strongly deprecate any attempt to interfere with Council would the meeting, but in view of the intense feeling that has been aroused it cannot accept any responsibility with reference to the visit. Mr. Winston Churchill replying to Lord Londonderry's letter of the 26th January disclaims any idea of offending the Protestants of Ireland whose interests, he says, are the deep concern of every Government and must be respected by all who strive to reconcile Ireland and the Empire. Mr. Churchill is confident that unless a riot is organised, nothing untoward will happen. Mr. Churchill emphasizes that he has nothing to do with the selection of Ulster Hall for the holding of a meeting, the Hall being taken by the Belfast Liberals after other proposals had failed. Mr. Churchill declares he is not connected with any arrangements for the meeting but merely consented to fulfil an old promise to address Ulster Liberal. Therefore the Unionist Council is seeking to fasten a quarrel on him on grounds of offence when no offence was intended. As regards the maintenance of public order, Mr. Churchill invited no assurance from Lord Londonderry but said he relied on law and the sense of justice of the citizens of Belfast.

It is officially announced that the demonstrations at which Mr. Churchill will speak will be held on the afternoon of 8th February on the football ground of the Belfast Celtic Club which is in the centre of the Nationalist quarter.

The Duke of Abercorn has written to the Ulster Unionist Council saying he is in full accord with the Council's decision regarding Mr. Winston Churchill and hoping the Council's efforts will not be relaxed till after 8th February. His Grace adds that the trick attempted to be played on the Unionists has signally failed.

The Liberals having been refused six halls for the holding of the meeting on 8th February have chosen the football ground. A marquee will be erected which will accommodate five thousand persons. There will be a procession of thirty thousand, headed by four hundred torchbearers and fifteen bands. The choice of the locality is regarded as easing the situation but the authorities in Belfast have requisitioned troops in case of any emergency.

IT is stated that the Belfast Unionists have arranged to hold a meeting simultaneously with Mr. Churchill's on the agricultural show ground on 8th February.

After the meeting at Belfast Mr. Churchill will proceed the same evening to Scotland to carry out various naval inspections.

Mr. Bonar Law.

Mr. Bonar Law speaking at Albert Hall said there were signs that the country had had enough of the Government. It had been a long time but the turning was visible. Failure and incompetence, he went on, had marked every step of the Government's

The Week.

Duke of Fife.

The Duke of Fife died at Assuan in Egypt at 6 o'clock on the evening of the 29th ultimo from pleurisy and congestion of the lungs, the result of a chill.

New Rule.

The Unionists have decided to hold a concert in the Ulster Hall on 7th February.

The Secretary of the Belfast Liberals had a prolonged conference with Mr. Churchill and other prominent Liberals at Downing Street on the 24th January. No statement as to the proceedings has been issued. The Master of Elibank will accompany Mr. Churchill to speak at Belfast. Mr. Redmond, Lord Pirrie and Mr. Devlin will also attend the meeting.

In connection with his visit to Belfast Mr. Churchill has notified the Harbour Board of his intention to inspect the harbour on 8th February. The Board has decided to inform Mr. Churchill that the date is not convenient. Mr. Churchill has written to Lord Londonderry deciding that it is his duty to keep his promise to the Ulster Liberals and to assert right of free speech at public meetings, just as the main objections of Lord Londonderry and his friends are directed against the holding of a meeting in the Ulster Hall. Mr. Churchill offered to hold a meeting elsewhere. Mr. Churchill's letter to Lord Londonderry refers to the very direct personal responsibility which will fall on Lord Londonderry if there is any serious rioting in Belfast on 8th February. Mr. Churchill says it has been a matter of importance to public libertarians that the meeting should

3rd February,

progress. National expenditure in six years had increased by forty millions yearly. A political spoils system had been created rivalling that of the United States. The Government had hitherto been busy preparing the machinery of destruction which would be brought into operation this year. The Unionists of England and Scotland, he said, meant to support the loyal Ulstermen to the end because their claims were just. If the Union leaders showed hesitation on the subject of Tariff Reform, continued Mr. Law, they would shatter the party. Unionist Free Traders must choose between Tariff Reform and "Lloyd Georgeism."

Mr. Bonar Law's speech is regarded as the strongest and most fighting Conservative speech for years. He affirmed that the idea that the members of the Government were unusually competent was a delusion. Only in electioneering and in the small trickery of politics were they competent. The Government was playing Faust to Mr. Redmond's Mephistopheles. He dwelt on Mr. Haldane's failure, emphasizing that the weapons of the Army were utterly inferior to those of other nations. This was a handicap that no courage could overcome. Mr. Bonar Law refused to join in what he described as the senseless attack on Sir Edward Grey. We had drifted to the verge of war because the speeches of Cabinet Ministers had caused foreigners to believe that Britain would never assert her rights by force. France had gained all the ill-will. Mr. Lloyd George's speech at the Mansion House, perhaps, saved us from war, but it had created an amount of ill-will in Germany which it would take years, perhaps generations, to live down.

China.

News from China is still vague and unsatisfactory. It is reported that the English Consul refuses to recognise or treat with the General in command. Whatever disturbances there are, they however do not materially diminish trade between the two countries. Large caravans arrive and depart every day or so. Importation of salt has been forbidden but there is brisk trade in articles of exchange.

Reuter wires from Tokio on the 25th January.—A Chinese Republican Envoy has arrived here to secure Japan's recognition of the Republic. A motion on the subject was introduced in the Diet and evoked much difference of opinion. The debate was adjourned. It is semi-officially stated that Japan is at present not prepared to recognise the Republic. Messrs. Okura and Co. have contracted with the Chinese insurgents to negotiate a loan.

Reuter wires from Tokio on the 27th.—Foreign Minister, in reply to an interpellation to-day, denied that the Government had pressed the maintenance of the monarchy upon China. The observations he continued, which the Japanese Minister in Peking had made to Yuan-Shi-Kai were merely an expression of his personal views. An animated debate followed which led to a lively passage of arms between the Minister and the Progressive party. The discussion was so stormy that it was decided to continue the sitting with closed doors.

Reuter wires from Shanghai on the 27th January.—The Peace negotiations show an unexpected improvement.

Sun-Yat-Sen has telegraphed to Yuan-Shi-Kai in the most friendly terms, clearing up the recent misunderstandings. An Edict is expected to be issued before the 29th when the armistice ends. Sharp fighting is in progress at Suchoufoo, the headquarters of General Chang-hsun.

Reuter wires from Berlin on the 27th January.—The authorities at Kiauchau have been instructed to retain 500 men with officers from the garrison of Tsintau and Tientsin, who should be relieved at the end of February. This measure is due to the unsettled situation in China, which it is stated may necessitate further measures of protection for German subjects. This will obviate the despatch of reinforcements from Germany.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 29th January.—Wutiaofang has telegraphed demanding the immediate abdication of the Throne, failing which hostilities will be resumed to-day. Yuan-Shi-Kai is gradually increasing his followers in Peking. They now number seven thousand and are sufficient to overawe the Manchu irreconcilables.

The Imperialist troops are reported to have been defeated by the Revolutionaries in a battle near the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, both sides losing heavily.

The ex-Regent and Prince Ning had an audience of the Dowager-Empress on the 30th January. It is understood that abdication has been decided upon in accordance with the conditions of the Republicans. The Imperial personages and nobles will be allowed to retain their titles and reside in Peking or elsewhere as they please. The Imperial family will receive three million taels annually.

Reuter wires from Peking.—Many soldiers have been killed by bomb explosions in Imperial troop trains between Shantung and Honan.

Reuter wires from Tokio on the 31st January.—The Nippon Yusen and Chino-Japnese Steamship Companies are negotiating for the purchase of the Imperial Chinese Merchant Marine Company, also the Hanyang Works and various mines in China.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 28th January.—Yuan-Shi-Kai has communicated to the Throne a memorial from the Imperial Generals demanding a constitution and republic on the ground of misconduct of the younger Manchu princes and suggesting that Yuan-Shi-Kai be appointed High Commissioner in Peking for the purpose of forming a new Government. The Throne is deeply impressed by the memorial and it is believed that it is again considering the question of abdication.

Revolutionary troops have been defeated in an affair near the outposts of the Tientsin-Pukow railway.

Hindu University.

The Maharajah of Darbhanga arrived at Allahabad, on the 26th January in connection with the Hindu University Deputation, which starts on tour to Benares, Mirzapur, Agra and Ajmere thereafter. The intention apparently is that the deputation should proceed on a visit to the Ruling Chiefs of Rajputana.

A mass meeting in connection with the Hindu University was held on the 31st January at 4 P.M., in the Central Hindu College grounds, H.H. the Maharaja of Benares presiding. The Maharaja of Darbhanga and Mrs. Besant were amongst the speakers.

A very largely attended open air meeting of Hindu citizens of Benares was held this afternoon in the Central Hindu College premises to raise subscriptions in aid of the Hindu University. The Maharaja of Benares presided. Amongst the members of the deputation present were the Maharaja Bahadur of Durdbunga, Rana Sheoraj Singh of Khajurgaon, Hon. M. Malaviya, Mrs. Besant, Babu Sangata Singh of Mozaffarpore, and Babu Iwar Saran of Allahabad. The gathering was a representative one. A conspicuous feature of the meeting was that a large number of ladies were present. The Maharaja of Benares subscribed one lakh to the Fund and promised facilities for acquisition of land in Benares.

Modem Deputation to H. E. the Viceroy.

THE VICEROY received at Dacca the Muhammadan deputation on the 31st January. The deputation consisted of nineteen gentlemen. The Nawab Bahadur acted as spokesman.

Modem University.

The Aga Khan, in his address to the Bombay Musalmans on the subject of the Aligarh University, said that there would be in the University an Oriental Side, specially developed, where, besides the teaching of Arabic and Persian, the history of the East and the general civilisation of Asia would form, so to speak, the atmosphere of the institution. For the advanced students there would be a special degree in Divinity. He might assure them that not only in India, but throughout the world there was, if he might say so, no greater need than that of having religious teachers who were themselves educated. The late Mr. Justice Tyabji often told him that there would probably never be a revival of Islam until such time as the average Moulvi and Mulla was ahead of the average educated man in India in education. They hoped, that by having a Divinity branch at Aligarh a new type of more active and energetic Moulvi and Mulla would be produced. But their aim would not be merely religious. Their important work would really be to prepare the people to take their proper place, not only in India, but in the British Empire and as human beings really belonging to the world. With regard to the constitution, the Committee which met in conference with the representatives of the Government of India had drawn up a constitution which, in the opinion of all who had carefully studied and certainly in his opinion, gave the Muhammadan community all the rights that they could in their present stage use for the benefit of their co-religionists. The University would have the great benefit and honour, for it would be their benefit as well as their honour, of having His Excellency the Viceroy as its Chancellor. The moving of the capital of India would bring the Chancellor within a few hours of Aligarh and they would have the great advantage of being able to bring matters directly before the Chief of the State which would be an advantage not only to the institution but to the community. The constitution also secured them of having the direct control under Mussalman representatives of the opinions of the people chosen from all over India with a strong body near Aligarh. This was the consideration which was waiting only to be asked for but first they must have 35 lakhs. That being their object, he appealed to them now to put their shoulders to the wheel and to do all that could be done in order to get this matter completed before the present session of the Viceroy's Council was over before the end of March.

In a letter to the *Times of India* on the 29th January, H.H. the Aga Khan explains the work done so far and what remains to be accomplished. His Highness writes:—I have especially requested you to collect a crore of rupees and to forward the same to me.

university worth the name would need less than that sum. However, to make a modest beginning, I appealed to my brother Moslems for a sum of twenty lakhs, later on that sum was raised to 35 lakhs. But when the members of the Constitution Committee under the presidentship of my friend the Hon. Raja Saheb of Mahindabad met the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler and other Government officials at Simla and went carefully through details, they came to the conclusion that we would need at least 35 lakhs. The work was kept up throughout the whole year and the promises up to now amount to 37 lakhs out of which 26 lakhs have been collected and 11 lakhs are still outstanding. Many parts of India still remain to be worked up and I have no doubt that with persistent efforts we shall easily reach the total of half a crore. What I beg of my co-religionists is that they should now see to the immediate realization of the promise. Most of the bigger donations from the generous Ruling Princes have already come in. Smaller donations must be realized immediately and if our workers in all parts of India put it plainly to the subscribers as to how much depends on each donor, I feel sure they will willingly make the necessary sacrifice. The Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler who has great sympathies with us and our great scheme went out of his way to announce in a speech in Urdu at Delhi:—"Show us 35 lakhs and take your University." I firmly believe that we would have collected this sum by this time, if it was not that our attentions were distracted owing to the very unfortunate happenings in Tripoli and Persia. I appeal to my co-religionists in all parts of India to make the slight effort that is needed now. We shall shortly be approaching the Government to request it after final consultation with our Constitution Committee to pass the Moslem University Act at the Calcutta session, but before we do so, we must realize another 9 lakhs. I should like to remind my people that we have other important work to look to. When we have got the funds we have got to build up our University. We shall shortly have to send out to study in Europe some of our best and brilliant students, so that on their return they can take up the lecturing work along with European professors. We have also to design and build our lecture rooms, students and staff quarters, and other necessary buildings. We cannot start and work unless we have collected the 9 lakhs and I have every hope that within a fortnight we shall do so. In the end, I take this opportunity of expressing my entire agreement with all that the Maharaja of Bikanir said at Calcutta. We Mussalmans are thankful to His Highness for his sympathies and heartily wish success to the Hindu University scheme and pray to God that both these great universities may come into existence soon to build a glorious future for our mother country—India

TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

	Rs. As. P.
Through Riazul Hasan, Esq., Aligarh—	
Moslem Ladies of Balai Kot, Bulandshahr	15 9 0
Azizur Rahman, Esq., Mianganj	10 0 0
M. Zamiruddin, Esq., Sultanpur	1 11 0
Through the Hon. Maulvi Fakhruddin Sahib, Bankipur	250 0 0
Abdur Razzak, Esq., Pleader, Raipur	78 0 0
Mrs. Aboo Mohamed, Behar, District Patna	10 0 0
S. Iqbal Hissain, Esq., Gaya	10 0 0
Through Abdul Bari, Esq., Bhola, Bakarganj—	
Messrs. Faizuddin, Khaberuddin, Abdul Bari, Rs. 5 each	15 0 0
Abdul Karim, Esq.	10 0 0
Messrs. Abdur Rahim, Abdul Aziz, Rs. 2 each	4 0 0
Some tailors	5 8 0
Bahabuddin, Esq.	7 0 0
Messrs. Yasin Khan, Madinullah, Abdul Latif, Rs. 1 each	3 0 0
Minor Subscriptions	15 8 0
Through Ajizur Rubeman Siddiqi, Esq., Lucknow—	
Messrs. Abdul Ajiz, Abdul Wahid, Abdur Razzak, Abdul Hakim, Kutbuddin, Mohamed Husain, Rs. 2 each	12 0 0
M. Ahmed Raza, Esq.	1 8 0
Messrs. Ihamullah, Abdul Ghaffor, Hashmat Ali, Ashraf Khan, M. Zahur Beg, M. Zakir Ali Khan, Rs. 1 each	6 0 0
Minor Subscriptions from nine subscribers	3 4 0
Through Qadri Mahmooddin Sahib of Meerut—	
Collected by Maulvi M. Obaidullah Sahib of Babatgarh	
Maulvi Abdullah Khan; Abdus Shakoor Khan and Abdus Ghaffar Khan, Rs. 45 each	80 0 0
Javaan Bharatlooja	20 2 0
M. M. Abdur Rehman	20 10 0
M. Ismailullah; M. Abdus Rahman	30 0 0
M. Abdus Ghaffar Khan (elder)	11 0 0

Mr. Ahsanullah Khan, Mother of Abdullah Khan; junior wife of late Haji Sahib; Mr. Ayub Khan, Mr. Ibrahim Khan, Mr. Hafizullah Khan, Mrs. Bakshullah Khan, Rs. 10 each	Rs. As. P. 70 0 0
Mr. Karimullah ...	5 4 0
Mr. Mumtaz Ali Khan, Mr. A. Latif Khan, Mrs. Abdush Shakoor Khan, Miss A. Shakoor Khan, daughter of the late Haji Sahib (senior), daughter of the late Haji Sahib (junior), Mr. A. Alim Khan, Mr. A. Hakim Khan, Mr. A. Rahman Khan, Mr. Yusuf Khan, Musammat Rashid dan, Mr. Khuda Baksh, Mohamed Mirasat; Abdulla Mirasee, Mr. Chhotay Khan, Mr. Ahsanullah Khan, Mr. Inamullah Khan, Rs. 5 each	85 0 0
Messrs. K. Nawaz Khan, S. Hassan, Karamatullah Khan, Khuda Nawaz Khan, Faiz Mohamed Khan, M. Ibrahim Khan; A. Majid; Rahmatullah Barber, Nazir Khan; Chhotay Manihar Rs. 4 each ...	40 0 0
Messrs. Karamatullah and Naboo Rs. 4-1-0 each	8 2 0
Mother of Inamullah, Mr. A. Karim and friends Mari Mewati, Mr. Ewaz, Mr. M. Abdullah, Rs. 3 each	15 0 0
Isha Kunja, Mr. A. Wahid	4 4 0
Mr. Azimullah Khan, elder sister of A. Shakoor Khan, Mr. H. Nazir Ahmed Khan, Mr. K. Hamidullah Beg, Mr. Fasihullah Beg, Mrs. Hamidullah Beg, Mr. Nazar Mohamed Khan, Mr. Zafaryab Khan, Mr. Bashir Khan, Mr. Habibullah Khan, Mrs. A. Alim Khan, Mr. Ilahie Baksh, Mr. Sibghatullah Khan, Mr. H. Wali Mohamed Khan, Mr. Murad Ali Khan, Mr. Dost Mohamed Khan, Mr. Fateh Mohamed Khan, daughter of Kammoor, Musammat Umdah, Mr. Bahadur Khan, Dr. Karimullah, Chandroo, Inami, Mr. H. Karim Baksh, Rs. 2 each	48 0 0
Other donations from 213 subscribers	162 10 0
Through Mirza M. Abid Ali Beg, Malihabad, Lucknow—	
Muhammad Yusuf Khan, Esq. ...	25 0 0
Collections in the Idgah ...	17 15 0
Messrs. A. Hamid Khan, M. Yunus Khan, Mirza M. Abid Ali Beg, Rs. 15 each	45 0 0
Sale proceeds of Qurbani Skins ...	29 9 0
Mr. Ali Akbar and others ...	11 0 0
Messrs. K. Ahmed Khan, Puttan Sahib, Rs. 10 each	20 0 0
Muhammad Said Khan, Esq. ...	8 0 0
Mrs. Mirza A. Beg, Messrs. A. Kadir Khan, Nizamuddin Khan, Habib Ahmad Khan, Nizamuddin Khan, Alampir Khan, Dr. A. Karim, Tahawwur Khan, Rs. 5 each	40 0 0
Messrs. Karam Ahmad Khan, Amjadullah Khan, Rs. 4 each	8 0 0
Messrs. S. Muhammad Idris, Head Moulvi Sabib, Shujaat Ali, Asadyar Khan, Wasi Mirza, Shahid Hussain Khan, Bashir Ahmad Khan, Nabi Ahmad Khan, Nisar Ahmed Khan, and Lady Doctor, Rs. 2 each	20 0 0
Sale proceeds of Turkish Cap ...	2 0 0
Collections made in Bari Musjid ...	2 15 0
Minor Subscriptions ...	20 9 0
Through Nawab Khwaja Ahmedullah Khan Bahadur Qazi of Rajahmundry, Godavari District—	
Collections on Eid Day ...	25 0 0
V. Usman, Esq. ...	10 0 0
Messrs. Umar Isa, A. K. Mohamed Tanti, Rs. 5 each	10 0 0
Mir Jafar Ali, Esq. ...	4 0 0
Mohamed Noob, Esq. ...	3 0 0
Minor Subscriptions ...	8 0 0
Amount received during the week	1,368 0 0
Less rebates and penalty on Mr. A. Bari's Uninsured Cover containing notes	1 14 0
Amount previously acknowledged	1,366 2 0
TOTAL RS.	1,360 1 7

3rd February,

TETE À TETE



The death of Alexander William George Duff, first Duke of Fife, has caused a sad bereavement to the Royal Family for which deep sympathy will be felt throughout the Empire. The tragic event is peculiarly and at this moment when the British nation

is stirring with joy and thankfulness to greet the King and Queen on their home-coming after their triumphant and epoch-making visit to India. The late Duke was a fine type of the British aristocracy and possessed many sterling qualities of character and mind. His marriage with the Princess Royal, the eldest daughter of the late King Edward VII and sister of King George V, had proved to be a very popular and happy union. Both the husband and wife were by nature averse to public ceremonies and lived a life of peace and quiet and unbroken domestic felicity. The hearts of all classes of His Majesty's subjects will go out to the Princess Royal in the great affliction that has befallen her. The late Duke, besides holding the position of a great landlord, the duties of which he discharged with scrupulous care and sympathy, was prominently connected with a great banking concern of the City, and as a man of business enjoyed a well-deserved reputation on account of his upright character and honesty in all business relations. We offer our sincere and respectful condolence to the Princess Royal and the Royal Family.

H. H. THE AGA KHAN has made another appeal to his co-religionists for the immediate payment of the subscriptions promised in aid of the Moslem University.

The Moslem University. The work that was begun a year ago with great enthusiasm and yet with no small misgivings, has now reached a stage when only the speedy collection of the necessary funds is needed to carry it to a successful issue. What has been achieved so far is creditable both to the workers and the community, but the final success of the great undertaking must remain doubtful as long as the collections fall short of the required amount of 35 lakhs. There has been a perceptible slackening of effort during the last few months, both amongst the workers and the general public because, as His Highness says, their "attention has been distracted owing to the very unfortunate happenings in Tripoli and Persia." The Islamic world has been for some time past living amidst grave shocks and crises, heartburnings and humiliation. The past few months have revealed the existence of a formidable menace to the peaceful and progressive development of the Musalman races throughout the world. One may quite naturally see behind this revelation the finger of Providence; and if their common sorrow and the dangers of their situation succeed in drawing them together and inspiring them with fresh courage and resolve to apply themselves to the task of self-regeneration, "the unfortunate happenings in Tripoli and Persia" must indeed be counted as blessings in disguise. In the last resort the status of a community depends on its own intrinsic capacity, on its intellectual and moral calibre. Education is the sovereign remedy for a stricken people to cure them of inertia, of weakened will and deadened aspiration. For the Mussalmans of India the creation of a University, well-equipped and thoroughly responsive to their needs, is the one hope, the only panacea for the untold ills that afflict them, be they intellectual and moral, social or economic. We trust the leaders of the community fully realise the nature and importance of the undertaking on which they have embarked and will recoil from no sacrifice, however heavy, to bring it to a successful conclusion. Now the question is only of realising unpaid promises. As the Aga Khan has truly observed, "the work was kept up throughout the whole year and the promises up to now amount to 37 lakhs, out of which 26 lakhs have been collected and 11 lakhs are still outstanding. Many parts of India still remain to be worked up and I have no doubt that with persistent efforts we would easily reach the total

of half a crore. What I beg of my co-religionists is that they should now see to the immediate realisation of the promise... Smaller donations must be realised immediately and if our workers in all parts of India put it plainly to the subscribers how much depends on each donor, I feel sure they will willingly make the necessary sacrifice.... We shall shortly be approaching the Government to request it, after final consultation with our Constitution Committee, to pass the Moslem University Act at the Calcutta Session; but, before we do so, we must realise another 9 lakhs." Let us hope His Highness's present appeal will be the last of its kind.

If the press censor with the Italian army, who presides over the history of the war, could have also presided over its fortunes, the *amour propre* of the young Italian nation would have long ago been "rehabilitated." But the ways of war are

as uncertain as the courage and temper of soldiers constantly exposed to a ceaseless rain of bullets. Nor can a pathetic appeal to Europe to respect the budding imperialism of young Italy, setting out grandiloquently and with a great flourish of trumpets to demonstrate "the efficiency of the Italian army and navy," alter by one jot or tittle the grim logic of events. Perhaps the efficient army of 100,000 men, now cooped up on a fringe of the Tripolitan coast under the protection of the guns of the fleet, had originally conceived the venture as a stately and romantic march through a desert to the accompaniment of martial music. Perhaps bodies of frightened and demoralised Turks surrendering in sheer terror of the heroic legions that had come to vindicate the honour of Italian arms, and hosts of Arabs falling on the necks of their "deliverers" and weeping for sheer joy had also formed beauteous idylls in that romantic picture. Things sometimes have a horrible knack of happening differently and—well, every romance comes to an end, be it at Adowa in Abyssinia or the trenches in Tripoli! Italy appealing to the Powers for intervention has a humour of its own. If, however, the Powers do not see fit to intervene the way should be prepared for them. This is her only hope to extricate herself from the inglorious muddle into which her valiant and efficient army and her "inevitable destiny" has plunged her. She has, therefore, begun to exasperate the neutral Powers by harrying neutral commerce and shipping and by creating mischief all round, like the boy who recklessly smashes everything when he has drifted into a tight corner and does not know what to do. The recent outrages reported from Macedonia are believed to have been incited by Italian agents. The desultory and ineffectual firing on the Arabian and Syrian coasts is perhaps the best illustration of the wild despair that is coming over the nerveless Government which does not know how to retrieve the miscarriage of its grandiose schemes of "expansion." We trust the European Powers will refrain from "advising" Turkey now when they had refused to listen to her entreaties at the outset of the war. They have no business now to interfere and help Italy in securing what she cannot wrest by force. She and her ambitions should be left to their own fate. The only decent and useful service that the Powers can do now is to lay the soothing unction to the soul of young Italy and ask her to accept the inevitable with as much grace as has been left her. Any other form of interference is sure to betray a preferential treatment of Christian countries against Islam and only imbeciles should be surprised if Islam resents it.

The regeneration of Persia, in fact, her independent and well-ordered existence was bound up with the financial re-organization which Mr. Shuster had undertaken with so much honesty, zeal and devotion.

The New Treasurer-General of Persia. The establishment of peace and equitable administration, the introduction of reforms, the organization of the police and the creation of a disciplined and well-equipped army, all depended on the building up of a sound financial reserve out of the immense but disorganized material resources of the country which the great American finance was called upon to administer. Within a wonderfully short period he succeeded in evolving order and stability out of the financial bankruptcy and chaos, and it began to be hoped that after some time Persia would be able to stand on her legs again. Russia, however, desired nothing of the kind, and she began to create through her agents a state of things that would ultimately lead to the fall of Mr. Shuster. She has succeeded; Mr. Shuster has been driven out, thanks to the helpless condition of Persia, the passive acquiescence of Sir Edward Grey and her own unscrupulous methods which are now a matter of history. Persian finances being the key to the whole situation, to secure their effective control is tantamount to the virtual subjugation of the country. Russia has acted with this object consistently in view. After the departure of Mr. Shuster she has saddled Persia with M. Mornard, a Belgian, as the "Provisional" Treasurer-General, who is a pliant tool of her policy. In fact, all

Belgians in the Persian service are Russian agents, open and undisguised. It was the rapacity and insolence of a Belgian Chief of Customs that gave its zest and energy to the constitutional movement in the reign of Muzzafaruddin, which at last succeeded in making a clean sweep of the financial shark and his tools. Writing about this latest specimen of the notorious gentry, the *Pall Mall Gazette* in its issue of the 4th January said.— "If M. Mornard be appointed, every British scheme, not only in the north but also in the south of Persia—our allotted sphere of influence—will be damned. The great extension of railways which is projected will pass into Russian hands, and, what is worse, we shall drift towards a situation in which the continued infringement of Persian liberty will cause an uprising of public opinion in this country which will not only put an end to the *entente* but will bring England and Russia into sharp antagonism." After this we can very well understand the deep umbrage that M. Mornard's appointment has caused to the *Times*. Russia may well derive a malicious satisfaction from the uneasiness of this temporizing journal, which had all along been dancing to the tunes of St Petersburg. It had never failed to explain, sometimes with a show of injured innocence, all that Russia had done—her coercion and bullying of the Persian Government, the despatch of the army of occupation, the slaughter of women and children and the murder of the best and noblest of Persian patriots. M. Mornard's appointment, however, yet awaits the *Times'* explanation, which may come, perhaps, when the Cossacks appear along the Indian Frontier. But even that will in its own good time be justified by the all too resourceful *Times*!

A MEETING of the Trustees of the Aligarh College was held on the 31st of January, and we are happy that the Trustees that attended, far from failing to make

the quorum of seven which had almost become

a feature of such meetings, numbered no less than 22. Even this, however, is not a satisfactory number when we consider the fact that the Trustees numbered as many as 91 on that date, and included more than a dozen from the town and district of Aligarh itself. Some of these latter were even now conspicuous by their absence, and we do not know how the election of more local Trustees to two out of seven vacancies filled by election at this meeting can be a guarantee of better local attendance. As usual the chief attractions of the meeting were somewhat personal, consisting in the election of some Trustees and the question of the appointments of Secretary and Joint-Secretary at the expiry of the period for which Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk and Nawab Muzammillah Khan were elected. The fortunate seven were Nawab Chulam Ahmed Khan Kalami of Madras, who deservedly secured the largest number of votes; Khan Bahadur Istar Hasan Khan Sahib, the influential Judicial Minister of Bhopal, Malik Mubariz Khan Sahib Tiwana, whose work for the Moslem University in the Shahpur District merits this recognition; Mr. Abdni Majid, Barrister-at-law, of the well-known Khwaja family of Aligarh, who is an Old Boy of the College and has always taken a deep interest in its affairs, Mr. Kasim Ali J. Peerhi, J.F., of Bombay, who recently subscribed and, what is still more important, promptly paid, a lakh and a quarter to the Moslem University Fund; Haji Mohamed Saleh Khan Sahib of the Sheiwani family, the munificence of which has been the mainstay of Aligarh finances in its early days; and Mr. Iqbal. The last-named Trustee needs no qualification, but it is a sad reflection on the merits of those that judge the merits of others that Iqbal should have received no more than 31 out of a possible 91 votes, and lumped in the last of the new contingent of 7. As regards the election of the Secretary and the Joint-Secretary, the Trustees present on this occasion succeeded in persuading Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk to remain in office so long at least as the Moslem University was not finally established, and Nawab Muzammillah Khan agreed, after a lengthy and not altogether dignified recital of facts and fancies on the part of more than one speaker at the meeting, to continue to work as Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk's colleague and to officiate for him whenever the need of rest compelled the Honorary Secretary to take leave of absence. Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk accepted the responsibility of these arrangements and the arduous labour which the work at Aligarh would entail whenever he is there with much reluctance and at great personal sacrifice, which would we feel sure be accepted by the community which had so unanimously entreated him to stay on with genuine gratitude. But there is some fear that the Nawab may not find it convenient to return to duty for a considerable length of time. In that case we are certain that the entreaties of his community will follow him to Amroha, and that they will be no more disregarded than their recent prayers. Nawab Mumtazuddowlah Sir Faiyaz Ali Khan, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., has been re-elected as President of the Trustees for another two years. Twelve Syndics have been elected to the vacancies, the candidates being mostly those who had held the office during the period which has just expired. The chief consideration in selecting the Syndics seems to be their propinquity to Aligarh, but this shows that even those Trustees who are at a reasonable distance from the College do not respond to the call of

duty in the majority of cases, and as a result of this it is thought better to have a full even if a feeble Syndicate. The two years for which Mr. Towle was appointed officiating Principal of the College had expired at the end of October last, and when the Honorary Secretary was asked a week later to explain under what authority Mr. Towle was permitted to officiate in that post after the expiry of the period sanctioned by the Trustees, he had replied that the subject was under consideration. Although this statement was no answer to the question it served the purpose of a reminder, and we are glad to say that the Trustees have rectified the omission and extended the period during which Mr. Towle is to officiate till such time as the Moslem University is established. As there is every hope that the Moslem University Bill would be passed before the end of March, there seems to be no harm in the wording of the resolution in this respect. But what we cannot commend is the decision, arrived at by a majority composed for the most part of the proxy votes sent to the Honorary Secretary, which were enough to swamp the whole meeting, that Mr. Towle should be assured that he would be retained permanently on his present salary of Rs. 1,000. We do not think that Mr. Towle could have reasonably asked for such an assurance, because according to the conditions of the appointment which he accepted he could not now expect more than Rs. 750 a month. His appointment as acting Principal within eight years of his landing in India was an event which he could not have foreseen, and it has come to pass only because two Principals and three Senior Professors happened to leave within this short space of time. A long acting appointment after eight years of service on a salary which members of the Indian Educational Service secure after not less than ten years was in itself as good a reward as he could reasonably expect, and we have no reason to believe that Mr. Towle asked for or expected any other assurances. What the Trustees have now done is to protest that they do not wish to tie the hands of the first Court of Trustees of the Moslem University, and yet to force on it an appointment in a grade of professorship carrying as emoluments not less than Rs. 1,000. We do not wish to say a single word reflecting in any way on the merits of Mr. Towle. We may even say that he is reputed to be the best teacher of Economics in the Allahabad University. A Professor with such a reputation could not have been ignored by any properly constituted Court, and we have every hope that the present action of the Trustees will not in any way embarrass their successors. But for all that the principle is broken. Another effort was made by Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk to break the principle of leaving the concerns of the future to the future Court of Trustees, and to appoint twelve more new Trustees within the year before the University was established. In view of the fact that in the Budget meeting the proxies secured by the Nawab Sahib enabled him to have it decided that the Trustees are in favour of their retention as Life Trustees of the new Court as well, in spite of the decision of the Constitution Committee to the contrary, the addition of 12 more Trustees to the 98 already on the Board would have resulted in a majority of co-opted and permanent Trustees swamping the minority of the representatives of the community holding office for five years specially as some holders of temporary office also are to be elected periodically by a majority of the Court. Luckily this required an alteration in the Rules and could not be effected except by the vote of 61 Trustees. Only 4 of the Trustees who attended supported this reactionary measure, although all the 26 who had sent written votes had tamely and, we think we may say, indolently and ignorantly acquiesced. But these 30 could not pass such a measure even with the proxies of Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk, and thus the University of the future was partly saved from the evil effects of a system which has shown its evils only too visibly in the case of the present College. What is most surprizing is that Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk himself, who had in 1907 declared it as his opinion that not only all Trustees should in future be elected for five years only, but that the present Trustees should also be deemed to have been elected for five years, should after five years not only desire to retain all the present Trustees as Life Members of the new Court but also seek to add to the number of such Trustees against the emphatic opinion of so many of his colleagues. One pleasing feature of this meeting of the Trustees was a scheme for the grant of gratuities to servants of the College drawing a salary of less than Rs. 25 a month on their retirement. The original scheme prepared by the Finance Member of the Syndicate was considerably altered and it has been decided to award in all suitable cases recommended by the heads of departments a gratuity of the last year's salary to such a servant retiring after a continuous service of not less than 5 years, and of the last two years' salary to one retiring after the completion of 25 years' continuous service. This decision would apply to those also who are already in service, and we congratulate the Trustees on being just to those who never threaten to strike even if they are generous to those who do. But an unfortunate decision was arrived at, inasmuch as the Trustees passed the rules which members of the self-constituted Female Education Association of Aligarh had passed more than six months ago, although few had considered these rules before attending the meeting, and it appeared from the rules

themselves none of them was permitted to amend. A majority of the Trustees present was in favour of adding a clause to the effect that the Trustees of the College shall have power to repeal, add to or amend these rules; but 25 proxies are more than enough to swamp any such majority when the attendance dwindles down to about 15 at the close of the meeting. One Trustee asked a number of questions, drawing the attention of the Trustees and the Honorary Secretary to the fact that the Secretary's report required by the rules had ceased to be presented to the Board after the death of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, that the Principal's report is never presented to the Trustees nor discussed by them, that the report and the budget of the building department are not circulated to the Trustees nor come under discussion at any meeting of the Board, and that the standard of cricket at the College had fallen, was falling and, in view of the University Regulations recently enacted at the instigation of the staff of the College, would continue to fall. No satisfactory answer could be given to any of these questions, nor was one really attempted. The Honorary Secretary asked for notice, and as no rules exist to regulate the power of interpellation and none of the existing rules specify the legal effect of Resolutions of the Trustees, we hope no time will be lost in framing such rules in order to guide the present Trustees, or failing that, the Trustees of the future University.

We had, some time ago, announced that the Hon Mr Shams-ul-Huda had been recommended for a seat on the Bench of the Calcutta High Court, and that his appointment to that high office would shortly be made public. Our information was based on good authority; and if things had remained as they were at the time, the appointment would have been made and officially announced in due course. However, after the recent announcement of the administrative changes and the creation of the Presidency of Bengal it was quite naturally felt that a public man of the capacity and attainments of the Hon Mr. Shams-ul-Huda might be selected for a post of still greater responsibility and distinction. We now understand that Mr Shams-ul-Huda has been recommended by the Government of India for the membership of the Executive Council of Bengal. We are sure the appointment, when it comes to be made, will be received with immense satisfaction by the entire public irrespective of race and creed. As a Judge of the High Court he would have been an acquisition to the Bench. As an Executive Councillor he would, we are sure, be a source of great help and strength to the Government in the administration of the Presidency. The duties of a member of Council are varied and onerous, and only a man of great strength of character and breadth of mind, having the power to handle all administrative problems with true insight, judicious temper and broad and statesman-like outlook, can discharge them well. The Hon. Mr. Shams-ul-Huda eminently satisfies the test of fitness if we have all these qualifications in mind. As regards the four new seats added to the Bench of the Calcutta High Court, it is announced that the two out of them have been offered to and accepted by Mr. A. Chaudhri and Mr. Hassan Imam. Both these gentlemen are distinguished and talented members of the Calcutta Bar and by virtue of their ability and disinterested patriotism have risen to great eminence in the public life of the country. They will both of them suffer considerable pecuniary loss by their translation to the Bench; and the Indian public life, which is none too rich in manliness, broadminded tolerance and independence of character, will also suffer a distinct loss. We believe, however, that the gain of the Calcutta Bench will also prove to be a public gain.

We regret that we were not able to express our appreciation earlier of the service which Urdu periodicals owned and edited by Hindu gentlemen are doing to the cause of Urdu as a language and Indian literature in general. There are only too many

Hindus who show a regrettable narrowness in dealing with linguistic questions, but we do not believe that there are any fewer Mussalmans who proclaim only too loudly their apprehensions about the progress and even the very existence of Urdu, but who make not the smallest effort to develop it and increase the bulk of its literature. Justice and even self interest demand that while giving no quarter to the linguistic bigots we should also admire the valuable contribution of such Hindus as the proprietors and editors of the *Zamana* and the *Idar*, who are among the most practical and most sturdy champions of Urdu. The *Zamana* of Cawnpore issued a Royal Durbar number which, in addition to two tri-colour plates and 24 other half-tone pictures--all far more expensive additions than the readers have any notion of, though they help to make the paper popular and increase its circulation--contained an excellent little poem on the Durbar by the one and only Iqbal, and some appropriate pieces of prose writing. Altogether the number was a great success, and what pleases us most is the *camaraderie* of all castes and creeds which is such a distinguishing feature of these periodicals. But the Durbar number was not a very exceptional issue, for the level of Mr. Nigam's magazine is uniformly high. The short stories of the *Zamana* are little gems and show glimpses of an originality that contains in it the promise of a brilliant future.

The Comrade.

An Impossible Minister.

I.

THERE can be no doubt whatever that those among the Mussalmans of India who understand anything of British Politics in Europe and Asia and know something of the British Parliamentary system have disapproved of the trend of Sir Edward Grey's foreign policy since he deserted the Young Turks after the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina after a feeble and maladroit diplomacy. But there are many in this country who do not know even this much, and to them a condemnation of a particular policy or an individual Minister is much the same as a condemnation of the British Nation. In view of this consideration, while it is absolutely necessary that British policy, so far as it affects Indians, should be clear and unambiguous, and that instead of undue reticence and evasion it should be explained and justified to them from time to time, Indian publicists also should make it clear to the people that whenever they differ from a Minister or even a Cabinet, and condemn a measure or a policy, they do not involve the British connexion in that condemnation, but keep it far out of the arena of political controversy.

We ourselves have voiced from time to time the universal feeling of such Mussalmans as take an intelligent interest in British foreign policy, and in doing so have never hesitated to call a spade a spade. We were worried by no imaginary fears which make people cut and clip their words and reduce their meaning to intellectual nullity, but which in reality betray the suspicion that the British Government in India is essentially opposed to candour and honest expression of opinion. It must be admitted that our own experience is not a long one; but slender as it is, it has none the less never impured us with a horror of frankness and the use of effective language to press home our criticism. But it would be a poor return for this tacit encouragement of unfettered criticism, as frank as it is meant to be friendly, to suggest in any way that the foreign policy of the present English Government, which we have condemned, is in reality the deliberate and set purpose of the British Nation, that sheet anchor of India and all young nationalities struggling for enlightenment, freedom and unity. Indeed, the object of our writings has been more the expression of the public opinion among educated Mussalmans for the benefit of the Government than the guidance of that opinion itself, and, that being our motive, it presupposes a great hope that when these views are brought to the notice of the British Nation, either directly or through the Government of India, they would also affect public opinion in England in some measure. It cannot be conceived that an Imperial race should for ever be so ignorant of the demands of true Imperialism as to settle the policy of the Empire merely according to the wishes of a tenth of its population that inhabits the British Isles, and to be guided solely by their parochial intelligence and knowledge. Lord Morley has already assured us that in shaping the policy of the Foreign Office the feelings of a hundred million Mussalmans whose destinies have been placed in the hands of Great Britain are a guiding consideration. That is the *legitimation* of Moslem feeling during the war in Tripoli and the long-drawn Persian crisis, so long as that feeling itself is not vitiated by the taint of sedition. But while that assurance sanctions sentiments that are the necessary corollary of the Islamic faith, it in no way encourages disloyal ideas. In fact it promotes the loyalty which was being strained by the narrowness of so-called Imperialists, who smelt anarchy in every expression of sympathy for the Turks or apprehensions for Persia.

Another source of strength to the Moslem loyalist who sees no inconsistency in sympathy for his co-religionists and allegiance to his Sovereign is an important section of the British Press which not only denounced the Italian raid and suspected Russian designs in Persia, but openly declares that Sir Edward Grey is now impossible. What makes us believe that this is the awakening of the British Nation itself after its somewhat long slumber is that there is no suspicion in this of the tactics of party politics. Both Liberals and Conservatives have been showing a growing dissatisfaction with the consequences of Sir Edward Grey's diplomacy. And yet this is no vulgar "G. M. G." (*Grey Must Go?*) like the "B. M. G." of the Die-Hards and the Last-Ditchers. If any doubt arises about this, it can easily be settled by applying to the situation the formula, "Tell me your friends and I will tell you what you are". The loudest supporter of Sir Edward Grey is Mr. Leo Maxse of the *National Review* himself.

To the December number of the *Fortnightly Review* "Diplomaticus" contributed a criticism of Sir Edward Grey the dispassionate tone of which would do credit to Sir Edward himself. It is not an indictment from the beginning to end, for praise is liberally mixed with blame. But there is no balance to the credit of the Foreign Secretary at the end of the reckoning, and we should indeed have been surprised if this cold and pinching analysis of "Sir Edward Grey's Stewardship" had not powerfully influenced public opinion in England. The writer invites attention

not merely to the six years' record of peace to which Lord Haldane referred with such gratification, but also to "a dangerously unstable international situation which has persisted during the whole of Sir Edward Grey's tenure of office," a tenure which is rightly characterized as "one long succession of more or less perilous crises." This is, indeed, an important fact and one which is apt to be ignored. No city can claim credit merely for the promptness with which the civic authorities put out its fires if the fires recur so often that the cures themselves suggest the absence of prevention. "At least three times during these six years Europe has stood on the brink of a great war in which we must inevitably have been involved, and to-day, apart from the scandalous farce of Italy in the Eastern Mediterranean, the general international outlook presents a picture of tension, of passion, and of veiled conflict which cannot but inspire the gravest anxiety."

In examining Sir Edward Grey's policy the writer explains "the two great rival formulae of European policy which have for their object the maintenance of the general peace." Many would no doubt look askance at the Concert of Europe which the writer prefers as a formula of European policy, for it is generally known how unjust that Concert proved to Moslem States. But they will no doubt not find much consolation in the results of the rival formula of Balance of Power, which has brought more trouble to those States in less than a decade than the Concert did in a lifetime, and that too, when all these States showed unmistakeable signs of progress or, at any rate, of the arrest of decay. It certainly does not look as if the prayer of the weaker States was granted, that

شَرَكَةُ الْمُلْكِ لِلْمُجْرِمَاتِ لِلْمُنْكَرِ

(May God raise evil wherein may be our good) "Neither," says "Diplomaticus," "is infallible, and, indeed, both have had compromising vicissitudes of fortune, but whereas the Balance is only an expedient inherently unstable and variable owing to its fundamental concept of rivalry and the constantly disturbing influence thus exerted on the balance of armaments, the Concert is perfect in theory and quite possible in practice, and has, moreover, the supreme merit of responding to certain ideals which are calculated to dignify and elevate the otherwise often squalid machinery of international relations." It is true that after the break-up of the Quadruple Alliance it became "more of an ideal than a practical policy," but occasionally it managed to assume material shape, notably in exerting pressure on Turkey. Canning, however, gave "a work-a-day substitute, the policy of Free Hands which of late years has been called 'Splendid Isolation' though a more correct designation for it would be Splendid Opportunism." This formula the writer explains as "the opportunist *entente*, without specific fighting obligations, and *ad hoc* alliances to meet grave emergencies, but terminable with the emergencies." According to "Diplomaticus," it was a tremendous success, for while it occasionally toyed with the Balance it always kept the Concert steadily in view, and meanwhile held the door open for equally friendly relation with all Powers whatever their other attachments. This form of isolation was in reality no isolation, for it gave England as allies all the Powers who in a given crisis really wanted peace. Now, it is this writer's contention that although some people regard Lord Lansdowne's Japanese Alliance and the *entente cordiale* with France as a new departure, which Sir Edward Grey has only continued, it was nothing of the kind, but "only a return to an older tradition which the events of the eighties and later nineties had momentarily set aside." According to him, what Lord Lansdowne had originally in mind was merely to terminate the intolerable situation created by the long and bitter feuds with Russia and France, without any idea of modifying the Anglo-German relations.

We are not disposed to regard Lord Lansdowne exactly in the same light as "Diplomaticus" views him. We have already expressed it as our view in the issue of 14th October last, that although Sir Edward Grey did not initiate the policy of alliances, but merely took it up from his predecessor in office, "he has followed it far beyond the limits originally contemplated." It is not our belief that Lord Lansdowne intended to place a cordon round Germany and contemplated an alliance with Russia as well as France against that Power, for in that case it can rightly be argued, as "Diplomaticus" has done, that "Lord Lansdowne would scarcely have desired to begin his work by smashing one of his proposed allies." But it must also be remembered that not even Lord Lansdowne foresaw the victory of Japan, much less desired or helped in smashing a prospective ally. While the Russian Bear was unbroken of its brutal strength, danger lay in that quarter rather than in Germany, and the Japanese Alliance was an *ad interim* arrangement before the afflictions of the Bear were won over by the Unionist Foreign Secretary. It was only the crushing defeat of Russia that altered the situation completely. It robbed the Japanese Alliance of part of its value, made the friendly overtures to Russia more acceptable to the half-killed giant, and left Germany, after the two wars waged in South Africa and in Manchuria by the two other strongest powers of Europe, with an improved proportion of strength and enhanced chances of growth.

But whatever the cause or causes, when Lord Lansdowne made over charge of the office, England had wholly regained France and partly regained Russia. The end of those bitter feuds appeared in sight which had led England to the brink of war with France on three separate occasions in a single decade, and which increased the burdens of the Indian tax-payer who had to maintain out of his scanty resources a daily growing army on the North-West Frontier. The problem, then, was, how to maintain friendliness with these two Powers without creating an enemy in Germany or Austria. That was the task of Sir Edward Grey, and it is obvious that in this he has signally failed.

It cannot be argued in his defence that if he has offended the Germans and their Austrian allies, he has maintained the affections of the French and the Russians. Such an argument presupposes that all Sir Edward Grey had to do was to substitute new enemies for old. But even that supposition cannot save him, for in the first place, never were the relations with France so strained before the *entente cordiale* as have been those with Germany during Sir Edward Grey's tenure of office, and, in the second place, while military expenditure in India has not been reduced, and in view of the Persian trouble may have to be increased, naval expenditure in England has been increasing apace as the direct result of rivalry with Germany, which itself increases with the increase of armaments. It is the contention of those who disapprove of Sir Edward Grey's foreign policy that, while it is not proved that France will certainly do for England what England has recently done for France, and while it is certain that Russia will not show her friendship in a similar manner, Germany and Austria have definitely become enemies, that Europe is far less disposed towards peace to-day than when Sir Edward took over charge of the Foreign Office. That Asia is distinctly less friendly to England than before, that what sanctity was ever attached to treaties and agreements has now vanished, that the Moslem subjects of His Majesty have been exasperated, and that the pace in the mad race for military and naval superiority which prompted the *ententes* with France and Russia is much more furious to-day than it was six years ago. This is a long list of charges, and if even half of these are proved to the hilt, it will not be possible to call Sir Edward Grey's stewardship a success.

Before we examine these charges *seriatim*, in another issue, it must be understood that we shall not deal with intentions. In the administration of affairs intentions play a very small part indeed, for although they reflect on the character of the agent, they do not affect the nature of the acts. This is nothing but the truth in all departments of activity; but in diplomacy it is also the whole truth. Its only test is success, and there is no such thing as a grand failure. We have no desire to question the character or the motives of Sir Edward except so far as they reflect themselves in his acts, and indeed we may say that he is reputed to be a man of unimpeachable character, though his "generous aspirations" are somewhat unfruitful because, as Mr W. T. Stead says, "he is easily daunted in the pursuit of his ideals." Mr. Stead in a character sketch of Sir Edward in the January issue of the *Review of Reviews* instances three occasions on which he failed to screw his courage to the sticking place. He writes —

He was responsible for the maintenance of the authority of the treaties of 1856, 1871 and 1878, when Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and the Herzegovina without saying "by your leave" to the signatory powers. But when his attempt to maintain the Public Law of Europe was thwarted by the German mailed fist he appears to have abandoned the cause of the Public Law as hopeless.

Another instance was the Congo question on which he wrote a despatch, "which gladdened the heart of the Congo Reform Association." But what was the sequel? "No sooner, however, did he discover that there were rocks ahead than he turned on his own tracks with a celerity which made Mr Morel nearly expire with grief and chagrin." The third instance is too recent to need detailed mention, and Mr. Stead's simile of a "burnt child who dreads fire" is only too apt. And this is possible only in a man whose "generous aspirations" lack the divine fire of enthusiasm. The story goes, and Mr. Stead quotes it appositely, that Sir George Otto Trevelyan once replied to someone who asked him what manner of man Sir Edward is, "Some think he is as black as the devil, others believe him to be as white as an angel. In fact he is neither. He is just Grey." Both Sir George Trevelyan and Mr. Stead have personal knowledge of the Foreign Secretary's character which is denied to men in humbler stations and at such distance. But without knowing this story, we ourselves had chanced upon this expression and called the Foreign Secretary a pale grey Liberal. Anyhow the pun supplies Mr. Stead with another good simile. "He is a cold man, somewhat colourless, and therefore better able to take on, like a chameleon, the hue of the tree to which he clings." And these men, Sir Francis Bertie at Paris, and still more, Sir F. Cartwright, who inspires the rabid letters of the *Times* Vienna correspondent, are not only notoriously Germanophobe, but also anti-Moslem. Be that as it may, whatever may be the character of Sir Edward Grey, and whatever the feelings and motives of the *entourage* that dominates him, Sir Edward Grey cannot take refuge behind a barricade of the flagstones of the nether regions. It is not with his intentions that we are concerned.

but with his actions, not so much with causes as with consequences. It is by these that he must be judged, and the very position which he occupies deprives him of the consolation of those who stake all on the nobility of their enterprise, the comforting thought that

"Tis not in mortals to command success,
But we'll do more, Sempronius, we'll deserve it."

The Viceroy at Dacca.

The visit of His Excellency the Viceroy to Dacca, following after the sudden changes announced at Delhi, had been looked forward to by the Mussalmans throughout India with more than anxious concern. The changes in themselves, at any rate as regards their downright physical aspect, may not be as formidably portentous as they look; and beyond bruising certain hearts, dislocating a few vested interests, and affecting the material and moral progress of the large Moslem community in Eastern Bengal, they may not mean any distinct departure in the spirit and methods of the policy that underlies the governance of this country. But acts of State have not a mere physical aspect only. It is their moral and political effect that mostly matters, that ultimately determines their utility in the scheme of government. The Durbar Announcement may in official parlance mean nothing more than the removal of the capital to Delhi and the redistribution of certain administrative areas. It is not, however, in the spirit of red tapeism that the value of these executive coups has been assessed. Calcutta feels as if it has been betrayed. The Bengali Hindu has risen several cubits in political stature and is singing lustily songs in praise of "constitutional agitation." The Behari is swearing at a section of the Bengali Press that would not willingly let him enjoy the luxury of a separate High Court. The Musselman, not only in Eastern Bengal but in every other part of the country, has been left floundering in a sea of doubts to examine his political charts and compass and estimate anew the resources of "contented loyalty." Even official despatches conceived in the spirit of excessive gratulation and soaked in antique sententious have their aftermath.

Be this as it may, the changes have come to stay. It is with their political and moral effect on the Musselman opinion that we are primarily concerned to-day. Though their immediate practical effect will be felt by the Eastern Bengal Mussalmans, the manner in which the ripping open of a "settled fact" has been carried out has profoundly impressed the community throughout the land. To the Mussalmans it is something peculiarly strange, this abrupt character of the change that has come over the spirit of the Government policy. They feel the shifting of the political horizons and observe with no uncertain feelings the emergence of the new, incalculable forces that may conceivably render their political creed old-fashioned and obsolete and thrust them out of their legitimate share in the direction of Indian affairs. If the Government can bow to a persistent political agitation out of a mere consideration of expediency in one case, why not in another? If the legitimate facilities afforded to the Mussalmans can be taken away and solemn pledges broken at the bidding of a few demagogues with hysterical followings, there is no knowing that the general political status of the community may not suffer a similar fate. Such are the fears and misgivings that have begun to assail the minds of even the most temperate and politically conservative sections of the Mussalmans, and we leave it to the Government of India to judge how far the existence of such misgivings in a "contented and loyal" community is desirable in the best interests of the country.

The Viceroy's visit to Dacca, in view of the Moslem feeling throughout the country, possessed unusual interest and importance at the present time. He was expected not only to strike the keynote of the policy that the Government of united Bengal is to adopt in order to mitigate, in some measure, the hardships of the community that has been dethroned from its predominant position, but to indirectly reassure the Mussalmans of India that the pledges given to them in regard to their political status shall be kept in full integrity. The Moslem Deputation that waited on Lord Hardinge on the 31st January, headed by the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, was no mere conventional body of gentlemen approaching the Viceroy as a matter of formal courtesy. It was charged with a vital mission to lay before His Excellency the feelings of the Moslem community in Eastern Bengal created by the altered situation in which it has been left. What passed between the Viceroy and the Moslem representatives was not made public until this morning, and even then the Private Secretary of the Viceroy only selected a few daily papers for communicating His Excellency's pronouncement. We do not know why the shroud of secrecy has been thrown round a matter which has been in one way or another of so much pith and moment to the Mussalmans since the changes came to be announced. We hope it is not the result of a habit of secrecy formed after the recent secret despatches, or the clinging traits of diplomacy which have outlived their necessity. In any

case, we think we have a genuine grievance in being wholly ignored even now when the Government has chosen to communicate what it needlessly regarded as secret and confidential.

We have already dealt in full detail with the needs of the Mussalmans of Bengal and how these needs should be met. They should have their full and legitimate share in all the political institutions and the public service of the province. Above all, their educational needs should be particularly looked after and should receive careful and special treatment. The *Times of India* has dealt with this question in a very sympathetic and luminous article on "The Muhammadans of Bengal" in its issue of the 31st January. After discussing the definite safeguards that the Government should adopt in order to counteract the evil consequences likely to flow from the disappearance of Eastern Bengal as a separate province and the damage to the Moslem position, our contemporary urges the importance of formulating a comprehensive scheme of Moslem education which should be systematically worked out and pursued by the Mussalmans with the help of the Government. Says our contemporary:—

Schools and yet more schools, high schools and colleges, in districts where the need of the Muhammadans is greatest, and conducted on lines which specially meet the demands and susceptibilities of the Muhammadan community. These are the means whereby the Moslems can secure their salvation in the new Bengal. We suggest to the Muhammadans who are giving anxious thought to the position that this is a programme on which they should concentrate, for it is the only one which secures the future of their race in the new province. It is one which should rally every section of the community, and in which they can count confidently upon the support of the Government of India. It demands no change of policy from those in authority, for it is but the continuance of measures which would have been pushed to their logical conclusion if the development of Eastern Bengal and Assam under its own Government had not been abruptly arrested, and it is designed to secure the fulfilment of the ends specifically declared in the despatch. We would moreover add that this is a policy which the Government of India cannot leave entirely to the Governor of Bengal and his Council. They have inferentially assured the Secretary of State that the interests of the Muhammadans in Eastern Bengal shall not suffer under the retribution, and they cannot put aside the responsibility there assumed, leaving its execution solely to a Bengal Government with its headquarters in Calcutta. They must see that the expectations based on these assurances—expectations which, combined with their traditional loyalty and respect for the person of the King-Emporer, have induced the Muhammadans silently to acquiesce in these radical schemes—are realised, so far as it is in the power of the Government of India to accomplish that purpose.

The tone of this article is most sympathetic; but we are not sure if it did not foreshadow the new "boon" granted to Eastern Bengal by the Viceroy. In that case, it is not so much a recommendation for sympathetic treatment of the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal as an "intelligent anticipation of events," beloved of the Daily Press, and a subtle effort to persuade Mussalmans to await His Excellency's pronouncement in the spirit of the prayer, "For all that we are about to receive, may the Lord make us truly thankful."

The Mussalmans accepted the decision of the Government with loyal acquiescence and have refrained from giving vent to angry feelings or indulge in the sort of agitation which has been almost consecrated by recent acts of the Government itself. It rested with the Government to show that their interests would be duly safeguarded and that the pledges given to them would be redeemed in full. Without definite safeguards, permanently binding and not dependent on the will of a Governor or a Viceroy, however sympathetic and well meaning, their future advancement cannot at all be assured. The Bengali Hindu exercises a very thorough-going and masterful influence in Calcutta, and the Musselman cannot hope to secure his due share in the direction of provincial affairs unless the necessary equality of opportunity is afforded to him by the Government. It is a fashion with a certain class of newspapers to talk of the identity of interests between the Mussalmans and the Hindus of Bengal and to dub all communal activities as sectarian. We have never yet come across a single instance in which any one of these "patriotic" newspapers ever assisted the Mussalmans in their efforts to improve their lot educationally even by a word of sympathy or practical advice. The "identity" of interests exists as long as the Mussalmans feel no "interest" in their own progress and wellbeing. We believe Lord Hardinge has acquired enough knowledge of the Indian questions to be able to appraise the false cry of "separatism" at its proper value. The blatant preacher of Indian unity who practices the most exclusive and narrow creed of caste ascendancy is the will-o'-the-wisp that the Viceroy has yet to distinguish from the few steady lights of Indian politics—the high-souled dreamers and patriots. We may point out to His Excellency the dangers of the racial and religious bias that masquerades as patriotism by referring to the passage in the Address presented to him by "The Dacca People's Association," in which it was suggested that "in the regulations for the election of members to the Councils....the principle of racial distinction in the matter of representation...." should be discarded. It is these sanctimonious onslaughts on "the principle of racial

distinction in the matter of representation" that have aroused the greatest apprehensions amongst the Mussalmans, because the sentiment is so fair to outward seeming and yet, alas! so false. That they can mislead to some extent even seasoned diplomats like Lord Hardinge would be evident from the manner of His Excellency's reply. It is, however, gratifying to find the Viceroy firmly laying it down "that pledges once given by the Government will not be broken." Our only wish is that this principle should be courageously enunciated wherever the occasion calls for it and as courageously applied. The Mussalmans ask for nothing more than that the pledges given to them by the Government should be kept intact and that they should be afforded the necessary equality of opportunity in their efforts at self-regeneration.

In the light of the foregoing remarks let us examine the pronouncement of His Excellency at Dacca. It is evident that this examination must be cursory and far from exhaustive, for we go to press within a few hours of the publication of the Private Secretary's communication. We are glad the Viceroy recognized education to be the greatest need of the Mussalman, of Eastern Bengal, but it is equally the greatest need of the Mussalmans of Western Bengal, and the creation of a University at Dacca, and the appointment of a special officer for education in Eastern Bengal are an exemplification of the Persian adage

سؤال از آسمان حواب از رسمان

What the Mussalmans want, and that throughout Bengal, East and West, South and North, is the appointment of separate officers in each grade, from the Assistant Director of Public Instruction to the Deputy Inspector of Schools, to look after the Education of Mussalmans exclusively. What good a University at Dacca and a separate Director of Public Instruction for all communities will do to the backward Mussalmans only the Government of India know, and it is more than we can say if even the Government of India would tell. On the face of it the Government are obsessed by the dread of so-called sectarianism, and until and unless they are made to understand that separate interests in India assume a caste or communal rather than a territorial aspect, there is no hope of their doing anything really useful for the Mussalmans. And as agitation is acknowledged by the Government to be the only effective method of converting them, we trust the Mussalmans, who are by tradition and instinct a proselytising community, will preach this doctrine on the road side and in the market-place till His Excellency and his colleague, are converted. So far as the scheme of a University at Dacca is concerned, it will seriously affect the prestige and influence of the proposed Moslem University, and His Excellency's new "born" has confirmed the new significance that has now come to be associated with that ominous word. What the Mussalmans would have liked is, in the first place, an apportionment of the educational budget of the united Bengal between the two great communities in such a way that no school which taught Moslem boys or girls could have its progress impeded merely for lack of funds as at present, and, in the next place, the creation of two first grade colleges, mainly though not exclusively for the Mussalmans, aided by the Government, one at Calcutta, and the other at Dacca. What the Government has now done, however, gives no guarantee that Moslem students will not be refused admission into the Presidency College at Calcutta because their number had already reached thirty-five out of more than a hundred in each class, nor that Mrs. Sakhawat Huzum, that courageous and noble lady who has founded and maintained almost exclusively at her own cost, both in money and labour, the only Moslem Girls' School in Calcutta, would not be told by the Department that she has no prospect of getting even a palty grant or less than a hundred rupees a month, because the Bethune College needs improvements!

As regards the representation of Mussalmans upon local bodies, while the Viceroy deprecates the principle of proportional representation, he makes no promise at all that the Mussalmans would be treated any better than they are at present, and leaves them entirely at the mercy of the Local Governments. We must say this reminds us of Dickens' "my partner," that mythical personage who never existed, but who was always utilized to refuse a bargain which the sole proprietor did not choose to accept and yet did not wish to appear personally to refuse. These satrapies had no existence whatever when the far-reaching changes announced at Delhi, which are now being so unskillfully sugar-coated, were thought of and adopted, nor do they seem to have been in existence when in their unaided wisdom the Government of India decided in secret conclave to dump another Director and University on Bengal. The question of adequate and real Moslem representation on the local bodies is no longer a provincial concern, for His Excellency's predecessor announced more than five years ago at Simla in unmistakable terms that Moslem representation must everywhere be communal and adequate, irrespective of mere numbers. From that position no future Government can recede without sullying its own reputation for sincerity and consistency and without courting absolute moral bankruptcy. It is time that the Mussalmans roused this autocratic

Government to a sense of its moral responsibility, and if agitation is unpalatable to His Excellency, as we have been informed on good authority, we hope the Viceroy would take the only effective step to prevent an agitation on this subject. We have, however, some fear that His Excellency has a different notion to ours as to what that step really is. We had ourselves asked for a declaration that in the Executive Council of Bengal care should be taken to discover efficient Mussalmans as well as Hindus, so that as a rule Hindus and Mussalmans may alternately hold that appointment. But the promise of His Excellency that "in the recommendations made to the Secretary of State for the new Executive Councils Muhammadan interests would not be ignored" is no answer to the demand for adequate Moslem representation on the local bodies. What the juxtaposition really suggests is that agitation would be stifled by recognizing personal merits of one or two leading individuals. We held and still hold very strong views on the subject of the G.C.I.E. conferred on the Hon. Khwaja Sir Salmullah, the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, but we refrained from commenting editorially on this honour because there was some fear that our comments may be thought to reflect adversely on the merits of that amiable and, in some respects, ideal leader of the Mussalmans. But there is no doubt that the Nawab Bahadur has himself suffered considerably in popular estimation on account of the title conferred on him only a few hours before the administration of an unmerited slap on the face of those who bore the brunt of the battle under the banner of the Nawab. While we trust that other Mussalmans also will have their merits adequately recognized in the near future, we must say that this promise, side by side with a neglect of the claims of Mussalmans as a whole, would be adding an insult to the individuals themselves to the injury already caused to the community. It will give point to the playful remark of our irresponsible co-adjutor, Mr. Gupta, that the Government of India purchase Peace with Honours!

Far the least satisfactory portion of His Excellency's reply was that which referred to the Moslem claim for an apportionment of appointments in the Public Service. The shibboleth of efficiency has been stated by usage and worn by frequency into the commonest of commonplaces, and it does not argue a great resourcefulness in the Government to take cover behind a somewhat meaningless phrase of long antiquity. If the Mussalmans ever ask that men not qualified for certain posts should be thrust upon them we shall be the last to denounce such a demand. But we do not think that even this backward community is so ridiculously foolish as to ask for moon outside His Excellency's cosmography. What the Mussalmans demand is that for every post in the gift of the Government a qualification should be fixed below which the Government will at no time go, and that so long as a Musselman with the requisite qualification can be had no non-Moslem should be appointed to that post until and unless the Mussalmans are adequately represented in that grade of service. This is a demand about which His Excellency has been unduly reticent and we do not know what purpose can be served by this uncalled-for silence. Talents are like currency and have a similar value in the market. Now, all know the absurdities and the exasperating difficulties that would result if the legal tender in a country is deprived of two of its essential merits, a fixity in values and certainty. Yet this is just what is being done in the case of educational qualifications. Men possessing all the requisite qualifications are refused appointments because someone with a still higher academic degree, who in nine cases out of ten has failed to recommend himself to the seeker after efficiency, is prepared to undersell the applicant. Nobody would engage an applicant as his bearer or cook because he is a graduate and yet prepared to accept the same wage as the customary Uriah or the unsophisticated *baranchi*. Yet this is what is being done every day in Government offices. Posts for which the matriculate of a University, full of youth and spirits, would have done well enough, are given to worn-out and disappointed B.A.'s and "failed B.A.'s" whose very appearance and the price they themselves put on their talents mark them unmistakably with inefficiency. The result is disappointing in the offices and demoralising in the lecture rooms. This measuring of administrative and clerical efficiency with academic distinctions not only gives feeble administrators and droning clerks but reduces so-called liberal education to a farce. And the result is incidentally most harmful for the Mussalmans who have been themselves backward in securing degrees, and in addition to it also neglected by the Government. All that His Excellency recognizes is the "desirability of a proper share of these appointments being held by Muhammadans, provided they were duly qualified to do so," and all that he is prepared to do is "to impress that view upon their new Governor." Any person whom His Majesty may select for the administration of a Presidency is as a rule presumed to know a few things at least, and at the least generous computation we should have thought that Lord Carmichael knew the stale doctrine repeated by His Excellency too well to need further schooling. But where the unsclair creeps in is that every incoming satrap and Viceroy repeats the shibboleth, and, after the usual five years, departs homewards with unredeemed pledges left as a *damnosa hereditas* for his successor,

and the still small voice of a protesting minority is drowned in the well-maneuvred applause of the triumphant majority. It is time that the reasonableness of the Moslem demand was fully recognized in the form of a Government of India Resolution setting forth the principle in unmistakable terms, if not in an Act of the Supreme Legislature, so that the "loyal" and the "contented" were not left to the mercy of gubernatorial interpretations and the whims of the Secretariat. This Lord Hardinge has not foreshadowed in his reply to the Mussalmans at Dacca, and if this is the last word on the satisfaction of Moslem claims, then we have no hesitation in saying that it is absolutely disappointing.

اے گر میرا ڈا، الصافِ محشر میں اب
اب تلک تو ہے ترلخ تی کے، وان مو جا بکا

(Woe betide the day if justice be not done twixt thee and me on the Day of Judgment! So far I had hoped that justice would be done there.)



Short Story.

Fate and the Colonel.

To begin with, Peggy's real name was not Peggy at all. It was Marguerite and she only allowed her very especial friends to call her anything but Marguerite in full. If anyone so presumed she corrected them without the slightest hesitation but with a certain fascinating manner. "My name is Marguerite Christine Villiers, and you do not know me well enough to call me Peggy."

And if the corrected one should be so bold as to question, "How long must one know you?" Peggy's usual reply, but always in the sweetest of tones, was "It all depends, but I am afraid you--" with just the slightest inflection on the pronoun --"will never know me well enough."

Whereupon the bold intruder would withdraw into his shell, fully realizing the extent of his folly.

It was invariably a "he" who so presumed, until at last Peggy began to look upon the sex with a decidedly superstitious mien as to their frivolousness.

Some women are born to fascinate. They cannot help themselves. It is not that they are exceptionally beautiful, for they may not be even good looking from most people's point of view, but there is some one thing about them that outweighs everything else, and their personality is absolutely charming. A woman may possess looks and yet fail to charm, --for beauty is but skin deep, but the woman who has that power of fascination does not fear the ravages of time as the merely beautiful woman does. And Peggy was one of these.

She was little more than a child and hardly realized her power. It was her first season in India, but the admiration she received might easily have turned the heads of many an older woman. Yet Peggy's daintily poised head was filled with more character than one might have given her credit for.

Perhaps her uprightness, with a somewhat old-fashioned maiden Aunt, had increased the strength of character with which nature had originally endowed her, but for her age she was wonderfully well balanced.

To describe her fully would be very difficult and might not do her justice even then, but her hair was a wavy wayward auburn with a habit of straying that even the most particular maiden aunt could not control or subdue. Her mouth and nose were not more noticeable than those of most people, but her eyes were glorious, big brown bewitching eyes, that one moment could be brimming with laughter and the next full of tender sympathy, winning admiration from all who came in contact with her. Therein lay Peggy's attraction. It was her eyes that drew men to her side, and the way in which she seemed to understand them kept them willing prisoners.

She was the despair of mothers with plain daughters, the avowed sweetheart of every small boy who knew her, and her popularity the envy of all. Such was Peggy when the Dashshires were quartered to the station, and every man amongst them, from the colonel to the latest joined subaltern, felt a certain feeling of self-satisfaction when he found himself the lucky man to play tennis with her, take her in to dinner, or knew that her name came next upon his dance programme. And in spite of all the attention she received there was not a woman in the station who would have dared to call her a flirt.

In just as many days as it takes minutes to write down, the Senior Subaltern had fallen in love with her. Not the sitting out dances, taking into dinner, tennis partner kind of falling in love, but the downright, serious, business-like kind of affair, which if a man is not very careful leads to marriage in no time.

Now, the Colonel saw which way the wind was blowing from the very outset, and as every decent Colonel does, he fought against it.

They know that it is madness to start trying to keep a wife before a fellow can keep himself, and that particular Colonel knew perfectly well that Wargrave, the Senior Subaltern, hadn't a penny beyond his pay. But he also knew Peggy. And if he had not had a wife himself, to say nothing of the family, he might have tried to have saved Wargrave in that way. There is no knowing. Colonels are men all the world over where a fascinating woman is concerned. And Peggy had fascinated them all without a doubt.

But the Colonel managed six months leave for Wargrave. He had been seedy. It was a splendid excuse, and the Colonel thought he was doing the very best thing for the boy.

He went home on a troohip and dreamed of Peggy and days to come.

There was no engagement, no scandal. Wargrave went and Peggy stayed.

But Fate had decreed those two should meet and their destinies be woven in one with the other.

Peggy had a letter from every port and heard regularly each mail for two months. Then something quite unforeseen happened. Sir Andrew Villiers, Peggy's grandfather, died suddenly, and her father on receipt of the cable started for home immediately.

When four months later Jimmie Wargrave rejoined his Regiment, the Colonel wondered if Fate would still have given him a married subaltern if he had not tried to circumvent her. But he took a certain amount of consolation out of the fact that the latest addition to the Regiment was one that every man amongst them was proud of. He bore his disappointment like a soldier and his wife gave a dinner party to welcome the bride.

W. K. G.



Verse.

A Dream of Youth.

METHOUGHT I dreamt a dream,
Delicious, sense-enthraling,
Ihat one, forsooth may deem
Was come of Heaven's own calling

The joys of life were there,
Such joys as never pall,
And all of earth or air
Seemed beautiful withal

The joy that beamed within me
Shone mirrored all about,
And my notes of ecstasy
Were echoed with a shout

Each phase of smiling nature
To me was full of glee
With every living creature
My heart had sympathy

Each tiny little flower
In garden, sward or heath,
Aye ! every blade of clover
With nought but joy did breathe

In every rustic maiden
I saw a thousand charms,
With homely virtues laden
Worthy my loving arms.

And nought of vice or faulting
Peopled my vision world
No sorrow, no bewailing
Was ever seen or heard.

And "always to be blessed"
Was not the lot of man,
For blessing I confessed
O'erflowed our mortal span.

In such a world methought
I lived and had my being,
Where faith was sold nor bought,
Where seeing was believing.

And then there came a waking,
My happy dream was gone,
The shadows of my making
All vanished one by one.

Alas ! it was no dream
But stern reality,
The type of what I deem
Youth's ideality.

On lightning wings it came
On lightning wings 'twas gone :
Youth is an empty name
The blushes of a dawn.

W. K. G.

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

The Persia Committee gave a banquet in honour of Mr. Shuster on the 29th January at which two hundred Persians were present. In his speech Mr. Shuster prefaced his remark with the declaration that he spoke without irritation or rancour. Reciting his experiences during the past eight months, he dealt with the opposition to the finance law, the Stokes case and confiscation of the property of Shua-eh-Sultaneh, and continued "After a careful review of the incidents of the period of several months I believe that one of two conclusions must be drawn. Either the Russian and British Governments, and particularly the former in respect of the acts of its Consular officials in Persia, must have intended to pursue a policy calculated to destroy all hope of Persia's regeneration or the two Governments must have been continuously and grossly misinformed regarding what was happening on the spot. I am not bitter about my own experience but I should be a hypocrite if I pretended not to sympathise with the bitterness of the Muhammadan people who have so forcibly learned the lesson that the Ten Commandments do not apply to international politics. Let anyone who doubts this, review the events of the past year."

Moslem Feeling.

THE Committee of the London All-India Muslim League, in forwarding the resolutions passed at a Mass Meeting of the Mussalmans of the Madras Presidency, have addressed a letter to the Under-Secretary of State, Foreign Office, in which they say —

The Committee in submitting these resolutions, at the special request of the organisers of the Meeting, beg leave to state that the feelings of concern are universal among all Muhammadans, irrespective of sectarian differences, and even extend to non Moslem communities. Both at this and the Mass Meeting held at Bombay on the 8th December as at the earlier meeting in Calcutta and other important centres of population, Sunnis and Shias have joined in appealing to His Majesty's Government to preserve, in accord with explicit declaration, of the Anglo-Russian Convention, the independent existence of Persia.

The Committee feel it necessary to mention this fact as they have observed with regret statements in certain ill informed journals, that the Persians being Shah "dissenters" any calamity to them will not effect Sunni sentiment.

At a Special Meeting of the Anjuman-i-Imamah, Shahganj, Agra, held on the 24th January, 1912, the following resolutions were passed :—

(1) That this Meeting of the Anjuman-i-Imamah, Shahganj, Agra, look with great abhorrence and regret on the highhanded action of Russia in undermining the independence and integrity of Persia and earnestly hopes and prays that British Government will use its good offices to safeguard the sovereign rights of Persia.

(2) That a copy of the above resolution be forwarded to the Viceroy with the request that this may be forwarded to the Foreign Minister.

(3) That the Anjuman is sincerely grateful to the London Persia Committee for raising their voice in defence of Persia and her sovereign rights.

(4) That the copies of the resolutions passed at this meeting should be sent to Lord Lamington, Professor Browne, Mr. Lynch, Secretary, London Persia Committee, and the Persian Consul-General in India.

At a largely attended meeting of Muhammadans of Lahore on the 26th January the following resolutions of protest against Russian aggression in Persia were passed :—That the Muhammadans of Lahore assembled in a mass meeting regard Muscovite activities in Northern Persia as an open violation of the Anglo-Russian agreement, and in placing on record their deep abhorrence of the barbarous cruelties practised upon their co-religionists in Tabriz as corroborated by the *New York Herald*, venture to call upon their benign Government to take effective steps to preserve the independence and integrity of Persia which are menaced by the Russian repudiation of the spirit of the agreement. The Mussalmans of Lahore further beg to offer their deep gratitude to Earl Curzon, Lord Lamington, Professor Browne and other notable Englishmen and Englishwomen whose disinterested efforts in pleading the cause of hopeless and distrusted people have earned the imperishable regard of millions of His Imperial Majesty's Moslem subjects. That this mass meeting of Mussalmans of Lahore is in entire accord with the

views expressed by Nawab Vikar-ul-Mulk Bahadur, Honorary Secretary of M. A.-O. College, Aligarh, as to the firm but respectful attitude that the Mussalmans should adopt in connection with the Persian and Tripolitan questions, and places its implicit confidence in the ability of the Nawab to lead them through the darkness that surrounds it at present.

"The Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League is informed by the Government of India that 'His Majesty's Government have reason to believe that the negotiations between Russia and Persia, the course of which it has been their utmost endeavour to smooth, are on the point of reaching a satisfactory conclusion'.

Russians at Tabriz.

IN THE Times of the 2nd instant there is an official statement from our Foreign Office that "His Majesty's Consul at Tabriz reports that the stories of massacre there are entirely without foundation. On the contrary, Persian women and children took refuge in the Russian camp and were well treated." In the case of Tripoli, it will be remembered, Sir E. Grey argued that the British Consul's evidence concerning the Italian atrocities was worthless because he was not present at the fighting and could not, therefore, have been an eyewitness of the alleged events, he could only report what he had heard. In that case, it was clear from Sir E. Grey's remarks, that he had a report from the British Consul, but it was against the Italians, and so he discredited and suppressed it. In Tabriz there is a report from the British Consul whitewashing the Russians. We are not told whether he was an eyewitness of the fighting or is merely retailing the Russian account. Thus does our nimble and straightforward Foreign Secretary pick his way, always excusing invasions of weak countries or censoring any humanitarian protests against atrocities committed in the course of these invasions.

Against the official Russian denials concerning the reports of the behaviour of the Russian troops at Tabriz, the following telegrams from the Andjuman (committee) at Tabriz and the Commander of the Tabriz Fidais to the Andjuman-i-Seadet-i-Iraniyan (Persian Committee) of Constantinople, published by the Berliner Tageblatt present considerable interest. The telegram from the Andjuman says —

"On 19th December the Russian troops made an attack on the public buildings. School children were kicked about and maltreated. Passers-by and sick and weak persons were killed. A few shops were pillaged. The population, which had hitherto shown extraordinary patience, flew to arms, and drove the Russians out of the public buildings.

"On 20th December the Russians, who had concentrated their forces at Bagh-i-Shemal, opened fire on the city. On 21st December there was a pause, and it was rumoured that negotiations were about to be entered upon. The population then laid aside their arms. The Russians, however, reopened fire, and women and other non-combatants were shot at—especially near the Russian Consulate and Bagh-i-Shemal. Numerous members of prominent families were wounded there and taken prisoners. The terror which seized the population was extraordinary. A large number of children and women were killed, and various houses were burnt down."

The telegram of the Commander of the Fidais says "During the night of 20th December the Russians suddenly attacked and occupied the police premises. Two policemen were killed, and the offices were broken into. In the morning the Russians occupied the law courts and the premises of the Andjuman. Peaceful citizens in all parts of the town and the bazaar were robbed and maltreated. I could not view these atrocities calmly, and to vindicate Persia's rights I drove the Russians out of the public buildings. Acting upon the orders of the Central Government, I called upon the populace to preserve calm. Thereupon, on 21st and 22nd December the Russians began firing upon the city. They killed a number of women and children, and burnt numerous houses, including the properties of Hadji Hasan Khatai and Hadji Kazim Seraf. Twelve members of the former's family, including women and children, were wounded and are now in the hands of the Russians as prisoners. . . . The atrocities and barbarity of the Russians are unparalleled" — Egypt.

THE *Nova Vremya* of last Saturday publishes the following brief telegrams from Tabriz :—

"To-day our troops blew up the houses of Sattar Khan and Baghir Khan, who played a prominent part in the first siege of

3rd February.

Tabriz and caused enormous losses to our subjects. Their property has been confiscated."

"Four houses have been blown up from which our troops were shot at on 21st and 22nd December. Three more persons have been hanged by decision of the field court-martial. Order in town is being restored."

"Yesterday the new Governor-General Shuja-ed-Dowleh, paid a visit to Major-General Voropanoff, commander of the Russian troops, who repaid the visit to-day."

Of this Shuja-ed Dowleh (otherwise known as Samad Khan) a gentleman well acquainted with Persian affairs observed in the course of conversation with a representative of the Russian Liberal organ *Retch* on Sunday last that "no sooner did the Russian troops occupy Tabriz than Samad Khan, an adherent of the ex-Shah, hastened to enter the city and proclaimed himself Governor. This same Samad Khan had never even dared to come anywhere near the gates of Tabriz since last June. Now, however, when Tabriz has fallen into the hands of the Russian troops, the adherent of the ex-Shah comes freely into Tabriz."

The same gentleman spoke of the recent executions in Persia as follows:—"The telegraph has already brought the news of the execution of Persians guilty of treacherous attacks upon the Russian detachment at Tabriz. The St Petersburg Telegraph Agency has, with the consent of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, informed the world that among the executed was a certain mullah,



London, i

[Daily News]

CERTAINLY!

Russia to John Bull: "Thanks very much for your help in that last affair. I presume I may rely upon your passive assistance in this case."

Sikat-ul-Islam. But this Sikat-ul-Islam was one of the most prominent personalities of modern Persia! He was one of the so-called mudjtehids who . . . or the one hand form the highest class of Moslem clergy, and on the other act as interpreters of the Sharīat (religious law), on which the entire social life of Persia is based. The mudjtehids are learned theologians, enjoying the unlimited confidence and affection of the entire population. There are at present in Persia altogether about three or four mudjtehids, and among them the Sikat-ul-Islam was the most prominent. I have a firm conviction that his execution will arouse the indignation not only of the Persians but also of the Moslems of other countries. And what is still more melancholy, is that the execution was carried out on the tenth day of Muharram, the sacred day of the sacred month of the Persians . . . I am quite surprised that M. Miller, the Russian Consul General, who is regarded as an authority on Persia, should not have considered those facts and should not have permitted the Sikat-ul-Islam to be executed on that day. Of course I am unable to say whether the late mudjtehid was really guilty of a treacherous attack upon Russian troops. I can only say this—if he really had taken part in the anti-Russian movement he would surely not have waited for the court-martial, but would have left Tabriz in good time."

Reuter's Agency learns that telegrams have been received from Russian sources at Tabriz giving details of the situation arising out

of the recent attack on the Russians. According to these Sikat-ul-Islam, the high ecclesiastic whose execution has given rise to some adverse comment, had been preaching the extermination of the Russians, and in this he was assisted by other members of the clergy and also by the military commander of the Fidais. Notwithstanding repeated requests from the Russian Consul that steps should be taken to stop the assembling of the Fidais, Sikat-ul-Islam continued to encourage these "Anarchist" meetings. Documents were found on him proving that neither he nor the Anjuman had carried out the orders received from Teheran to stop the agitation against the Russians.

The execution of Sikat-ul-Islam was carried out on the evening after the conclusion of the Mussalman "feast" (i.e., the Muharram mourning) after a trial by the Military tribunal. Fifteen of the ringleaders of the attack on the Russians were sentenced to death and executed, while 26 were pardoned and released. All the accused were handed over to the Military tribunal by the population themselves.

The Liberal *Retch* of St Petersburg comments upon the latest events in Persia in the following strain:—"Is it the end of Persian affairs and of Persia itself? The latest telegrams of the Russian Telegraph Agency from Persia announce occurrences which are familiar from the practice of the various expeditionary corps in Russia [the forces which suppressed the revolution in the Baltic provinces, the Caucasus, and elsewhere in 1906]. They, as it were, carry us back to the familiar surroundings of our own life. The telegrams speak monotonously enough of gallows raised for the enhancement of Russian 'prestige,' of hanged mudjtehids, of blown-up houses according to the practice of Yalta [under the famous Governor Dumbaze in 1906 and 1907], of editors of Persian Liberal organs flogged in the presence of the Russian Consul. Such is the triumphal progress of the punitive expedition and field court-martial justice! The results as attested by the same agency are excellent. Everywhere 'order' is being restored by command of the Russian authorities, the bazaars and the shops are being opened, the local authorities which had been appointed by the Constitutional Government of Persia are fleeing or taking 'bast' [asylum], and the population greets with enthusiasm the execution of its spiritual leaders, and is filled with gratitude at the sight of the Russian rifles and nagaukas which have freed it from the hated agitators."

"This picture, however, is not complete. It must be supplemented by another series of facts which run parallel with these occurrences. The two series are indeed closely bound up together, the second not only accompanying but being actually provoked by the former. The telegrams describing the successful action of the Russian expeditionary forces are followed by others describing the revived hopes of the ex-Shah, his relatives, friends, and adherents, the increased chances of his success, and the active steps taken by him and his adherents for realising these chances. The triumphal progress of the punitive expedition clears the road for Mahomet Ali and his Turcoman and Shahsevan bands. Mahomet Ali is only waiting for the withdrawal of the Russian troops. By his own efforts he was unable to destroy in the North of Persia the sparks of the regenerated national life and extinguish the feeble light of Persian liberty."

The allusion to the activity of the ex-Shah is no doubt based upon a communication published by the *Novoe Vremya* a few days ago, coming apparently from the ex-Shah's own entourage, saying that a Circassian officer from the Caucasus named Hadji Muiaid Daudeff is now organising his Turcoman forces, that his residence at Guntish Tepe is the centre of great military activity, that his bodyguard is composed of Moslem Ossetians from the Caucasus, and that the end of the January or beginning of February (O.S.) would probably see his advance on Teheran.

—*Manchester Guardian*.

England's Duty to Persia.

To the Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*.

Sir,—I trust that at the protest meeting to be held about Persia on the 15th instant, someone with a better sight than I have to be listened to will have the courage to speak out the one word which alone can save the situation at Teheran, namely, that it is England's duty and in this case to break with Russia and to fight for Persia's independence.

The *Times* a few days ago challenged its contemporaries of the Liberal Press to say that Persia was "worth the bones of a single British grenadier," and mocked at those who were urging Sir Edward Grey to use his moral influence with the Russian Government to spare its victim. I confess that it seemed to me the *Times* was right, and I have looked since to see the challenge taken up, but so far in vain. Even you, sir, who have been so good a friend to Persia, have stopped short at this, and continue to treat it as a first premise of the case that war for Persia is not to be thought of, though you would have Sir Edward Grey protest and even withdraw from the Entente of 1907.

I venture to ask in what way such a protest or even such a withdrawal, would save Persia from her fate. Let us conceive Sir Edward protesting on moral grounds. What would be his arguments with the Russian Ambassador of sufficient efficacy to secure a retirement of the Russian troops from Kazvin or Tabriz? He would be obliged to point out how wrong a thing it was for a great Christian Power to take advantage of the weakness and financial straits of an ancient but non-Christian nation to occupy its territory on the plea of restoring order, an order it had itself disturbed. He would have to protest against the bloodshed, the massacre and the rest of the horrors thereby inflicted on a people proud of their independence and resenting foreign invasion, the atrocities of war to be followed by executions on the plea of pretended rebellion. He would feel it his duty to warn His Excellency, as a friend, against the terrible temptation there would be to remain on in possession on the further plea of repairing the injury done, of educating the conquered people to self-government, and finally of protecting foreign interests, which would have grown up in connection with the foreign occupation, while it would be impossible for the Occupying Power to evade the duty of just government as long as its military control should be continued. It would be a sad thing to see Russia descend step by step to the moral degradation of having to suppress all the reality of Persian independence, and finally, perhaps, annex Persia to the Czar's already over-burdened Empire. If we can imagine the good Sir Edward Grey plying His Russian Excellency with these quite admirable phrases, we can also imagine the polite smile with which they would be received, ending in ripples of less staid hilarity *Allez, donc, far eur! Parlez moi de l'Egypte!*

No. I venture to affirm that moral protest applied by Sir Edward Grey, seeing what his Foreign Office morality of late has been, to the Foreign Office of His Majesty the Czar, seeing what Russian morality notoriously is, would only expose our Government to confusion. In this I agree with the *Times*. What I do not agree with is that the alternative is to go on with our wrongdoing, and where Russia insists with us on taking her point of flesh in Northern Persia to console ourselves with taking ours in the South. What we could honourably do is—though we should have to choose some other mouthpiece than Sir Edward Grey—to speak out as a people here in England, and, confessing the enormity of our former sins, declare that we will go no further in these scandalous adventures. We must repudiate Sir Edward Grey and his unholy policy of alliances with all the robber nations of Europe and declare ourselves henceforth Persia's ally to the point of war with Russia if necessary. We should run small risk in taking up the more manly attitude. The Russian army is no such formidable foe to meet, and we should at once have Turkey with us on the Persian frontier, regaining thus the long forfeited goodwill of Islam. If at the same time we were to all friendship to join Germany in ending the Italian raid on Tripoli, we might start afresh on lines less deplorable than those which our Foreign Office has been following for the last few years—lines also I venture to say, infinitely less dangerous to our own safety here in England. The policy of "throwing the children to the wolves," is a coward's policy unworthy of our honourable past. It has been pursued by Sir Edward Grey to the verge of insanity. Let us return to our old courageous virtue while we can. This is the dividing line. Let us refuse to cross it, or it will lead us and our Empire to well-merited destruction.

WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT

Persia Moritura.

'Home of the free! Protector of the weak!
Shall we and this great grey ally make sand
(Of all a nation's budding green, and wreck
Our winter will on that unhappy land?
Is all our steel of soul dissolved and flown?
Havr fumes of fear encased our heart of flame?
Are we with panic so deep rotted down
In self, that we can feel no longer shame
To league, and steal a nation's hope of youth?
Oh! Sirs! Is our star merely cynical?
Is God reduced? That we must darken truth,
And break our honour with this creeping fall?
Is freedom but a word—a flaring boast?
Is self-concern horizon's utter sum?
If so—t-day let England die, and ghost
Through all her godless history to come!
My, Sirs, the faith of men be force alone,
Let us ring down—the farce is nothing worth!
If life be only prayer to things of stone—
Come death! And let us, friends go mocking forth!
But if there's aught, in all Time's bloody hours,
Of justice, if the herbs of pity grow—
O native land, let not those only flowers
Of God be desert-trown and withered now!

JOHN GALSWORTHY, in the Nation.

CORRESPONDENCE



Petty Despotism.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE"

SIR,—Will you extend me the courtesy of your columns to bring to light the highly voracious method adopted in a certain district of the Rukilkhand Division for raising "subscriptions" for the King Edward Memorial Fund?

In three different Tahsils where my family property is situated payment has been demanded of my Karindas when they appeared with the Government Revenue. In two of these cases the Wasalbaqnavis is reported, despite the Karinda's protests, to have appropriated a certain sum out of the amount tendered as Government Revenue, leaving an equal sum to stand as arrears, while in a third case he refused to take payment of the Revenue until the so-called "subscription" was paid. The agents concerned were instructed to complain of the illegal exactions to the District Officer and, in one case I am informed that the money has been actually recovered. But in the other the Karinda was permitted by me not to insist on the withdrawal of the money, though he says he made it clear that it had originally been appropriated in spite of his refusal to "subscribe." In the third Tahsil, my agent being repeatedly unsuccessful in his efforts to pay down the Government demand, the amount of the last rabi demand was remitted by post accompanied by a detailed explanation why this course had to be adopted.

Once again one of my Karindas is being pressed for subscriptions, and as I cannot reconcile myself to this high-handed method of collections my poor representatives on the spot are between the devil and the deep sea. I know of a number of other landholders who have been subjected to similar treatment and our Karindas state that the practice is general.

Whether or no this annoyance is practised by "petty despots" to the complete ignorance of high authorities, the practice itself is a fearful nuisance to all respecting persons and, more than that, to the poor agents.

If you will, therefore, be instrumental by ventilating this grievance in securing relief to these persons, you will have done a very useful service to the landholders of the district and earned my personal gratitude.

LANDHOLDER.

Anecdote.

A WITTY saying of Lady Duff Gordon comes from across the Atlantic. Whenever she goes to New York, the pressmen hasten to her to get the latest tips on fashion, and this time the reporter who encountered her on the *Kronprinzessin* heard from her that the directoire skirt is coming back.

The directoire skirt, if you recall, is somewhat slit up the side. Lady Duff explained that the real things in Society would not have the directoire cut any higher than so, although some of the lesser ones might let it go to here. At this stage other pressmen joined in. The first reporter was annoyed. "Here I am," he said, "talking to a lady and a lot of perfect strangers come butting in." "You will find," said Lady Duff Gordon, "that the directoire skirt will always have that effect upon perfect strangers."

AN IRISH doctor, while enjoying a holiday in the country, took the opportunity along with a friend to go fishing. During operations the doctor's sinker came off and was lost. He was in a dilemma—no sinker, no more fishing that day. Happy thought; he had a bottle in his pocket. The bottle was filled with water, carefully corked, and sent down on its mission.

After a few minutes' interval the doctor had a bite and pulled up his line at racing speed, finding a fine pair of fish, one on each hook. "Ha, doctor, twins this time!" exclaimed his companion. "Yes," quoth the doctor, "and brought up on the bottle, too."

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Reuter wires from Paris on the 24th.—It is announced that pourparlers on the subject of the release of the Turks seized on board the *Manouba* are proceeding favourably. It is officially stated that the Italian enquiry corroborates the report that there are several doctors and hospital attendants among the *Manouba* prisoners. Others are stated to be treasury clerks. The wording of the note preliminary to their liberation is now being discussed.

Reuter wires from Paris on the 27th.—The Franco-Italian incident has been settled to the mutual satisfaction of all parties concerned.

By the settlement reached in the case of the French vessel *Manouba*, seized by the Italians, the Turks who were taken prisoners will be returned to France, when the French Government will establish their identity. The questions of principle and law involved by the seizures will be submitted to The Hague.

Reuter wires from Paris on the 27th.—The Turks captured on board the *Manouba*, have been transferred to the French Consulate at Cagliari.

The French Charge D'Affaires in Rome has been recalled to Paris to explain the handing over of the Turks to the Italians.

Reuter wires from Paris on the 29th.—The Turkish passengers from *Manouba* sailed for Marseilles this morning.

Italian warships have shelled points of the Coast of Syria between Gaza and Rishah, terrorizing the Bedouins.

Reuter wires from Tunis on the 27th.—The French steamer *Thouignano* was seized by Italian torpedo boats off the coast of Tunis and was taken to Tripoli. The vessel was, however, released after being searched.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 29th.—Following the night skirmishes, three thousand Arabs assaulted a position on the outskirts of Tripoli at dawn on the 27th instant, but were repulsed. The Italians lost two killed and eight wounded.

Reuter wires from Hodeidah on the 29th.—The Italian Cruiser *Piemonte* has seized a motor launch belonging to Messrs Thorneycroft which was flying the Union Jack.

Reuter wires from Perni on the 29th.—The Italians are effectively blockading the Yemen Coast. It is reported that the British Consul at Hodeidah has requested the presence of a warship. The Italians are threatening to bombard the town.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 29th.—With a view to preventing the recurrence of the seizure of vessels, the appointment of a Franco-Italian Commission is being considered to establish a modus vivendi.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 26th.—A telegram from Massawa states that the gunboat *Volturro* has arrived there with the twenty-six Turkish military men captured on board the steamers *Africa* and *Bregenz*. The prisoners from the latter vessel included the Major Commanding the fort of Hodeidah, which fired on the *Volturro* on 2nd October last.

A Turkish band attacked a Bulgarian Monastery in the Uskukh district and led nine of the inmates to the church where they were decapitated. The band afterwards desecrated the church and plundered the monastery.

The affairs at Strumnitza on the 29th January where a bomb exploded killing six and wounding eight and that at Uskukh are characteristic of the present condition of Macedonia where the situation is becoming more serious.

A remarkable feature is the reconciliation between the Greek and Bulgarian Churches which have hitherto been at feud, in the face of Turkish repression.

Reuter wires from Paris.—A torpedo flotilla is leaving Bizerta for exercises off the coast of Tunisia. It is hoped to check attempts to land contraband.

The New Turkish Cabinet.

	Present Minister.	Former Minister.
Grand Vizier	Said Pasha	Said Pasha.
Sheikh-ul-Islam	Nessib Effendi	Kiassim Effendi.
Minister of War	M. Shevket Pasha	M. Shevket Pasha.
" Justice	Memduh Bey	Khairi Bey.
" Finance	Nail Bey	Nail Bey.
" Marine	Khurshid Pasha	Khurshid Pasha.
" Public Works	Sinapian Effendi	Khulouzi Bey.
" Auqaf	Khuln Bey	Khairi Bey.
" Mines & Forests	Ariatidi Pasha	Sinapian Effendi.
" Post & Telegraphs	Ibrahim Sousa Effendi	Ibrahim Sousa Effendi.
" Education	Amrullah Effendi	Amrullah Effendi.
Menah Bey will act as Minister of the Interior until the appointment is filled.		

Saloum.

THOUGH downright lying is not often resorted to by our Foreign Office, Sir Edward Grey has gone very near to it in regard to Tripoli. He was pined during the late session with questions about his complicity with that ungodly raid, as to which nobody with the smallest knowledge of foreign affairs had any doubt, not only of his foreknowledge, but that he was a consenting and approving party. He took up, however, so determined a position of denial that even so stalwart a questioner as Mr. John Dillon had to fall back disconcerted. Now, however, it appears from the confession of a member of the French Government that both the French and the English Governments had some time before come to an understanding with Italy that in the event of the intended raid being successful France should have acknowledged to her as part of Tunisian territory the oasis of Janet and England the seacoast west of Alexandria as far as Saloum Bay for Egypt. The arrangement evidently carries with it a foregone consent to the Italian design. Saloum and Janet were to be the £5 notes demanded as blackmail by the two consenting Powers before they agreed to stand in with the adventure. As a matter of history, there has been a longstanding dispute between the Ottoman Government, as sovereign lord of the Tripolitan coast, and the Viceroys of Egypt in regard to the exact western frontier line between the two Pashaliks. But it was considered of small importance and was never closely pressed, the disputed territory being almost entirely without settled population, or other inhabitants than the camel-herding nomads who crossed and re-crossed the frontier. Neither Pashalik ever raised taxes or exercised the least executive authority in the district, nor did it contain a seaport worthy of the name. The value of Saloum was never discovered until the other day, and has since been very largely exaggerated. It is not a port or a place capable of being made into a port, but only a large, open roadstead, protected from the prevailing westerly and north-westerly winds, with good holding ground for anchorage, though quite unprotected from the east. The Arab tribes in its neighbourhood are a peculiarly wild and fanatically warlike race, accustomed to maintain their independence in arms, and it was worth nobody's while to attempt to subdue them. We are inclined to think that apart from the advantage taken by Sir Edward Grey of the Sultan's difficulties in North Africa, the importance of the matter has been somewhat exaggerated. As long as the Cyrenaica remained in Ottoman hands it possessed, indeed, almost none. But should the Italian Government succeed in its permanent occupation of Tobruk, there is no doubt that it would be an advantage to Egypt that the Italian frontier line should be as far removed as possible from Alexandria, which was only a short distance from the boundary claimed by the Porte. In the hands of an enterprising European Power railway communication in a country quite devoid of natural barriers would certainly be established, and might be made to extend to within striking distance of the open Delta. Public opinion, however, in Egypt has been roused by the taking possession of Saloum by Hopkinson Pasha for Lord Kitchener, and it is interpreted as a design to prevent the passage of Egyptian volunteers and the conveyance of arms to the defenders of Tripoli. It is not at all unlikely that this may be the explanation, as by the latest accounts we learn that a new military cordon has been established on the eastern frontier with such an avowed object. It was for criticism in this sense of Lord Kitchener's Government that the Nationalist organ *Al Alam* has just been suppressed.—*Egypt*.

Pierre Loti's Indictment.

M. Pierre Loti, the celebrated French writer, publishes in the *Pigaro* a passionate protest against the war in Tripoli. He recalls a sudden attack of a panther on a buffalo which he witnessed one night in an African thicket, and says: "My mind has brought into juxtaposition this incident in the thicket and the Italo-Turkish war. The same brusquerie, the same agility of the assailant, the same inequality of arms, and the semi-heroic fury of defence. But now it is human beings! And Europe, as always when people are being massacred, looks on calmly! What a decision—all those big, empty words, 'progress,' pacifism,' 'conferences,' and 'arbitration.'"

M. Loti is aware that the French, too, had in the past a hand in such conquests. "Let us bow our heads!" he exclaims. "It is not against the Italians only that he raises his protest but against all of the so-called Christian peoples of Europe. "It is always we who are the biggest killers, it is we who, with the words of fraternity on our lips are every year inventing some new and more infernal expedite—us who put to fire and the sword for purposes of plunder,

the old African or Asiatic world and treat men of the brown or yellow race like cattle. Everywhere we are destroying with our mitrailleuses civilisations different from ours, which we despise without understanding, simply because they are less practical, less utilitarian, and less heavily armed. And when we have finished killing we bring our unbridled exploitation, our gangs of workmen, our large factories which are destructive of the small personal industries, and agitation, ugliness, drunkenness, cupidity, and despair. . . . In the eyes of Europe the Moslems of all countries are but so much game which it is permissible to shoot, and this shooting is generally successful, thanks to the superiority of Europe's killing machine."

M Loti continues. "A great din has been raised naturally in Italy about the Bedouin atrocities. Granted. I know the inhabitants of the desert. I certainly do not regard them as very tender persons, and I deplore with all my heart the fate of the poor little soldiers who fell into their excited hands. But how I understand the fury of their hatred, their exasperated thirst for vengeance! Ah, those strangers who without the slightest provocation, disembarked one sinister day like demons to cut down, to burn down and to kill everybody! And the Italian atrocities? Alas! there was much of that too, and less excusable certainly. In those infamous days of October did they not dare, in contravention of the law of nations and of the strict rules of the Hague Convention, to shoot down in a mass the Arabs merely because they were suspected of having taken arms? And then they killed as if in amusement, and the bodies of several burdened inoffensive cultivators were thrown about the oasis, which became a human slaughter-house. And the savage scenes which attended the execution of the kavass Marco! And the humble sailing-boats of the Arabs in the Red Sea, burnt down by the Italian warships on the pretext that they might perhaps be used for the transport of troops!"

After an eloquent appeal to the "poor, beautiful, and spruce Italy, the friend of our own nation," Loti turns once more to the tragic spectacle in the African thicket, and recalls the appearance of the hyenas after the buffalo had been left by the panther. The behaviour of "certain European States" in demanding at this juncture "compensations" from Turkey reminds him of those hyenas. "Compensations for what?" he exclaims. "What has Turkey done to them at any rate? Verily I prefer the hyenas of the thicket, who at least did not use any formulas"—*Egypt*.

The Desert War.

By Alan Ostler.

"EXPRESS" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

TURKISH HEADQUARTER CAMP

Ain Zara, November 25.

Is CHRISTIANITY dead in Europe? Is it indifference to the transgression of every principle of our professed faith which allows the Christian Powers to look on while Christian fights Moslem, and fights foul in every way, while the Moslem fight fair? Or is it merely that Europe is ignorant of the inhuman way in which Italy is waging war on a mere garrison of Turks and a few thousand ragged Arab tribesmen?

Hitherto the truth about Tripoli has been sedulously kept by the Italian censors from reaching Europe, and I believe that since the news of that hideous massacre of women and children leaked out nothing has been known. But though that massacre—I could add a score of almost incredible details to those already made known—though that massacre is Italy's most revolting crime against civilisation, it is by no means the only one. The Italians have bombarded our hospitals here, although the white flag flies from the roofs. This is not done in ignorance. Bombs have been deliberately dropped on them from aeroplanes, and the Italian gunners, having watched the hurried transference of sick and wounded from one hospital to another, have intentionally made a target of the new shelter. They have flatly refused to allow any medical stores to reach the Turkish army. Our doctors have not enough drugs or surgical instruments, and bandages have to be improvised from strips of clothing. Our sick and wounded—among them an English officer, who has lain in bed for six weeks with dysentery—are suffering for want of proper attention. The Italians know it, and have refused the application made to them for permission to pass medical stores through to the Turks.

Italian Cruisers patrol the coast, casually bombarding any miserable village in sight. They wrecked Zouara with their shells, giving no warning of their intended bombardment; so that women, children, and invalids had to be withdrawn under fire. It is also reported that the Italians, having made no prisoners of war (for reasons which I shall state presently) have transhipped about three thousand of the non-combatant Arab population of Tripoli to Italy, to exhibit the poor wretches there as proofs of the "catastrophic success of Italian arms." Meanwhile, the Moslem fight fair—and wisely. For let there be no mistake about it. Turkey

is winning all along the line. The headquarter camp of Nechat Bey, in which I now write, was occupied less than a month ago by the Italians. Now, the Italians hardly dare to show themselves beyond the walls of Tripoli. This afternoon I rode out, with a small party of officers, beyond our advanced posts almost to the town itself. We were seen and fired at by heavy artillery from three separate points. The Italian gunners think half a dozen mounted men well worth the expenditure of a score or so of their biggest shells. All day long, the boom of Italian cannon rolls and mutters over the sand dunes. One would think that heavy artillery duels between two armies in close conflict were constantly in progress.

They would be, if the Turks had their way; but as it is, this perpetual thunder of guns means that a Turkish scout has shown up for a moment on the skyline, or that an Italian gunner thinks he has seen a horse or two on the horizon. But, though they bombard with much noise, they have hitherto done little harm, and for days they have refused to come out into the open. As a matter of fact, it is of the Arabs that the Italians are afraid. That massacre of unarmed men, of women, and of children was a bad mistake. Without it, Italy need hardly have feared any serious opposition from the Arab tribesmen, for the Arab is not a patriot, and not even the Turks themselves had much hope of help from the tribes. They knew that the Arab, though he can be fanatical enough, is not gifted with foresight. He seeks always his immediate profit and would probably have preferred selling provisions to Turks and Italians alike to taking up arms for either. But that massacre has roused the whole population of the desert. Touch his wife, his horse, or his house, and you rouse undying enmity in the Arab, and the Arabs of Tripoli have seen well filled with the mutilated bodies of their wives and children; have seen their unarmed fathers and brothers shot down in scores; their poor houses battered into dust by Italian shells, their gardens wantonly ruined, and their trees destroyed. There are other considerations, too, which make it highly improbable that the ever be reconciled to the notion of Arabs will peace. The Turks provide them with arms, and an Arab will do almost anything for a handful of cartridges. The Arab auxiliaries receive fodder for their horses, rice for themselves, and a piastre (5d.) apiece per day.

And, more than all, there are prospects of unlimited plunder. Italian carbines, knapsacks, bayonets, boots, saddles, even wagons (of the Bersaglieri) are scattered all over Northern Tripoli. Loot is being sold every day in the markets, and even horses are going cheap. For the Arab this is primarily a war of vengeance; but it is a war of rich profits also, and the Arab, at least, will never seek for peace. How, then, is all this to end? It took the French, who, after all, are soldiers, forty years to "pacify" Algeria—*au bout du canon*. What chance has this Italian army of ever venturing outside the walls of Tripoli? Were it not for the guns of their fleet they could not even hold their present position; and the prospects of a successful advance do not present themselves at all.

The Turks themselves hope that Italy will be unable to continue the war, owing to the enormous expense which it entails upon her. The cost of the war to Turkey is practically nothing, but the reckless expenditure of big-gun ammunition alone costs the Italians thousands every hour.

There are a few Italian prisoners here with the Turks. They have been allowed to telegraph home, at the expense of the Ottoman Government, to say that they are safe and in no danger of being eaten (which they firmly believed would be their fate), and those of them that are wounded receive every attention that the limited resources of the Turkish hospitals afford. The Turkish doctors have other patients, too. I was in one of the medical tents this morning, and there entered a muffled little figure in the dress of an Arab girl. Hiding her face, she crouched on the floor, and the doctor, removing bandages and pads, showed me a ghastly cavity in the poor little creature's shoulder. An Italian bullet had entered—from behind—and had passed through, making a dreadful wound. I questioned her, and the child, still muffling her face in her striped robe, told me how the Christian soldiers broke into her father's house and killed her mother and sister, and how she, being near the door, had run out into the street. Some of the soldiers followed her to the door, and stood there haling at her as she ran down the street; and "At last," said she, "one of those Christians shot me, as you see, here in the shoulder, and I fell down."

A Paladin in Tripoli.

WRITING from the Turkish Headquarters at Azizia the special correspondent of the *Daily Express* says.—

The hospital near the old headquarter camp at Ain Zara was a long, low structure of whitewashed mud strengthened by palm beams. A tunnelled archway ran under the middle of the building—convalescent Turkish and Arab soldiers used to squat in the shade of it, watching Italian shells tear up the ground within a few

hundred feet—and on the far side was a large, untidy quadrangle. Here, generally in the early morning bands of armed Arabs were wont to arrive from the fighting line down at Sok-el-Juma, their apparent object being to chant weird, mournful dirges for a short while, and then hurry back to battle. But these strange, monotonous chants had a very special significance. They were prayers to Allah for the speedy recovery of a sick man, and the Arabs who sang them had come all the way across the sand-dunes from the fighting line, to learn how much longer it would be before "our Englishman" could once more lead into battle the savage soldiers who had come to look on him as a mascot—a specially appointed destroyer of the Italians. It was a weird ceremony. It made one think of veterans of the Mutiny and tribes on the Afghan frontier who once defied a great English soldier, and, as the tales go, still pray to the spirit of "Nikalsry," Sabir.

I wonder how many Englishmen could boast of such adventures as have already fallen to the lot of this young lieutenant of the Royal Fusiliers, who came out here from England less than three months ago, and is already the idol of the Arab irregulars. Arabs, as a race, are not particularly given to placing foreigners on pedestals, but they certainly do idolise Mr Montagu. He can actually make his men withhold their fire, or refrain from rushing tactics until the right moment. Anybody who knows the Arab's propensity to squit his rifle off as soon as he sees the enemy, or to deliver a wild charge at precisely the wrong moment, will almost doubt this statement; but it is perfectly true. It is to his control over practically undisciplined men that Mr Montagu owes his record—unbroken of successes against the Italians here. He was one of many English officers who set out with the idea of helping the Turks in Tripoli. And he was the only one to get here. What became of the rest no one here knows. Possibly they realised that officers who go to the trouble of really trying to learn anything of the art of war are liable to get into trouble with the authorities at home. At any rate, they did not reach the front, and Mr. Montagu did.

He seems to have been drawn at once into a very whirlpool of adventure. He spent eleven days (many of them without drinking water) in an undocked Arab sailing boat, which brought him from Sfax to Zouara. Then he pushed on to headquarters, and after spending three days with the staff, learning the lie of the country and the disposition of the enemy down he went to Sok el Juma and set to work, with raw Arab levies, to harass the Italians.

One pieces together the story of his doings up to the time that he went down with dysentery, mainly from the eulogies of Turkish officers, and the unrestrained praises of the Arabs who fought under him. From the man himself, one learns next to nothing. I suppose it is characteristic of the Englishman that, having passed through more than usually stirring happenings, he is unable, or unwilling to give anything like a vivid description of them. The retreat of an Italian battalion, for example, in which the Arabs cut to pieces about a hundred men, would make an epic in the mouth of a French officer, even of the Foreign Legion. Still, one manages to gather an outline of the way in which Montagu and his Arabs managed in the space of practically a few days to demoralise the whole Italian Army.

This sort of thing, for instance. On the day after his first engagement, wherein Italians were dislodged from a series of fortified houses and chased for six hundred yards, he went out early in the morning with Efrem Efendi, a young cavalry subaltern, to prepare the stage for the day's performance. They cast about for a nice snug place for their guns, and found it among the gardens and houses occupied by the enemy's Maxims. Then they went back to lunch. They came down in the afternoon with a company of Turkish soldiers and about 2,000 Arabs, Mr Montagu taking command. He pushed his guns and infantry up to within 150 yards of the Italian Maxims, and found himself face to face with a nest of loopholed and fortified houses, screened by four parallel walls, and pouring forth a perfect storm of bullets. Montagu made his Arabs take cover as they could find it ("I saw one chap squirm up behind a pile of nasty putrid corpse"), and absolutely forbade them to fire a shot until the word of command was given. Then he set to work to batter down the walls, hammering at them from guns Nos 1 and 3 with shell, while 2 and 4 sent shrapnel over them among the houses. "After a bit, down goes the first wall, and we saw the chaps who'd been potting at us from behind it bolting like mad to get behind the next wall. So I turned Nos 2 and 4 guns into the thick of 'em, and simply gave 'em beans till they got into cover." All four guns loaded with bursting shell soon demolished the second wall of defence, and the Italians, about a battalion strong, left their trenches and took shelter in the houses. From the windows and loopholes of the biggest of these, their Maxims sent a frantic fire. Result—two Turkish gunners wounded. Presently the heavy shell-fire from the Turkish guns blew a couple of breaches in the wall—"one of the windows shut down just like a man's eye winking at you"—and burst the door in; whereupon the enemy decamped with their Maxims by the back way, followed by a hail of shrapnel.

The enemy's retreat was the sequel for the charge of the Arabs, Montagu leading them, while his second-in-command stayed to work the guns. Many of the Italians had gained the shelter of other houses, but the Arabs, with bayonets, scimitars, two-handed swords and even daggers, caught the disorganized main body before it had gone many yards, and killed right and left. The Arab rush was only checked by the Italian Maxims, which had managed to take up a position half a mile to the rear of their original line. Mr. Montagu left patrolling pickets and outposts and returned to camp, his men following with a vast booty of Italian rifles, ammunition, kit, beds, bedding, and general stores. I believe this profitable afternoon was followed up by an unusually spirited little night attack (of which there were several every week); and it made a good prelude to the general attack under Fethi Bey, in which Mr. Montagu was prominent. He gave his Arabs—and the enemy—no rest, and was always successful; or, as he puts it "had heaps of luck."

His day's routine is interesting. Breakfast at about six, with horse ready saddled, and Arabs fidgeting like a pack waiting to be unkennelled. Mixed fighting all the morning, mainly skirmishing and reconnaissance, followed by lunch and an hour's rest. Then a more or less formal attack, generally lasting until dusk, and often enough prolonged, with an interval for a hurried dinner, into series of night skirmishes, "just to keep the other Johnnies on the hop you know." Which it seems to have done.

The following is written by Mr H. Montagu:—

ONE may live through a lot in three months. It is difficult for me to realise that the experiences which I shall endeavour to relate in these articles have been compressed into a period which opened with the early days of October. But so it is. On the morning of Saturday, 30th September, the news reached Aldershot of the outbreak of war, on the night of the following Monday I left England for the theatre of hostilities, and on the evening of New Year's Day I reached London once again.

I have always been interested in Turkey and the Turks, and I was not the only officer at Aldershot who determined to join the Turkish forces in Tripoli. That Saturday afternoon I motored up to town and visited the Turkish Ambassador. I received my papers on the Sunday, and getting my traps together as quickly as I could I started on the Monday night for Marseilles, en route for Sfax.

One of my brother officers started a day ahead of me, and several others endeavoured to make the journey via Italy and Tripoli town, but I was the only one who was fortunate enough to get through. I was held up in Marseilles for four days waiting for a boat, and in Sfax for another ten days. Here I found a man who, for an absurdly high price, was ready to risk a run for Zwarra in his boat. Before closing with him I sought out the Governor of Sfax, and, representing myself to be a journalist, asked to be allowed to cross the frontier. But the Governor coldly advised me to go back to England, and I realised that I should have to close with my Arab and take the risks.

At a cafe in Sfax I came across Mr. Seppings Wright, the Special Correspondent of the *Central News*. He was in difficulties with the authorities, and was despairing of his chances of joining the Turks, so I offered him a place in my dhow, and in the dead of night, when the good people of Sfax thought us safe on the English steamer, we started off on that frightful voyage to Bukamesch which has already been pretty fully described. Storm-battered and ready for anything rather than another such trip, we eventually landed at Bukamesch, where Wright and I took passage for Zwarra.

At Zwarra we made ourselves known to Mousaa Bey, the district commander, and we received the most cordial of welcomes. On the following day we were waited upon by two Deputies from Constantinople (Rami Bey was one of them), who had been sent to Tripoli to preach the Holy War. They were accompanied by a Turkish officer, Abdul Kadir Bey, with whom I became firm friends, and it was decided that we should all journey together to headquarters.

We rode, with an escort of a dozen cavalrymen, as far as Adjiet, but on the morning following our arrival we learned that a telegram had come in from head-quarters giving orders for Wright and myself to be sent back to Zwarra. The Turkish communications were rapid and good, and news of the arrival of two Englishmen—one of them admittedly a journalist—had gone on ahead of us. However, Rami Bey removed the difficulty as far as I was concerned, and wired explanations to the front, with the result that I was told to proceed. Poor Wright was sent back to Zwarra, and that was the last I saw of him for a long time.

One of the first things that struck me during our journey to headquarters was the marked absence of able-bodied men from all the inhabited districts which we traversed. Every man able to

few arms had hurried forward to the fighting line, and many men had already laid down his life on the field. One could no help being profoundly moved at incidents which we witnessed in some of the Arab villages. Too often news of death had been borne in by messengers, and about our course there clustered women throwing dust upon their clothes, and uttering piteous lamentations.

So we made our way, steadily and without interruption from the enemy, towards the Turkish headquarters, which were then situated in an oasis not far from Ain Zara. In company with the two Turkish deputies I was introduced to the Commander-in-Chief, Nesciat Bey, and to Munir Pasha. Nesciat Bey made a great impression on me. He struck me as a man who would take fright at nothing. News of all sorts—good bad, and indifferent—he received smilingly. He is a short, sturdy, rotund man, a Friar Tuck if you like, and the relative smallness of the forces at his disposal seemingly gave him no concern. The Turkish soldiers were a magnificent body of men. They endured amazing hardship with perfect sang-froid, and their enthusiasm was a joy to all.

With the Arabs, of course, things were different. They are impatient of anything approaching regular military discipline, and such rough drilling as they underwent at the hands of their own sheikhs or of Turkish officers was confined to practice in the broad methods of advance and war lust. Tripoli had been bombarded, and they were eager for their revenge. Two days before my arrival they had driven the Italians in with heavy losses, and their exultation was running high.

At this time the Italian front was at Heni. Our own headquarters were moved, on the day after I joined, to Azizia, where I remained for two days. At this juncture Fethi Bey, who was in command of the Turkish right wing came over from Souk-el-Youghma, and I was ordered to go back with him into the firing line, which was about five miles outside the town of Tripoli. There I joined company with Captain Huni, who, to my great sorrow, was later killed in action.

At last I was actually at the front, and on the morrow I was to see my first battle. As we came to our position we became conscious of something ghastly in the atmosphere, something that told us of the harvest which Death had been reaping here already. How many of us were to be gathered in by that dread reaper before the harvest was over? That was a question which the morrow might go far towards answering.—*Manchester Guardian*

At Hampstead a number of Muhammadan gentlemen waited on Mr. Herbert G. Montagu at his father's residence, and presented to him an illuminated address expressing their gratitude for his services to the Moamens of Tripoli.

The Secretary of the War Office requests us to state that Mr. H. G. Montagu, the gentleman referred to in some of our contemporaries in connexion with the operations in Tripoli as a British officer, does not now hold any such position. He was appointed a Second Lieutenant on probation in the 5th (Special Reserve) Battalion Royal Fusiliers on 1st April 1911, but his appointment was subsequently cancelled. —*The Times*

The Finances of Turkey.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" FINANCIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

CONSTANTINOPLE, January 4.

THE Budget for 1912-13 is a voluminous and carefully prepared document, which, besides giving the Budget for 1912-13 compared with that of 1911-12 and the motives for the various increases or decreases in revenue and expenditure, contains statistical tables relating to Customs revenue, gross receipts of railways, with and without telegraphic guarantees, the receipts of various quay companies, and the amount of Turkish gold minted year by year since 1908-09. This latter table is particularly interesting in view of the recent gold famine in Turkey, as it shows that whereas in 1908-09 on £T1,065,315 was minted, in 1910-11 the amount was £T5,040,000. In 1907-08, the year of the declaration of the Constitution, the total Customs receipts amounted to £T3,319,224, whilst last year they reached £T4,605,318, an increase of £T1,286,094, equal to 27 per cent.

The object of these statistical tables, as explained by the Minister of Finance, is to give some idea, even if an incomplete one, of the economic progress of the country during the past few years.

The expenditure for 1912-13 is estimated at £T33,247,038, as against £T35,314,995 in the previous year, a decrease of £T2,067,957. The receipts are estimated at £T29,680,998, as against £T27,755,683 in 1911-12, an increase of £T1,925,315. The apparent deficit next year will therefore be only £T3,566,040, as compared with an estimated deficit in 1911-12 of £T7,559,312.

Whilst it must not be forgotten that the Budget may undergo considerable modification at the hands of the Budgetary Commission and the Chamber of Deputies, it is satisfactory to note that a serious effort has been made to cut down expenditure, and that the actual

revenue returns seem to justify each year an increased estimate of receipts. The returns for the year 1909-10 exceeded the estimate of that year by £T2,426,337, while the amount encashed in 1910-11 surpassed the estimate of that year by £T2,245,824, and the receipts of the previous year by £T4,672,172. The receipts of the current year, as far as can be judged up to the present, are showing equally good results. This is all the more satisfactory when it is remembered that no fresh taxation has been imposed, and that in certain cases taxes have even been abolished. It is a convincing proof of two things—that the financial administration has considerably improved, and that the taxpayer is better able to stand the calls which are made upon him.

On the other hand, many of the State Departments were able to carry on their work with an actual expenditure much below that which figured to their credit in the Budget. This was owing to the lack of reliable statistics previous to 1908-09, which prevented the Ministers from knowing just what the requirements of their Departments were. In 1910-11 the Ministries of Posts and Telegraphs, Foreign Affairs, and Commerce and Public Works only used 61 per cent, 49.70 per cent, and 24.68 per cent respectively of the credits allotted to them. These two factors have enabled the Minister of Finance to reduce his apparent deficit in 1911-12, and no fresh loan operations took place. Only an advance was obtained of some £T3,000,000 on the balance of £T4,000,000 remaining over from the £T11,000,000 loan contracted in 1910.

In the Budget of 1912-13, with the exception of the Public Debt, Civil List, and Audit Office, there is a decrease in the credits allotted to all the departments of the State. The most important decreases are in the War Department (£T877,192), Posts and Telegraphs (£T445,142), and Public Works (£T318,075). The credits of some of the other Ministries, such as Public Instruction and Justice, can hardly be reduced without prejudice to the country, but as it is considered imperative to diminish and eventually to eliminate the deficit, and as at present there are no fresh sources of revenue available, the temettu tax on foreigners and the increase of Customs duty by 4 per cent still being in the negotiation stage, the only way to obtain the end in view is by a reduction of the estimates, however great a sacrifice this may entail in certain cases.

Out of a total estimated expenditure for 1912-13 of £T33,247,038 the Army and Navy together account for £T9,040,935, or 27 per cent, the services under the heading Public Debt absorb £T11,715,489, or a further 35 per cent, in all £T21,756,424, or 62 per cent of the total, leaving only £T11,490,614, or 38 per cent, for the other departments of the State, which are in reality the more productive ones. This is, of course, to be regretted as it is essential that the regeneration of the country should be brought about through the civilising agencies of public works and instruction, a better administration of justice, and greater personal security.

The expenditure of the War Departments must eventually be reduced, and it is satisfactory to note that a beginning has already been made, though whether the reduction of £T877,192 in the Army estimate will be maintained if the war with Italy continues remains to be seen.

The question of the settlement of the Floating Debt, which amounts to some £T19,500,000, is as yet in abeyance. The Bill for the payment of this debt is still under consideration by the Council of State, and it is hardly to be expected under present circumstances that it will be approved by Parliament at an early date, though it is a matter which will have to be arranged sooner or later.

The negotiations concerning the Tobacco Monopoly have progressed appreciably of late. The projected Bill entrusting the direct administration of this revenue to the Public Debt Department and the regulations for the cultivation, manufacture, and sale of tobacco have been drawn up by this Department and are being discussed at the Ministry of Finance. It is believed that both the Bill and the regulations will be definitely approved both by the Ministry of Finance and the Debt Administration at no distant date, and will be duly submitted to the Chamber of Deputies. Should they be passed by Parliament the lengthy negotiations on the Tobacco Monopoly question will be settled and the Régie Company will have ample time to wind up its affair before 1914, the date of the expiration of the concession, and the fisc will no doubt benefit considerably after that date.

In 1910 the total length of railways in operation in the Turkish Empire was 6,233 kilometres, whilst in 1909 it was 6,228 kilometres. In 1911, however, the construction of several fresh lines was undertaken, such as the Homş-Tripoli, Soma-Panderma, and Babu Eski-Kirk-Kilesse lines. The Baghdad, Aidin, and Hedjaz railways were pushed forward, and work was started on the Hodeidah-Sana and Samsun-Sivas lines. The gross receipts of the railways amounted to £2,702,960 in 1910, as against £2,236,320 in the previous year, an increase in favour of 1910 of £466,640, or 17 per cent. This was largely due to the good harvest and to the abolition of the internal passport, which greatly facilitated travelling. It is anticipated that the returns for 1911 will equal, if not surpass, those of 1910.

The Financial Adviser to the Egyptian Government, in his notes on the Budget of 1912, says that "railway receipts are another good index of the material condition of the country." In Turkey

there is also this advantage, that increased railway receipts mean a decrease in the kilometric guarantees to be paid by Government. Of the 6,732 kilometres of railway, 1,468 kilometres are purely Turkish, namely, the Hedjaz railway. French capitalists control 1,697 kilometres, German capitalists 1,519 kilometres, Austrian capitalists 955 kilometres, and English capitalists 552 kilometres, while the Mudania-Brusa line of 41 kilometres does not enter any one of these groups.

In 1911 several concessions were granted for public works, among the more important ones being the electrification of the Constantinople tramways, the telephone concession for the capital, and the further convention with the Baghdad railway company. Many other projects were discussed, and it is probable that some of them at any rate will mature in 1912.

If, therefore, a retrospective view is taken over the past two years it will be observed that in all directions there has been progress, perhaps not very marked, but always progress. The revenues are steadily yielding more, public works are gradually being executed or examined, and it is only fair to say that in a country which shows a steady and sustained improvement in these directions year by year hope should be entertained for the future. Too much must not be expected at once, but if material progress is a sign of increasing prosperity of a State, then more confidence may be placed in Turkey's financial stability than hitherto, and she should be encouraged in her attempts at economic reform. Should the same steady rate of progress be maintained in 1912, and the Budget kept within reasonable bounds, there need not be so much anxiety as far as the finances of the country are concerned.

The Turkish Outlook.

The hopes of an early termination of the war were revived early in the week by a message from Salonika that negotiations were afoot. At one time such rumours had become so prevalent that they were regarded with scepticism as a mere matter of course, but the fact that such an announcement emanated from the town which is the headquarters of the Committee of Union and Progress was hailed as sufficient proof of its accuracy. Little time, however, was lost in an official denial of the report from both Governments, and it still remains to be seen whether the reconstruction of Said Pasha's Ministry will materially affect the situation. That the Grand Vizier is animated by a sincere desire for peace cannot be doubted, but it is equally certain that he will be confronted by determined opposition on this point. It will be recalled that Enver Bey has declared in the most categorical manner that he will not make peace even if the Ottoman Government consents to it, and that the Arabs under his orders cannot be induced to lay down their arms. That such an uncompromising attitude has actually been inspired by the Committee, in which Enver Bey is a commanding personage, is not unlikely for the real obstacles to peace are centred in that party. The war has enabled the Committee to brush aside many professions which were proving highly inconvenient. They were being threatened with the dangerous resistance of the ultra orthodox Mussalmans, and it was only by appearing as the champions of the Faith against the infidels that they were able to silence this group of opponents. It will not be easy, therefore, for them to withdraw from this position, and it will be correspondingly difficult for Said Pasha to reconcile such conflicting elements.

The issue of struggle lies with the Hotspurs of the Committee, and much depends on the value they place on vague and nebulous operations in Tripoli. At the outset of the war it was obvious that a policy of tame submission to the occupation of Tripoli was out of the question. It would merely act as an incentive to other countries to seize any part of the Turkish Empire, and long experience of Balkan ambitions has taught the Porte how little encouragement is necessary to kindle any hopes and aspirations in that quarter. The abandonment of Tripoli would have been the first step towards the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. But during the last few weeks the war has served a very useful purpose. It has shown that Turkey, as a military Power, cannot be attacked with impunity, and this fact should weigh with the Committee before they definitely decide on the prolongation of the struggle. Turkish military prestige has lost nothing by the Tripolitan campaign, it has rather added to its honours. For the first time in modern history we have seen a vastly inferior force encircling and hemming in an enemy equipped with every modern appliance and protected by the guns of their fleet; and although by now the invaders have pushed a little way inland, a few thousand Turkish troops, aided by Arab irregulars, have made the Italians realise the enormity of their task. The present situation, therefore, is really the strongest argument for peace, a peace honourable and satisfactory to either party. Geographical considerations have made it impossible for Turkey to place any reinforcements in the country, so that no useful purpose can be served by an indefinite prolongation of the war. Such a course can only lead to further animosity and bitterness; for though the Italians may believe that, having mastered the coast towns, they can wait in patience and security until the tribes

of the interior, driven by commercial necessity, come to terms, it is not a policy which recommends itself to any who have had actual experience of Arab warfare. A conscript army is least adapted to the wearisome ordeal of a waiting game. The basis for negotiations is ready, if only the Committee will rise to the occasion and remember that patriotism can take other turns than that of clinging obstinately to the fetish of nominal suzerainty. Their reasons for resistance at the outset were admittedly based on sentimentality, not on a prospect of successful operations; and now that the lustre of the campaign has been granted them by every military expert, it is surely time that they turned to the more serious problem of home reform. The Italian assertion that the stubborn policy on which the Committee seems insistent is being fostered by certain of the Great Powers for no disinterested purpose is not without a large proportion of truth; and the Committee might do well to examine the motives of the countries where such inflammatory and anti-Italian articles are the vogue, and conduct a searching inquiry into their treatment of the Ottoman Empire during the last few years. A few memories of "shining armour" might induce them not to lend too willing an ear to the siren call, "Codlin's your friend, not Short." Protracted hostilities may jeopardise many interests of far greater importance.

It needs but the briefest scrutiny of Turkish history to know that the spring too often sees a recurrence of dissensions and disorders in the European provinces. The revolt of the Malissori last year was a case in point. And if the Tripolitan campaign is still dragging on when the snow melts from the mountains in Albania and Macedonia, the danger of a more extensive outbreak would be doubled. It is certainly a disastrous fact that the Young Turks have so far failed signally in their attempts to deal with the Albanians. A race of mountaineer borderers, who are fighters to a man, is an asset that no Empire can afford to throw away, and the Committee of Union and Progress would be doing their country a real and inestimable service if they would shelve this war and study the question of the Albanian demands. There is no saying when they may not need Albanian assistance. Towards the end of the late year we saw a deplorable recrudescence of Bulgarian activity in Macedonia, and it would be idle to overlook the faintest possibility of some sudden *coup*. The diplomacy dictated from Sofia is sometimes of a sinister nature, and no one could accuse King Ferdinand and his Ministers of losing any opportunity for self-aggrandisement. When Turkey moved up her troops near Adrianople during the Malissori revolt last year, Bulgaria professed to be alarmed, and, had her neighbour been already hampered by the war in Africa, there is little doubt but that her misgivings would have taken a more definite shape. And, finally, there is one last consideration which cannot be ignored. We have already seen in the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina how successful a cynical disregard of international treaties can be when supported by the sword; the remembrance of that incident must have been a powerful stimulant to Turkish resistance in the Tripolitaine. It is the more curious, therefore, that the parties chiefly responsible for the execution of that *coup* should be encouraging Turkey to continue the present struggle. One of the parties, moreover, has long nourished ambitions in the direction of a port in the Aegean; and it may be that some attempt to secure that position is under consideration. Now Italy, apart from her sentimental interests in Albania, has viewed with the gravest distrust the extension of Austrian influence in the Balkans, and would regard any encroachment on Salomika as a direct challenge to her naval power. In the event of any movement which might imperil Macedonia, she could exercise a strong influence on behalf of Turkey by throwing herself into the balance, but it is self-evident that any such intervention would be impossible if she were at the moment engaged in hostilities with the country in question. In throwing out a suggestion as to the advisability of peace we are actuated by the sincerest desire for Turkey's welfare. Her humanity is the last thing we should like to see; and happily her tenacity and vigour in the present campaign have shown that it is the last thing which we are likely to see.—*Near East.*

TURKISH RELIEF FUND COLLECTIONS OF INDIA.

Name of Place.	Name of the person in charge of the Fund.	THE WEEK'S PROGRESS			PROGRESS UP TO DATE		Remarks.
		Amount collected	Amount forwarded to Turkey	To whom forwarded and through what agency	Amount collected	Amount forwarded	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Karachi	Seth Haji Abdulla Hawas.	Rs. 511-00	Rs. --	--	Rs. 6,000-00	Rs. 3,000-00	



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جب اس بات کا خیال کیا جائے
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ابنے مظہر کرنے سے سخن لفڑی
اور اسی بنیاد پر اس لے مبینہ
اپنے آپ کو اس موقع سے علیحدہ رکھا
کہ جب صحف هفت کا حاصل کرنا
لایت آسان تھا — تو یہ تسلیم کوں
پڑتا ہے کہ "ہز ماسترس وائس"
(His Master's voice) لے وہ درجہ
کمال اس نے لطیف کی ترف میں
حاصل کیا ہے کہ جس نے اس
کافے والی کو اس امر کا پیش دلا
کہ صرف گریموں کوں میتی لعینہ
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اور جس کارنٹی کے بغیر اس کا
والی کو منتظر رہتا کہ اس کی
آواز سوائے اس کے ذاتی کا لے کے
کس مفہیں کے ذریعہ سے پہلک تک
پہنچے — صرف اس امر کے پیش
کے ریکارڈ اس کی نازک طیاری
کاں پالتوں کی ترکیبیں — سرکیاں
اور ہندوں — ہور اور آلبی نئی
موسیقی کی تحریک دلیا کے سامنے
اسی طرح پہن کریا جس طرح
وہ خود کا تی اس کو اس باہ
ہر رضامنہ کیا ہے کہ وہ ریکارڈ
بنائے — مم کو مامل پیش کے کہ پہلکتے
اس آواز اور کا لے کے بعد میسور
مورکی اور مم کو ہوری ہوری داد
اس مصنوع و جانشناہی کی ملیکی۔

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A Weekly Journal.

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He hold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

--Mauris.

Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 6. Anna 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, February 10, 1912.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1.

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The Week.

Mr. Lloyd George.

SPEAKING in the City Liberal Club on the 3rd Mr. Lloyd George said the city was rather a chilly atmosphere for Liberalism, but he trusted by the next general election to get rid of the refrigeratory influence of the plural voter. He denied that there was a split in the Cabinet or between Mr. Asquith and himself. None of the members of the Cabinet knew of such a split. It must have happened when they were all asleep he said.

He considered that the Unionists were premature in making a fuss about a few bye-elections because they were a long way from the general election. Mr. Lloyd George pointed out that there had been twenty contested elections since the introduction of the Insurance Bill. Liberals had won fourteen of these. That did not look as if the country was going against the Government.

The Chancellor continued by saying that judging by Mr. Bonar Law's speech, the Unionists were no longer going to suffer from too much intellect. Mr. Bonar Law was an able man, but a most inaccurate dialectician on any Front Bench. His statement that our weapons were inferior to other countries was untrue, his palpable gross misstatements with regard to finance were without parallel. His allegation that the annual increase in expenditure was forty millions should be something like twenty-nine millions. Mr. Lloyd George in this connection said the Opposition had no right to cry shame as the increase in Navy expenditure was £7,750,000, in that of the Post Office £5,250,000, while £3,500,000 more had been spent on education. Indeed only one-thirtieth of the amount had gone to

the creation of new officers, while the charges of political corruption were absolutely untrue. At present there were no examinations that could be applied to the functions created but there would be special examinations in future. He made enquiries and had found that most of the officials appointed were Unionists.

Mr. Lloyd George laid stress on the declarations that the Budget of 1909 had been a complete success. He believed that with the Conservative finance there would have been ten times as many Socialists in Great Britain, since one way to create extreme socialism was to decline to treat the masses sympathetically. It was true, continued Mr. Lloyd George, that all Government securities in Europe had fallen but only an amateur could attribute that circumstance to the Budget. It was a matter for grave consideration but the claptrap talked at the Albert Hall merely confused the issue. The Chancellor affirmed that the reasons for the decline in Consols were non-political and needed a judicial and impartial examination. To say that British credit had gone was not only unpatriotic but utterly untrue.

Mr. Lloyd George concluded his speech by speaking clearly and emphatically on Foreign affairs. He said there never was a time in the history of the country when it was better prepared to face any emergency (cheers). If they wanted to effect economy in finance they must arrest the growth of armaments but until international envies, jealousies and fears had been removed, the growth of armaments would never be arrested. Mr. Lloyd George said this was the most advantageous moment to consider the subject. Recent events had had the effect of calling the attention of all nations to the perils of the position. He was not going to break upon any past circumstances, he was not going to defend himself for any part which he took. Why was he not going to do so? Not because he was unprepared, but because he was convinced that the more he went on justifying the more he would keep up irritation. There was one most favourable circumstance, namely, the question of Morocco, which was a constant source of irritation and exasperation between the great Powers. It had been settled, there had been an Agreement between France and Germany to the mutual advantage of those countries and which was not injurious to British interests; and after all the morrow of the dispute was not always the worst time to make up the difference. He believed it was in the interest of France, Germany, Russia and ourselves that there should be a better understanding between nations. (Loud cheers.) He believed that with candour, frankness and boldness, it was attainable (cheers). The world would be better and richer, for its taxes might be reduced and all money saved from armaments could be devoted to developing the resources of the country and improving the conditions of the people. The money spent on education and housing and uplifting a lot of people was a better and more assured investment than any which could be produced. In conclusion, he said, he would like to say this one word—the corner stone of sound finance was peace on earth and goodwill towards men.

Home Rule.

THE *Daily Chronicle* on the 2nd published a forecast of the Irish Home Rule Bill. It said the Irish Parliament will have control of the customs and excise and that provision will be made for the continuance of free trade between Ireland and England. Ireland will receive an imperial subsidy of two millions yearly for fifteen years, after which Ireland will contribute a certain percentage of its revenues to the Imperial expenditure. The Second Chamber will have a suspensory veto on legislation and a joint sessions of the

10th February

two Houses will be arranged to decide any question over which deadlock may arise. Representatives will continue to be sent to the Imperial Parliament but their number will be much smaller. The establishment of any religion will be forbidden. The Royal Constabulary will be controlled by the Imperial Government for twelve years. The *Times* also publishes a forecast of the Home Rule Bill, the chief feature of which is a contradiction of the *Daily Chronicle's* statement with regard to customs and excise. The *Times* says these will remain under Imperial control in spite of the report of the Financial Committee.

The speakers at the Belfast meetings affirmed that Presbyterians would not obey the laws of the Irish Parliament and would throw its demands for money into the fire. This decision was final and unchanging. Ten thousand Irish Presbyterians held five simultaneous meetings in Belfast at which resolutions were passed calling upon the Government with which apart from Home Rule, so many of them sympathised, to save the Irish Presbyterians from disaster.

Sir Edward Carson, speaking in London, hoped that Mr Churchill's visit to Belfast would be a peaceful one since he had decided to pursue the Nationalists' aspiration in the Nationalist quarter. Mr. John Robertson, speaking in London, said that the vital problem of Home Rule was the claim to fiscal autonomy which meant separation. It would be hopeless to carry such a Bill.

Five thousand troops will assist the police in guarding the route along which Mr. Churchill will pass on his way to the meeting at Belfast on 8th February. Troops have begun to arrive at Belfast but resolutions have been passed by the Unionist Council and the Grand Orange Lodge urging that there will be no interference with the "Nationalist" meeting on 8th February. As a result of these resolutions, it is expected that Mr. Churchill will have a quiet hearing.

There are now 3,500 troops in Belfast. The Police will line and patrol the streets. The Unionists agreed to give up Ulster Hall on Wednesday on the police guaranteeing that the Liberals do not have it on Thursday. The lunch which the Liberals were giving in honour of Mr. Churchill has been abandoned. He will be entertained privately. The Master of Elshank will not accompany Mr. Churchill to Belfast owing to pressure of his Parliamentary duties.

The Mayor of Belfast has issued an appeal to the Protestant women to help in keeping the peace in the city.

The Cabinet sat for three and a half hours yesterday. Some papers declare the Government is still drafting the Home Rule Bill.

China.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 31st:—The Empress has informed the Cabinet that peace has been decided upon and has instructed the Ministers to arrange accordingly.

Reuter wires from St. Petersburg on the 31st.—A telegram from Mukden states that in consequence of the arrest of a Japanese on suspicion of conducting revolutionary propaganda a detachment of Japanese troops entered Mukden to protect the lives and property of the Japanese. The message further states that 37 revolutionaries were executed on the 30th and 31st January.

Reuter wires from Shanghai on the 31st.—On the instructions of the Republican Government, the Hartmang Iron Works Company has signed a preliminary contract with Japanese financiers through the agency of the Yokohama Specie Bank for the admission of Japanese capital into the Company which will subsequently lend the Nanking Government five million taels.

Reuter wires from Shanghai.—The shareholders of the China Merchants' Navigation Company who recently received a demand from the Republicans to pay ten million taels have resolved to transfer their ships to the Republicans as security for the loan, on receipt of assurances that the company would be the object of special solicitude of the Republic when the latter was fully established.

The Hongkong and Shanghai Bank has received a telegram from the Inspector-General of Customs at Peking stating that arrangements for providing weekly remittances of the loan service are practically complete. Payments will begin shortly. The net revenue collection for December showed a smaller decrease than in November.

A telegram from Urga states that the Mongolians intend to leave to Russia the exploitation of Mongolia's mineral wealth, receiving compensation for it. Russian contractors have already arrived at Urga.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 5th:—The Revolutionaries landed from the Yalu River and defeated the Imperial troops from Mukden.

The Revolutionaries drove back Chang-Sun's Army on the 4th which was sent to re-capture Nanking. Chang-Sun's Army, however, was weakened by a thousand desertions.

Home Rule for India.

Before the East India Association on the 1st Mr. J. B. Pennington (Madras C.S. retired) read a paper on "Home Rule for India" on behalf of the veteran historian, Mr. Henry Keene. While regarding the recent reforms as marking a transitory stage which was obviously intended to prepare for Home Rule, Mr. Pennington said the British nation would be false alike to honour and expediency if it gave full power to races which had not established their claim to confidence. Sir J. D. Rees, who presided, said it was futile to think of Home Rule for India since the country could not support an adequate Navy. The extremist, Mr. Saklatvala, was cheered by many young Indians present when he rose to speak. Mr. Sessodia, editor of *Rajput* however was biased by them when he said there might be defects in the British Government but they should appeal to their generosity. Home Rule being impossible while they were divided in language and sentiment. He, for example, would greatly dislike any Indian Rule but that of a Rajput.

Moslem Education in Bengal.

It is understood that the Hon. Chowdhury Mohamed Ismail Sahib, Zamindar of Choramuddi, in Barisal, has informed the Government of his intention to make a donation of his zamindari to the cause of Muhammadan education in Bengal. The gross income of the property is about Rs. 54,000, of which Rs. 15,000 is to be reserved to the donor for his lifetime, and on his death his widow is to get a pension and on her death the whole income will go to the fund. A committee under the control of the local Government consisting of some leading Muhammadan gentlemen of the province will be vested with the trust of the property. It is further stated that out of the trust fund, 28 Muhammadan students of Bengal will be sent every year for education in Europe. The Hon. Mohamed Ismail Sahib is quite a young man, much below forty, and will shortly proceed to England.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

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Minor subscriptions from 17 men	6 6 6
Mohamed Akbar, Esq., Partabgarh	10 0 0
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Munshi Jahan Baksh, Esq., Jeddore	26 0 0
Khundkar Hamidur Rahman, Esq., Mymensingh	2 1. 0
Amount received during the week ...	198 4 0
Amount previously acknowledged ...	8,636 4 7
TOTAL RS ...	R.824 8 7



Verse.

The Hermit's Cry.

And what is Life—the life I lead to me?
Nought but a living death.

! A misery.

More preferable were death than solitude
This solitude of mine,

Where none intrude.

Through Love, for love, God gave to man a
heart:

And yet how oft is love

A thing a part.

Here in the midst of men I live alone,
A mere nonentity,

Unloved, unknown.

Oh ! you of all the crowds who pass me by
It is not help I crave,

But sympathy.

W. K. E.

TETE À TETE



WHEN the momentous and far-reaching changes which have been the subject of much discussion, jubilation, The Government and criticism were announced through His Majesty the King-Emperor at Delhi, we were authoritatively assured that the procedure, whatever else it may have been, was wholly constitutional. More than that, it was assumed by the rulers as well as by the raiyyat that although ordinary "settled facts" were no longer "settled facts," the changes announced at Delhi were something entirely different and could not be "unsettled". We are told that Lord Curzon, the author of the Partition - who, by an irony of fate, also happened to be the author of a Coronation Durbar that no doubt suggested the one which was utilized to rip up the "settled fact" so dramatically - heard the news in the Lords with a flushed face and every sign of strong and painful emotion. We do not wonder at all this; but what must Lord Curzon have thought when the leader of his own party in the House of Lords proclaimed "that the word of the King-Emperor had been spoken and that word is irrevocable"? Many in this country appear to have been led to infer, from the assurance that the procedure was constitutional, taken together with the admission that the announcement was irrevocable, that Parliament had nothing to do with the changes, and that the Executive Government alone had authority. Even Mr Shorrocks thought that all the those who disapproved of the changes could do was to say "The announcement has been made on the advice of His Majesty's Ministers. We question the wisdom of that advice, and we ask for a Royal Commission to take evidence as to its soundness". But it is now evident that the Executive Government was not competent on its own authority to carry out such changes, and the Government of India Bill which embodies them is awaiting presentation in Parliament. The question is, what if Parliament rejects the Bill? Not that it has any chance of doing that, but if it does, what would be the position of His Majesty? As a constitutional monarch, he can give the royal assent to the Bill only when the two Houses of Parliament have passed it. And yet the royal assent has not only been given, but also announced to a hundred thousand people at Delhi and thereafter to the whole world. In this connection, we would like to quote the opinion of Mr. W. T. Stead. "Nobody," writes that veteran journalist, "seems to have protested against that doctrine, therefore needs must, and so I, even if alone, as Athanasius *contra mundum*, protest against the notion that the King-Emperor possesses any prerogative or power to utter 'irrevocable' words. Are we back in the days of the Medes and Persians farsooth, that the writing which is written in the King's name, and sealed with the King's ring, no man may reverse? Much as I rejoice at the undoing of the Partition of Bengal, I dislike the manner of the undoing of it. This magnification of the Sovereign is un-English and undemocratic, and we may hereafter have to pay for it dearly."

EVEN Dr. E. J. Dillon, who cannot be suspected of any undue preference for Moslems and Turks, or for the "A Coward matter of that for any Asiatic people, wrote in upon Instinct." the December *Contemporary Review* that the Italians intoned their anticipatory pean several notes too high, and that the phrase coined by an Italian officer who spoke of "the triumphal march of the descendants of the Scipios" was infelicitous. How high these notes were and how "previous" the "descendants of the Scipios" were in coming that "infelicitous" phrase can be judged far better to-day than it could have been two months ago. Since the idyllic scene of grateful Arabs uttering a Tripolitan version of the *Nunc Dimittis* before the Consular corps at a brilliant reception given by the Italian Governor-General, a description of which was telegraphed to all the capitals of Europe, the wires have been more sparingly used, while the Moslems have

been having their innings. But Reuter still regales us occasionally with the small beer that he is left to chronicle, and when all other sources of information fail, the resourceful Baron wires on the 1st from Perim that Djebannah was bombarded on the 27th January, and then on the 3rd from Hodeidah that Jabana was bombarded on the same date, forgetting that on a previous occasion he had wired from a third station that Al-Gabsna was bombarded, the three being variations of one and the same locality. But the latest is far and away the best, as the result of 150 shells fired from the gallant Italian men-o'-war was the burning of two tents and the sad demise of a goat! The Baron is indeed delightful, but did ever a war begin so heroically to sink in four months into such a farce? If anything surpasses the ridiculous actions or rather inaction of the Italians it is the support of their journalistic apologists. The *Times* seems at first to have commissioned the Italian Commander-in-Chief, with his *utrum cum dignitate*, as its War Correspondent, for not a line did we get after a time from the customary creators of its news in Tripoli. But even the Italian generalissimo is strangely silent and at last "A Correspondent", with his label of irresponsibility, is utilized for the publication of an amusing bit of war literature as ever contributed to the gaiety of nations. This refreshing writer apologized from Tripoli for his Italian *protégés* by saying that "it is acutely realized that the disaster of Adowa was largely due to the national eagerness of temperament and the authorities are determined that there shall be no repetition of the mistakes then made." We have no doubt that this determination is wise, but might not "the national eagerness of temperament," which caused the disaster at Adowa, have been curbed at Rome just as well as at Tripoli, and the raid never undertaken? Writing of Turkish and Arab movements, this delightful scribe tells us that the indications show that they contemplate an attack, and prophetically adds that "if such an attack does take place, the Turks will be playing directly into the hands of the Italians". That was on the 27th December, and some six weeks have passed since then. But it seems nobody has yet played directly into the hands of the Italians - unless we include the solitary goat of Jabana. But this is not all. A week later the same correspondent wrote that "it must be perfectly obvious to the Turkish authorities that their African provinces are finally lost and that the most they can expect is to put Italy to further expense and trouble by refusing to acquiesce in the inevitable". The Italian arms have been successful in Tripolitania as far as they have been tested and the situation of the Turks is hopeless. His reference to the crushing defeat at Bir Tobras is still more amusing. "They sent a force from Ain Zara to Bir Tobras, which, after stiff fighting, retired upon Ain Zara without having attained any visible objective." But the *piece de resistance* is certainly the following. "The Arab sees all this, sees that the Italian positions are no further advanced than they were a month ago, and that Italian troops have twice retired upon their base after making a temporary forward movement. He does not see that the Italians are being cautious and leisurely of set purpose." If we remember aright, there was once upon a time another descendant of the Scipios, called Signor Giovanni Falstaff, whom a wretched playactor and playwright, known as William Shakespeare, lampooned very vilely. The latter made a rollicking boisterous Prince say to Signor Giovanni after as thievish a raid as this, "You carried your guts away as nimbly, with as quick celerity, and roared for mercy, and still ran and roared, as ever I heard bull calf . . . What trick, what device, what starting-hole, canst thou now find out to hide thee from this open and apparent shame?" Whereupon the direct descendant of the Scipios is made by this vixen lampooner of the brave and the noble to say, "By the Lord, I knew ye as well as be that made ye. Why, hear me, my masters, was it for me to kill the heir-apparent? Should I turn upon the true prince? Why thou knowest I am as valiant as Hercules, but beware of instinct, the lion will not touch the true prince. Instinct is a great matter. I was a coward upon instinct." Henceforth all ye that now traduce the successors of the Scipios, be it known unto ye by these presents that whenever the Italians retire from the field of battle with 500 killed - which is only 84 in Rome, and failure to attain "any visible objective" in Tripoli - beware of instinct - which is a great matter - and remember that, in reality valiant as Hercules, the Italians are only cowards upon instinct.

BUT there is a grave lining to this jocund cloud and that is a matter of grim earnestness to the three hundred million Mussalmans of the world. When Italy raided Tripoli, the Ottoman Government repeatedly appealed to one Power after another for intervention and promised to take the case to the Hague Tribunal. Mussalmans all the world over offered prayers, and those who had forgotten that "more things are wrought by prayer than thou deemest of" sneered at this appeal from the indifference of the Powers towards the weak to a still greater Power above them that is not indifferent to their wails. A month later news reached Europe, and from European sources themselves, of atrocities that have no parallel in history. But Europe with its up-to-date humanity sat unmoved and the blood

of women and children, the old and the infirm, remained unavenged. To day it is Pierre Loti, but yesterday it was James Dougla, who accused Europe of something worse than the ethics of the jungle. This is what that courageous and conscientious Englishman wrote of it. "The blood of the Arabs defiles the whole map of Europe. It is not Italy alone that is smeared with the innocent blood. The foul red blotch is on all the Christian Powers. Not one of them is clean. England, France, Russia, Germany, Austria—they are all stained with bloodguiltiness. The blood of the Arabs is on the lintels of every Chancellery. Downing Street reeks with it. It congeals on the Quai d'Orsay. It streams along the Wilhelmstrasse. It trickles over the Ballplatz. It drips from the Quirinal. It reddens the snows of Petersburg. Yes, Europe, Christian Europe, is a den of cowardly murderers, all in league with each other, and there is not a statesman who has the courage to call upon the conscience of his fellows." But the Lord does not always leave his slaughtered saints unavenged. The success of Turkey's arms in the Tripolitaine is the twentieth century miracle that compels credence. The Powers are neutral. Well, if they are neutral, so let it be. But that is just what the Powers do not appear to intend to remain. All Asiatics are not lisping babes and sucklings ignorant of the political tactics of Europe, and many see clearly how European intervention is being skilfully manoeuvred. Before any of her friends called for intervention, Italy herself wanted the Powers to "stop senseless bloodshed" and secure her the annexation of Tripoli and Cyrenaica which she had already proclaimed by the most peculiar of all decrees. The answer of the Turks was "As things now are we take our stand on principles recognised by every Power, civilized or barbarous, that if you would expropriate your neighbour's property you must at least seize and keep it. You cannot, without becoming a laughingstock, content yourself with touching one end of it and calling out to the owner to hand you the remainder. Italy wants us to assist her to rob us. We refuse. Meanwhile we will strive to render her scheme impossible." Dr Dillon recognised the undoubted reasonableness of this, but all that notwithstanding, set the ball of intervention rolling. He argued that according to present indications the Turks would need a new loan, probably not later than March, and "so long as the war goes on it will have to dispense with borrowed money and confess its inability to pay its own functionaries, or else accept usurious and therefore humiliating terms." This would be the opportunity of Christian Sibyllocks, and Dr Dillon suggested that "these terms might be made to include acceptance of Italy's offer to negotiate on the basis of annexation." He went on to remind the neutral Powers that they too are losers by the war owing to the rise in the rates of maritime insurance, the slackness of commerce in various parts of the Continent and the stagnation of some branches of industry. "This dislocation of trade and industry cannot be allowed to continue indefinitely, one of the two belligerents may be firmly pressed to make a compromise; and here the line of least resistance will probably be followed. In force majeure the Committee of Union and Progress would yield with grace." The significance of this was unmistakable, and it has now been confirmed. The correspondent whose letters from Tripoli the *Times* is now publishing wrote on the 27th December that the Italians are "fully alive to the hardness of the nut which they have to crack, and they are not likely to break their teeth upon it instead of using nut-crackers." The hard nut was of course Turkey, but what could the nut-crackers be if not the neutral Powers? This was evidently hinted towards the end of the letter, for the writer said, "there are ups and downs and difficulties in all colonial wars, we have proved that ourselves up to the hill. But Italy cannot fail to carry out her task, and it would save a great deal of trouble if the financial world, as well as the political, were to make up its mind to recognise the fact." A week later the increasing need of intervention increased the boldness of the writer, and on the 4th January he wrote that "there are rumours of pressure (on the Turks) from other Powers, and it appears as though the interests of Europe in general were united in demanding the cessation of a state of war between Italy and Turkey. There is always the nervous feeling that the end of the winter may bring serious trouble in the Balkans. In that region strife and tension are hardly annuals, but this year it is felt more strongly than usual that the pressure of circumstances may ripen another bidou, the red blossom of actual war. There is much natural anxiety to see the conclusion of peace between Italy and Turkey before the winter is over. The Chancelleries of Europe are probably united on this point." There is one difficulty, however, which still worries this correspondent, and it is the dread of peace ordered from Rome and Constantinople before the Italian army should have re-established its prestige by annihilating the handful of Turkish forces that have made success impossible. "This point," says the writer, "is of prime importance for Italy, but it does not concern Italy alone. It concerns other Powers in that it affects the question of European prestige; and it concerns, particularly, the Powers which hold the rest of North Africa." So, nut-crackers, please! Evidently peace with dishonour is not enough for the second in this duel, but the annihilation of his principal's opponent is also demanded. That these are not unconnected, childish and ridiculous

appeals for the suppression of Turkey is evident from the fact that after another week the *Times* correspondent in the Balkan Peninsula wrote in the same strain. After saddling the Turks with the guilt of the anarchist Bulgarian bands in Macedonia, and the crime of Montenegro in once more stirring up, with the possible aid of the Italians, the highlanders of Albania, this extremely veracious correspondent writes that in Turkey "for the moment 'Ottomanism' has been forgotten and the Djihad and the green flag are the order of the day. Brilliant journalistic romances breathing the atmosphere of the Thousand and One Nights have glorified the campaign in Tripoli and rehabilitated the moribund Caucus in the eyes of a credulous public. But a fame based on fantasy can hardly be long lived." Yet all this wordy vengeance for the disasters to Italian arms is prefaced with the same whining for peace and the same obvious subterfuges are used. "The need for an early settlement is all the greater as Italy cannot be expected to carry on a costly war for an indefinite time within a confined area, and financial considerations alone may compel her to break the limits hitherto observed in order to deal a decisive blow at her adversary. Whenever and wherever that blow will be struck the effect on the Balkan Peninsula will be immediate. The whole country from the Aegean to the Adriatic is ripe for rebellion. In order to avert the threatened catastrophe, which may entail incalculable consequences, the Powers should exert themselves to bring the present conflict to an end." But this is not all. In three successive weeks the *Times* had prepared the ground thoroughly for its editorial sowings, and at last on the 18th January it recommends peace—of course a humiliating peace—not to the vanquished but to the victor. It writes with its customary naivete and sanctimoniousness that the peace, whoever make it, Said Pasha, the Committee of Union and Progress or the new Chamber, must be an unpopular peace. "It would involve, as a matter of course, the cession of territory and the renunciation of sovereignty. These conditions must offend the pride and the religious feeling of the great majority of Turks. Have the Committee the courage to support such a course on the eve of an election? . . . The honour of the Turkish flag has been brilliantly saved, and it has become clearer that nothing material is to be gained by the prolongation of the war. There are indications, too, that Said is not absolutely and irrevocably committed to dependence upon the Committee, powerful though they are. He is the Ulysses who has steered his ship through many perils. If the Committee prove obdurate and impracticable he may possibly find solid elements of support in the Opposition, or he might even venture to carry out the policy which he knows to be right and patriotic without the immediate help of either, and confront the new Parliament—in the composition of which he too may have a potent voice—with an accomplished fact and ask for their approval."

So this is the way the wind blows. Just as with the aid and abetment of the *Times*, and against the wishes of the Parliament and the Nation, Sir Edward Grey has handed over Persia to Russia, so too must Said Pasha, the much flattered Ulysses of Turkey, hand over Tripoli to Italy in the teeth of the Committee's opposition and behind the back of the new Chamber. Well, Persia was not England's to give and her independence and integrity may have been unworthy even of a single British grenadier's bones. But Tripoli is flesh of Turkey's flesh and bone of her bone, and many a valiant Turk and desperate Arab has soaked its desert sand with his blood. And whatever may happen to Persia, God willing, Tripoli shall not go. If Tripoli goes, then Turkey must go with it, and Islam must stand before the world denuded of all worldly power. The gravest danger stares it in the face. Bullies are generally cowards and cowards bullies, and Italy has revived this truism. Let Ex-Lieutenant Montagu, whose letters we publish elsewhere, tell the tale of Italian atrocities, for English consciences must be awakened by English disclosures. But we have already heard from Yemen how mosques too conspicuous to be mistaken have been bombarded on a Friday and that too just at the hour of Juma' prayer. Now comes the news of a proposed bombardment of Jeddah and Yamboo, the ports that lead to the Sacred Cities of Mecca and Medina. How this can give Tripoli to Italy is not easily apparent. But it is presumed by these calculating bandits whose very wars, according to Macaulay, are more peaceful than the peace of other nations, that the news would create tremendous stir in the Moslem populations subject to France, England and Russia, and that, like the ransom demanded by the bandit, peace on their own terms could be purchased by them with the assistance of these neutral Powers. If that fails, an aeroplane could reach Mecca from Jeddah in an hour and Medina from Yamboo in two hours. A few bombs dropped on the Holy Places are calculated to fire the mine throughout the Moslem world. It is not, therefore, without reason that the *Englishman's* headline describes the plan as "Designs on Mecca." Turkey has appealed to the Powers oftener than she should have done, and the Moslems of India have implored their own Government in a manner fully consistent with their loyalty. Would they now have to put their trust solely in

Him who destroyed the People of the Elephant and made them like a chewed blade of corn? This time it is the assailants of the Ka'be that have a sort of *tari* (bird) on their side and the stones that it can drop are more potent than those of the earth. But the resources of Heaven are not limited, nor is it always neutral. And it is only to the unbelieving and the cowardly that Heaven appears to be on the side of bigger battalions.

We had announced some time ago that by arrangement with the Gramophone Company at Calcutta we had requested a young gentleman from Aligarh to sing Dr. Iqbal's famous Ode for the Company with a view to the manufacture of Gramophone records of the same, on the sale of each of which the Company had contracted to pay a royalty of As 6 to the Moslem University. We have now to announce that up to the end of the year 1911, only 388 such records had been sold, and the Company has paid us Rs. 145-8-0 which have been duly forwarded to Mr S. Sultan Ahmad, the Honorary Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Committee of the Moslem University Fund. Although every additional pice contributed to the fund gives us pleasure, we must say we do not find it in our heart to rejoice over this small contribution, for it is far below our expectations. We have advertised the records regularly since they were placed on the market, and it will not perhaps be amiss if we say that the actual cost to us of printing the advertisement has far exceeded the royalties paid to the University. Other papers have done the same and continue to do so, but the response of the purchasers is feeble to a degree. It is not altogether a charity, for the record, which is available at every branch of the Gramophone Company, and can in any case be obtained direct from their Calcutta Head Office, is excellent. As for the Ode itself, it is above our praise. Its popularity is such that it must have been repeated a hundred thousand times a day in India during the last few months. We should have thought that a thing of beauty, which, thanks to the gramophone, also happens to be a joy for ever, would have created a demand far beyond the capacity of supply. But it now appears painfully evident that lovers of Indian music, who crowded at the doors of the Theatre at the Allahabad Exhibition a year ago, are not equally keen in bidding for a pearl without a price.



The Recent Changes and the Mussalmans.

By HIS HIGHNESS THE AGA KHAN, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

THE recent changes came so suddenly that it is not strange that the Musselman public should have hesitated in deciding how it should receive them. That they will have considerable effect on Islam's future destiny in India is an evident truism. Yet I doubt if there be a single individual, outside the small circle of the authors of these changes, who has not passed through different emotions since he heard the royal announcement.

I, for one, however, after a careful consideration of every aspect of the question have come to the conclusion that the Mussalmans do not lose anything of consequence, while India as a whole and the Empire will gain considerably. The gain of India must be the gain of the Mussalmans of India, provided no direct Moslem interest is attacked. We must take the changes *seriatim*, look at their probable results, and determine how India, and then the Mussalmans of India, will be benefited, or otherwise, by each. The change of capital in itself will have the great advantage for Mussalmans of bringing the Government of India nearer to the centres of Moslem intellectual activity and to the most virile portions of the Moslem community in India. It will, in the next place, bring the Viceroy nearer to the Moslem University, an institution in the welfare of which as the Chancellor of the University he is directly interested. For India as a whole it will be a great gain that the seat of Government should be, so to speak, in a neutral and central position, and removed from any great section of people or province that may have interests of its own not identical with or always friendly to those of other equally great and important sections of people or provinces. For Calcutta, with its great commerce, and tapping as it does the richest "Hinterland" of Southern Asia, it cannot be anything more than the loss of the social attractions of Government House.

Then comes the undoing of the Partition. No doubt the Mussalmans were in a distinct majority in the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and this unique position is now lost. But looking at the position of Islam in India as a whole, I doubt if it will be

found that it was a good thing to be in a clear majority in one province and a minority in almost every other. The disadvantages of such a situation are obvious. Islam in India is one and indivisible. It is the duty of a Moslem to look not only to the immediate interests of his own locality but to those of his co-religionists as a whole. But if we look upon it from a still wider point of view as Indians, we shall find that the old Partition had deeply wounded, and not unnaturally, the sentiments of the great Bengali-speaking millions of India. Anything that permanently alienates and offends the sentiments or interests of millions of Indians, be they Moslem or Hindu, is undoubtedly in itself an undesirable thing and should not only be avoided by the Government but also opposed by all communities of India. Viewed in this light, the undoing of the Partition which has satisfied the great Bengali-speaking people ought to be in itself a cause of congratulation for all Indians, whether Hindus or Mussalmans, and I think we should all be deeply grateful to His Excellency Lord Hardinge for this great act of statesmanship which has removed a grievance from one important section of His Majesty's Indian subjects. From the point of view of the greater good of India and the Empire, the removal of the capital and the undoing of the Partition, or, rather, the creation of two new Provinces, have been masterstrokes of statesmanship.

But there still remains the question of the real needs of the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal and Assam. These needs can all be summed up in one word,—"Education". However, since Lord Hardinge's Government has promised a University for Dacca—a University that we most sincerely hope will be a teaching and residential one—I doubt if there is left unredressed any real grievance of the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal, provided, of course, that the new Government of Bengal sees to it that the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882 are carried out both in the spirit and the letter. For with facilities for education provided in that province, the Mussalmans can raise themselves to a position in which it will be impossible for anyone to deprive them of what is rightly their due. Some have no doubt asserted that the new University will perhaps compete with the great Moslem University at Aligarh. Nothing could be more absurd. For the great Moslem University is to be a central residential institution for the *elite* of the community, while the other is to help forward all those who might be left behind in the race of life by the supersession of Dacca by Calcutta. Competition between two such different institutions would be as absurd as a race between a bird and a fish. Calcutta and India as a whole will also gain educationally, for no university can be really efficient that has to cater for a population of over 100 millions and rush through more than 8,000 examinations. It must necessarily become mechanical.

So resuming the facts, we can put the gains as a neutral and central capital, the satisfaction of the sentimental grievance of the great Bengali nation, and the protection of the only real interest of the Moslems of Eastern Bengal. The loss comes to be limited to the loss of the social importance of Calcutta, but neither the loss of its trade nor of its prosperity.

Under these circumstances, I feel it my undoubted duty to advise my co-religionists to welcome the changes and be grateful to the Government that has initiated them. The need for this is all the greater since the Mussalmans will thus show their real and sincere sympathy with their Hindu brethren of Bengal and their readiness to respect Hindu and Bengali sentiment. Are not the feelings animating the promoters of the Hindu and Moslem University schemes those of fraternal and healthy rivalry? And above all, by working for the success of these great changes loyally, whole heartedly and without any *arrière pensées*, Moslems will best prove their loyal devotion to their gracious and beloved Sovereign, the King-Emperor, and their loyal appreciation of the sympathetic Government of Lord Hardinge that has removed the great sentimental grievance of the Bengalis and has yet protected, by promising a University at Dacca, all the real interests of the Moslems of Eastern Bengal.

The Comrade.

The Future of Islam.

I.

THERE are national and racial temperaments, as there are individual temperaments, which prefer the contemplation of life to living it. To such vague speculations concerning the future has a charm all its own, and while many a dainty rainbow-hued gossamer is spun by the philosophic brain of the optimist, many a dismal nightmare also leaves the pessimist with his chronic fit of "blues" more dejected than ever. Islam never encouraged that depth of contemplation which left the thinker too impotent to act. But, then, no religion has yet attained that universal sovereignty over the feelings and ideas of its believers which could make even occasional excursions into undesirable realms of thought an impossibility. The strange happenings of to-day in the world of Islam must be a great temptation to the pessimist to draw the gloomiest picture of the future of a once world conquering creed and to give way to that dismal contemplation of what may be which paralyzes the power to determine what should be and shall. But beyond a certain insipidity in the work of collecting funds for the Moslem University, we see no signs of that paralysis in India, and speculation as to the future is not as ripe as it might have been expected to be. However, the occasion for speculation has not been allowed to pass away in England, and two bitter opponents of Islam have come forward to enlighten the world about the character of Islam and, incidentally, about its future. In a previous issue we have dealt, though in a general way and far from exhaustively, with the views of Sir Harry Johnston, who seems to voice the hopes and fears of a large section of the Christians and of the British people, and now we have to notice the exposition of Pan-Islamism by Professor Margoliouth.

In noticing the Oxford Arabic Professor's dissertation on the question "Is Pan Islamism a Power?", read before the Central Asian Society, in its issue of the 3rd instant in a leading article entitled "The Future of Islam," the *Flower* refers to Sir Harry Johnston as "by no means a friend of Islam in general." But its correspondent thinks that Professor Margoliouth's lecture "was in no sense an attack upon Islam & Syed Ameer Ali was inclined to think", and states that "Sir Mortimer Durand, presiding on the occasion, while sympathizing with the Right Honourable gentleman's spirited defence of Islam, emphatically supported Professor Margoliouth as in no sense an adverse critic but a knowledgeable interpreter of Islam."

We do not think that the personality of the interpreter matters very much when we have the interpretation itself to deal with. But when claims are put forward for the interpreters themselves by those who are disposed to agree with them, it is a clear rule of the law of evidence that such claims can be repudiated, and evidence rebutting friendly statements is admissible. As regards Sir Harry Johnston we need say little for the late Governor of British Nigeria has fully established his claim to a description far more forcible than "by no means a friend of Islam in general" by his article in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, in which the Prophet of Islam has been called the bandit mystic of Arabia. But many Mussalmans in India are still in the dark about the attitude of Professor Margoliouth towards Islam and its Prophet, and for their enlightenment we may mention that the learned Professor is anything but a devotee of "undenominationalism and indifference" which characterize so many eminent Christians in England and specially the *savants* of the country.

He is, we believe, an ordained clergyman, although he takes, so far as we know, no practical part as such in directing Christian worship. As his name indicates, he is of eastern extraction, and the knowledge of Arabic and other Semitic languages comes naturally to him. Besides other works, he is the author of a treatise on Islam which is not likely to commend itself to Moslem readers, and of a life of Muhammad published by Messrs G. P. Putnam's Sons in their well known series of "Heroes of the Nations." The latter is perhaps the subtest of attacks on the Apostle of Islam, for the Professor has studiously avoided the too apparent fanaticism and virulence which characterize most of the Christian indictments of Muhammad. But although he refers to the "confessedly Christian bias" of Sir William Muir, who wrote so skilfully a life of the Prophet that Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was compelled to write a most scholarly refutation thereof and publish it under the title of "Essay on the Life of Muhammad" (एसाय ऑफ मुहम्मद) in order to save Moslem youths from influences designed to undermine their faith, Professor Margoliouth's own "Life" is far more dangerous. Under the cloak of the appreciation of "Muhammad as a great man, who solved a political problem of appalling difficulty,—the construction of a state and an empire out of the Arab tribes", and of doing justice to "his

intellectual ability" and observing towards him "the respectful attitude which his greatness deserves," Professor Margoliouth has hidden, though not always successfully, a worse Christian bias than Sir William Muir's, and in the praise of the hero has sought to kill the prophet. There is an insidious undercurrent running throughout the book and the virus is skilfully mixed in every page. But the following extract, though somewhat long, which relates the events of the last days of the Prophet and his fatal illness, would give a much better idea of the Professor's attitude towards the Apostle of God than any words of our own:—

The journey from Medina to Mecca . . . appears this time to have been more than the Prophet's strength could support; and he is said to have felt signs of ill-health immediately after his return . . . It would appear that his mind became somewhat unengaged because of his illness; at dead of night, it is said, a fit took him to go out in the cemetery called Al-Baki'; and ask forgiveness for the dead who were buried there. This indeed he had done before: Ayesha once followed him like a detective when he started out at night, supposing him to be bent on some amour, but his destination she found was the graveyard. There he raised his hand to heaven and interceded for the dead in a lengthy prayer, after which he congratulated himself on being better off than those who remained behind. He then returned to Ayesha who complained of a headache; he also complained of one in answer and asked Ayesha whether it would not be better for her if she died first, since she would have the advantage of having her obsequies performed by the Prophet of God; to which she retorted that he would also be able on returning to insist a fresh bide. He then spent the night restlessly wandering over his harem till he collapsed in the chamber of Maimunah; whence he begged to be transferred to the chamber of the favourite Ayesha. Thither he was carried in a high fever, by some of his relations or followers . . . It appears to be certain that he fell ill on a Thursday and died on a Monday . . . The length of time occupied by the fever is uncertain; but probably it was not more than five days. There is nothing surprising in a man of over sixty succumbing to a fever. But his collapse may have been helped by his excesses, or (as many thought) by the poison of the Jews of Khaybar, or by his belief that water could not be contaminated, whence he drank hesitatingly from a well that served as a sink; or finally by the anxiety of royalty . . . His political work was not left half finished at his death; he had founded an empire with a religious and political capital, he had made a nation of a loose agglomeration of tribes. He had given them a rallying-point in their common religion, and therein discovered a bond more permanent than a dynasty . . . Twenty-three years had transferred him from his shop in Mecca to the throne of an empire which threatened to engulf the world . . . He held that chances must not be thrown away, and while regularly profiting by other men's scruples, allowed no scruples between him and success.

This long extract would at least serve to show how far the Professor—who is more fitted for the task of compiling a *Chronique scandaleuse* than the life of a Prophet whose faith is the consolation of a sixth, at least, of the whole human race—has observed towards him "the respectful attitude which his greatness deserves," and what sort of justice Islam can expect from its latest "knowledgeful interpreter." What but a perverse mind could give currency to an insinuation so senseless and vicious as the one which contrasts so violently with the solemn and affecting scene in the graveyaul?

In dealing with Pan-Islamism Professor Margoliouth turns to Syed Rashid, Editor of *Al-Manar*, for "a definition of the somewhat difficult word." We should have thought that those who had coined the "difficult word" would also be the persons best able to give it a suitable "definition." But in the topsy-turvydom of modern politics it is the editor of a rather detached literary and ethical magazine of Cairo who is the last refuge of those whose equanimity is disturbed by a bogey of their own creation. As for the "definition" itself, it is the strangest of its kind. According to Syed Rashid, Pan-Islamism "is a phantasm abstracted from the Moslem profession of religious fraternity and magnified by the European imagination, while it is embraced by Moslems owing to their supposed need of it." The Syed adds, "continued Professor Margoliouth, "that both the fears of the Europeans and the hopes of the Moslems on this subject are futile because as a matter of fact phantasms do not materialize." If anything so vague can be called a "definition", then the definition of "definition" itself would have to undergo material alteration. But as the opinion of an enlightened Mussalman about the bogey of Christian Europe, the quotation from Syed Rashid is entitled to respect and consideration. All the same, the strangeness of the so-called definition, which the Professor accepts, is not lessened by the fact that, according to him, "the personage who is credited with originating the pan-Islamic idea is the Afghan, Muhammad Janal-ud-din", and that Syed Rashid himself is "the one who may claim to be doing most to carry out Janal-ud-din's idea." If the Editor of *Al-Manar* has shouted himself hoarse in proclaiming the unity of Moslems, and if "the eminent reformer," according to the *Flower*, is the chief apostle of one kind of Pan-Islamism, "a comparatively sedate and probably impracticable movement for softening differences between Muhammadan sects and creating increased religious unity among Moslems throughout the world," then we may well believe that his utterance about the futility of Moslem hopes and about phantasms never materializing is the pathetic wail of one who ardently believes in that "phantasm" himself, but whose acidulous experience in a far-fetched ideal world makes him despondent.

In India, too, and we believe elsewhere also in the Moslem World, there are similar, though far too few, ardent spirits that are devoted to the pursuit of Syed Rashid's formula of the spiritual unity of Islam. They look forward, possibly more hopefully, to a future when sectarian differences would be so far softened that doctrinal differences such as those of the Shi'ahs and the Sunnis—the believers in the infallibility of a spiritual guide (*Imam*) and the dissenters that consider all men other than prophets fallible, but permit individual interpretation (*Qiyas*), while guiding their conduct according to the consensus of opinion among the faithful (*Ijma'-i-Ummat*)—would not be a bar to co-operation in working out the temporal salvation of all Mussalmans. Such a desire is far from that "undenominationism and indifferentism" by which alone, according to Professor Margoliouth, "the specific differences of Islam can be glazed over." The Professor has a most ingenious argument wherewith to commend to its followers the existing state of affairs in Islam and its sectarian divisions. "It is absurd to suppose," says the Reverend Professor, "that a religious bond can be strengthened by thinning the strands which make it up . . . That form of Government is best suited to men's religious needs which permits the greatest exuberance of religious variety, which, so to speak, admits of the easiest accommodation of the spiritual medicine to the individual soul . . . Co-operation between units is necessary for the existence of a nation, but religion is the concern of the individual mind." According to Sir Harry Johnston, on the other hand, "the only hope of . . . the raising of the peoples now Muhammadan to absolute equality, intellectual and social, with the leading Christian Peoples lies in the 'defecation of Islam to a pure transparency'." It would thus seem that while one physician would kill the Moslem World slowly with the disease, the other would do the same more expeditiously with the remedy.

Whatever the motives of the physicians, one of them, at least, does not seemingly possess true knowledge of the temperament and the constitution of the patient. Islam is not only a creed but also a social polity, and the bond of Islam, however entangled by narrow schisms, still binds three hundred million people of different races, colours and countries as no other bond in the world's long history has yet done, and the sharp contrast between 'religion' and "nation" which Professor Margoliouth draws has not the same application to Islam as to Christianity. The young Under Secretary of State for India is, we must admit, a better exponent of its extra-territorial patriotism than the Oxford *savant*. We can, therefore, take leave of this self-constituted spiritual adviser of the Moslem World with little regret, and commend to the Mussalmans a return to that spiritual unity of which the early days of Islam have given the world an attractive, even if also a far too fleeting glimpse. It was only a couple of months ago that Dr Muhammad Iqbal declared in the strongest possible terms, and in the compelling accents of sincerity, his belief that Islam as a spiritual force would one day dominate the world, and with its simple rationalism purge it of the dross of superstition as well as of godless materialism. And shortly afterwards, our contemporary, the *Zamindar*, has published his "Prayer," which must be echoed by all Moslems who have the faith that moves mountains.

بِارَبِ دلِ مِلْمَ کُو وَ زَنْدَه لَمَّا دَعَ *
 جو لَلَّابِ کُو گَرْمَادَے جو رَدَعِ کُو تَرْبَادَے *
 بَهْرَ وَادِی فَارِزَانَ کَعْرَذَرَه کُو چِمَکَادَے *
 بَهْرَ شَرْقِ تَمَاشَادَے بَهْرَ ذَرَقِ تَفَاضَادَے *
 مَحْرُومِ تَمَاشَا کَرِ بَهْرَ دَيْدَه بَهْنَادَے *
 دِیْکَہَا فِيْ حَرْكَجَہ مِينَ لَے اوْرَدنِ کُوبِھِی دَکَلَادَے
 بَلَکَهُ هُوتَ آهُو کُو بَهْرَ سَوَے حَرَمَ لَے بَلَ *
 اسِ شَهْرَ کَ خُوکَرِ کُو بَهْرَ دَسَعَتِ مَحْرَادَے
 آشِ منْثَنِی جَسْكَی کَانْتُونَ کُو حَلَّا ۱۳ *
 اسِ بَادِیه پَیْمَا کُو وَ زَهْ آبَلَه بَادَے
 بَهْدَادِ دِلِ دِيرَانِ مِينَ بَهْرَ شَورَشِ مَحْفَرَ کَرَ *
 اسِ مَحْمَلِ خَالِي کُو بَهْرَ غَامَه لَهَادَے
 اسِ دَرِکَیْ تَلْمِیتِ مِينَ هَر قَلْبِ بَرِیْطَانَ کَوَ *
 وَ دَاغِ صَبَبَ دَسَے جو ہَالَه کُو غَرَما دَے
 رَفَعَتِ مِينَ مَقاَصِه کُو هَمَدَوشِ تَرْبَادَے *
 خُودِ دَارِيِ سَاحِلَ دَے آزَادِي دَرْبَادَے
 ۴ لَوْتِ مَجَہَتِ مُو بَے باَکِ مَدَالِیتِ مُو *
 سَهْنُونِ مِينَ أَجَالَ کَر دَلِ صَرَتِ مَهَادَے
 اَهْسَاسِ عَنْایَتِ کَر آثارِ مَصَبِبَ کَ *
 اَمْرَدَرَ کَ شَورَشِ مِينَ الْهَيَّة نَرَادَے
 مِينَ بَلَلِ نَالَانِ مُونَ اَبِيكِ اَهْرَسِ كَلْمَتَانَ کَ *
 تَائِلَرِ کَ سَاعِلِ مُونَ مَحْتَاجَ کَو دَلَادَے

Who knows that this brilliant young man, Doctor of Philosophy and Poet, may yet prove that the "phantasm" which Syed Rashid has not been able to "materialize" may not still be a reality, that the denizen of the town may not yet achieve the vastness of the desert, that all those who, like the modern Qais of Nejd who lives a recluse in Cairo, cry themselves hoarse in praying for spiritual unity may not yet discover their Leilla in the immort recesses of their hearts? When others are troubled by the strange and disturbing succession of events in the political world, this true Moslem does not forget the real spiritual needs of his co-religionists, and prays that the danger of the morrow may be realized in the unrest of the day. Who knows that the *بُشْرَى* which Syed Rashid with his college of missionaries has not yet attained may not come to the eloquently persuasive poet for the mere asking?

The Aga Khan on the Recent Changes.

WE HAVE no doubt that the views of His Highness the Aga Khan on the recent changes, which we are happy to publish elsewhere, will be read with that attention and command that respect which his intellectual gifts no less than his unique position have earned for them through a brilliant public career in recent times. Those who come in contact with His Highness cannot fail to be impressed by his breadth of view and intellectual charm which remind one in a manner of Lord Rosebery. They are a good corrective of the narrowing tendencies of party politics and journalistic polemic, and it will be difficult to overrate their value.

We would earnestly commend to the Mussalmans his view, that "the gain of India must be the gain of the Mussalmans, provided no direct Moslem interest is attacked." This is, of course, nothing new but in the heat of controversy a truism is only too often neglected as obsolete and old-fashioned. On the other hand, we would like other communities also to remember that the gain of the Mussalmans is not the loss of India unless some great and universal interest of the country is thereby sacrificed. Where people are apt to be misled by party prejudice or ignorance of reality is that what is claimed for the nation so often becomes, when achieved, the privilege of a few or the private perquisite of a caste. We trust the magnanimity of the Aga Khan's view that the satisfaction "of the great Bengali-speaking people ought to be in itself a cause of congratulation for all Indians, whether Hindus or Mussalmans" would be appreciated throughout the country and insist that unity which every friend of this country must wholeheartedly desire. It may, no doubt, be said that minorities can ill afford to be too magnanimous. But it must also be remembered that it is only the poor that are really charitable, and if the Mussalmans give the first proof of a noble spirit, so much the more creditable to them. But we would insist that there should be no sham charity, no cant of magnanimity, but the genuine article itself. The Mussalmans must show, not once nor twice, but frequently, that they make no virtue of necessity, and are sincerely and without secret reservations prepared to go a long way to meet the Hindus. If they cannot find it in their heart to do so, they shall not only be sacrificing sincerity, but also depriving themselves of the dignity which a community such as theirs must greatly prize.

As regards the recent changes, we have never disguised our strong disapproval of the procedure adopted by Government. Much can undoubtedly be said on behalf of the Government, but more can be said against them. The times are gone when everything could safely be done for the people and nothing by them. With the increase of education the self-confidence of the people has also increased, and the spirit of the Arab saying: لحن رجَال و مِن رجَال (We are men and they are men), is the spirit not only of the non-official European community, but of educated Indians as well. The progress of social and political intercourse, in spite of its snail's pace, has increased the friendliness of the people towards their rulers. But increased familiarity has robbed the latter of much of their superstitious solemnity and public men are no longer content to say with Hafiz.—

اصور مملکت خوبیں خسروان دانته

(Rulers alone understand the affairs of their dominions). Government is no longer an Isis hid by the veil, although the loss of a dreadful divinity is more than made up by the gain of humanity. We believe that the financial interests of Government could have been protected even otherwise than by the secrecy observed by the authors of the change of Capital, and the argument that a public discussion of the changes would have given rise to endless controversy betrays a disproportionate assessment of the dangers of controversy and of the value of the co-operation of the rulers and the ruled. But whatever may be said for the Government's procedure, regarding the changes announced at Delhi, there is not a vestige of argument in favour of the secrecy observed as regards the "boon" announced at Dacca. It is indeed

strange that when in England both Liberals and Conservatives are becoming discontented with the secrecy of the Foreign Office, we in India should be expected to reconcile ourselves to the methods of diplomacy in the settlement of the country's internal affairs. It was not an enviable frame of mind in which Macbeth resolved that,

"The fligly purpose never is a'ertook,
Unless the deed go with it, from this moment,
The firstlings of my heart shall be
The firstlings of my hand."

As regards the merits of the changes, we are disposed to agree in the main with the views of H. H. the Aga Khan about the transfer of the Capital, though we shall not minimise the immediate loss that would be suffered by the owners of house property in Calcutta who could have reasonably counted on the prescription of a century and a half. But the gain to India as a whole far exceeds the loss, and so far as the Mussalmans of India are concerned they have everything to gain and nothing to lose.

As regards the undoing of the Partition, however, are we to believe with His Highness that the old Partition was a mere sentimental grievance? The Government of India, at any rate, do not say so, and although they have failed to specify the reasons why the Hindus of Bengal—not all the Bengali-speaking people—opposed it so vehemently, we have reason to believe that Government know them as well as we do. And however natural the opposition, are we sure that it is silenced now, and that the sentiments and interests which were then permanently alienated and offended are now satisfied and placated for ever? In 1905, the old Bengal and Assam were given two Lieutenant-Governors instead of a Lieutenant-Governor and a Chief Commissioner. In 1911, they get a Governor, a Lieutenant Governor and a Chief Commissioner. In 1905, they still had a single High Court, but after the announcement of 1911, it is certain that they will have two. In 1905, they had a single University, but in 1912 they get two, and there is every hope that in a few more years the loyal and sturdy Beharis, who now happen to be backward also, will ask, and rightly so, for a third. Our opinion of the Hindus of Bengal will certainly be wholly falsified if these "boons" will be received in the spirit of unqualified thankfulness. On the contrary, the fear is and we sincerely wish we may be proved to be a false prophet—that most of the reasons, weighty if also selfish, which masqueraded as "the sentiments of the great Bengali-speaking millions of India" may still remain alienated and offended, and that more deeply even if less openly, while the success achieved in the ripping up of one "settled fact" may encourage their leaders to work for another and a still greater triumph. Should things turn out as His Highness the Aga Khan seems to predict, Lord Hardinge and his colleagues would have earned the gratitude of the whole of India, and we hope and believe the Mussalmans would not then betray a narrowness which is foreign to their traditions. But we must wait and see, and we trust that those who have now decided upon the undoing of the Partition have a good deal of the spirit of those who do good by stealth and blush to find it fame. All the same, in spite of the advice of Polonius to Laertes, "never a borrower or a lender be," we are prepared to give the Government a fairly long credit of gratitude, and it rests with the Hindus of Bengal rather than with Mussalmans whether our draft will be honoured by the people's bank.

We fully agree with His Highness the Aga Khan that the real needs of the Mussalmans can be summed up in one word—"Education." But it is difficult to believe that the only form which the assistance of the Government to the Mussalman of Bengal could have taken was the promised University at Dacca. While we are prepared to judge the gift on its merits, we are surprised that if this is the sole panacea for all the ills of Eastern Bengal, it did not occur to the Government during the six years when Eastern Bengal had a separate Local Government, and that it should have been carried out so suddenly just at the time when the costly buildings erected at Dacca needed an occupant. Is it so easy to get rid of the feeling which underlies the verse of Ghaini?

جَبْ مَنْكِرٌ لِّكَابِ الْمُكْبَرِ، فَلَمْ يَكُنْ
مَّا كُوِيْتِ حَانِةً وَمَرْأَةً

(When the tavern is deserted, what matters the place? It may be a mosque, a school, or the abode of the saints.) We are ready to accept that Eastern Bengal is not always fairly treated by the University of Calcutta and that Moslem educational interests would be better safeguarded by a University at Dacca and by the retention of the post of its Director of Public Instruction. But what guarantee is there that when the Government did not safeguard these interests in the Calcutta University in spite of the plenary powers which they possess under the Universities Act, they would adequately safeguard them in the Dacca University? What the Mussalmans need is more liberal State assistance for poor but deserving Musselman students and larger grants-in-aid to such institutions as attract Musselman boys and girls. Another University does not necessarily guarantee all this, and even a Director at Dacca is not

free from influences to which the Director at Calcutta has only too often succumbed.

But beggars cannot be choosers. The gift horse must not be examined too closely and the most serviceable animal is one's own shanks' mare. The Hon. Chaudhri Mohamed Ismail Khan has set an excellent example to his co-religionists, and we hope that instead of grumbling the Mussalmans would emulate his praiseworthy policy of self-help and self-reliance. We still believe that neither the Mussalmans of Western Bengal nor those of Eastern Bengal are so poor that they cannot found and maintain a first grade residential college at Calcutta and another at Dacca, and if they do so they will be better able to give to the Government an opportunity of proving in an unmistakeable manner their desire to give adequate encouragement to Moslem education. Had the Government at this juncture followed the policy to which the Sanscrit College owes its existence and prosperity, and reformed and enlarged the Madrassas at Calcutta and Dacca, all would have been well. Since they have not done so, the Mussalmans should themselves attempt the more difficult task which we have suggested, and urge the Government to devote half the expenditure incurred by it on higher education out of public revenues as grants-in-aid to the proposed Moslem Colleges. In the meantime, the Mussalmans are too hungry to spurn half a loaf because a full loaf is denied to them, and they must accept the Dacca University and the Dacca Director with the gratitude that is really shown only by the meek in spirit.

As regards the effect of this "boon" on the proposed Moslem University—alas! still "proposed"—if the Dacca University cannot be a rival, it can much less be a substitute. The Mussalmans must have the direction of their secondary and higher education in their own hands, and this can only be effected by a University at Aligarh controlled by the Mussalmans themselves—though subject to the general supervision of Government—and with ramifications throughout India. So far as the Government have hitherto spoken out their mind, they do not seem to relish the idea of the Moslem University affiliating even efficient residential institutions outside Aligarh though conducted on Aligarh lines. Would the creation of a University at Dacca directly controlled by Government make it any easier for the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal to affiliate a College of their own to the University at Aligarh? Again, is there no fear that local Moslem charity, which Mussalmans cannot afford to make a local or provincial monopoly, may be altogether diverted from Aligarh to Dacca? Moreover, would not the favourite argument of the opponents of the Moslem University, that across their system it would cut its own deep rut, and that it would break up or injure the territorial University, be repeated with still greater bitterness when Bengal has two Universities than when it has only one? And then, if Dacca, thanks to its untenanted Secretariat, is to have a residential and teaching University, will not the Moslem University be depreciated in value because one of its distinguishing features will cease to be part of its *differentialia*? These are questions that must be considered carefully before the sceptics can be convinced that Aligarh has nothing to fear from Dacca. The race between the bird and the fish of His Highness the Aga Khan's simile no doubt appears absurd. But if instead of a race we think of a meal, the appetite whetted by the *chinters* may not be whetted even at the sight of roast fowl.

Aligarh cannot certainly satisfy all the educational needs of Moslem India, specially on account of the tremendous distances. But Aligarh cannot rigidly be confined to the *city*, nor should we attach too much importance to mere distance. All roads at one time led to Baghdad, as they did to Rome, and there were no mail trains annihilating distances in those days, nor was the Imperialistic ticket-collector the only bit of nuisance on the roadside. And many a doctor and divine of Islam was the poor man's son who studied borrowed manuscripts under the lamp of a mosque or the passing torches of aristocratic cavalades. Practical difficulties are bound to make Aligarh in the main the centre of the *city* of Islam, but hitherto Aligarh has done more to help the indigent Moslems even in outlying provinces than local State assistance, and it will indeed be an evil day if Aligarh, when it attains its full stature, forgets its past traditions and belies the fair promise of its childhood. We are sure that H. H. the Aga Khan would be the last person to suggest anything of the kind, and that is why we felt it necessary to correct a possible misapprehension. So much for education.

But although education, more education, and better education is the ultimate remedy for all Moslem ills, Mussalmans have their immediate needs no less than other communities, and these cannot be ignored. While the root malady that has undermined the constitution of the patient has got to be attacked, and none but a quack would neglect it, at a time when the patient appears to be sinking, immediate remedies, restoratives, and even artificial respiration, cannot be dispensed with. It is true that a Moslem majority in one province could not avail the Moslem minority of other provinces very much. But a majority even in one province is not a valueless possession, and if it has got to be acquired even for public purposes and is readily relinquished, it is by no means necessary that a present should be made of the compensation as well.

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

The Times in an article on Mr. Shuster admits that the situation in Persia could not have become so deplorable and dangerous, had the British and Russian Governments and officials been co-operating frankly and intimately, or realized that the state of public opinion recommended that Russians should adapt the conduct of their officials in Persia rather more closely to the British interpretation of the Anglo-Russian Agreement.

Reuter learns that the report that it is intended to ask the Persian Government to recognise British and Russian Protectorates in Persia is totally unfounded. Russia and Great Britain are exchanging views with reference to the proposal for assisting Persia in establishing a more stable Government.

Reuter wires from Teheran on the 2nd.—The resignation of the Cabinet is reported to be imminent. It is believed that care will be taken to provide successors who are friendly to Anglo-Russian policy.

Colonel Hyalmarsen, the Swedish instructor of Gendarmerie has drawn up a scheme involving the recruitment of 3,500 men who will be distributed in Fars, Khamesh, Ghilan, and Teheran. 1,400 of them will undertake the policing of the road between Bushire and Ispahan.

Reuter wires from St. Petersburg on the 2nd.—While some confiscated Persian shells were being handed over in the Citadel of Tabriz an explosion occurred as the result of which an officer and fifteen men were killed and seven men wounded.

Reuter learns that negotiations are proceeding for a joint Anglo-Russian advance to Persia probably of £200,000 each. The Persian Treasury is practically empty, the whole of the last £1,000 having been expended partly in resisting the ex-Shah. The question of the latter's residence is occupying the British and Russian Governments. Russia will not agree to his being in Persia while any Russian troops remain there.

Reuter wires from St. Petersburg that the Russian Consul at Astrabad has asked for reinforcements owing to the murders and robberies in Mazanderan, which is in a state of anarchy, owing to want of discipline among the troops of the ex-Shah. Accordingly, two companies of infantry with two machine guns and mountain guns are under orders for Astrabad, one company with machine guns for Barfursh, another for Meshed.

The Teheran Government is willing to grant the ex-Shah a pension of fifty thousand tomans and to restore the property of the Shua-es-Sultaneh.

Reuter wires from Teheran on the 6th.—British and Russian Ministers have suggested to the Persian Government that a pension be granted to the ex-Shah and an amnesty to his partisans on condition that they leave Persia without delay.

Reports from Meshed show that the Russians have increased the consular guard in that city by a full regiment of Cossacks. The people seem to be indifferent to this proof of Russia's intentions to keep the peace in Eastern Khorasan.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, January 9.

There seems a possibility that the Government will agree to pension the ex-Shah Shua-es-Sultaneh, and Salar-ed-Dowleh on condition that they never again return to Persia; also that Russia will agree to intern the ex-Shah in strict confinement. Some 700 Russian troops are proceeding to Meshed, where the Consular Guard number 209.

Teheran, January 8.

One of the four Persian members of the Commission under M. Mornard, the Belgian Director of Customs, which has been appointed by the Government to take over the duties of Mr. Shuster, has already resigned. The three others to-day visited Mr. Shuster, by whom they were presented to Mr. Cairns as the Acting Treasurer-General. Mr. Shuster will leave here on Thursday morning.

The Regent's decree appointing M. Mornard, Provisional Treasurer-General states that henceforward all orders and documents of the Treasury must bear M. Mornard's signature, without which they will be invalid. No reference is made in the decree to the law passed by the Majlis which conferred on Mr. Shuster the sole right to sign cheques on behalf of the Government. The decree also appears to confer new powers on the Minister of Finance which might be considered to conflict with the provisions of that law, but the wording of the decree is obscure. From the language employed, it would appear to indicate that the Government does not intend M. Mornard's appointment to be permanent.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, January 9.

The report from St. Petersburg that M. Mornard's candidature has been abandoned is premature, as it is still being pressed by the Legations here whose influence secured his appointment as Acting Treasurer-General. Some ambiguity regarding the position, however, exists, as the Cabinet Order states that a Persian Commission is to take over the accounts, whereas the Regent's Decree says that M. Mornard is to do so. It is likewise separately stated that the Minister of Finance has temporary powers as Treasurer-General.

The Treasury Gendarmerie has been transferred to Swedish officers. Nothing has yet been settled regarding the position of the American officers, whose departure is probable.

It is reported that the Russians have appointed as Governor of Azerbaijan Shuja-ed-Dowleh, otherwise known as Samad Khan, who besieged Tabriz in 1909, and lately again invested it in the ex-Shah's interest.

Teheran, January 11.

Mr. Shuster left to-day. The Persian Commission has resigned. Apparently it has now no *rason d'être*, as originally it was designed to act as a go between in the transfer of the books from Mr. Shuster to M. Mornard.

Since the notification of Mr. Shuster's dismissal on December 24th not a penny has been paid of the general revenue, exclusive of the Customs. Clerical disturbances are reported from Ispahan.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, January 12.

M. Mornard to-day took possession of Mr. Shuster's office and books. He declined Mr. Cairns's request for a quittance and receipts similar to those given to Mr. Shuster by Mr. Cairns on the grounds that the Government had ordered him simply to take possession, and had not authorized him to recognize Mr. Cairns as Acting Treasurer-General. He also read a letter from the Cabinet stating that any delay on the part of the Americans in handing over the books would involve their immediate dismissal and "punishment." The letter appears to have incensed the Americans, who have for some time past been anxious to be relieved of their responsibilities, but have not hitherto received any intimation as to who would relieve them.

Washington, January 12

Mr. Sulzer, chairman of the House Committee of Foreign Relations, has received a cable from Mr. Cairns, one of the fourteen American accountants left in Teheran by Mr. Shuster, complaining that they are all equally affected with Mr. Shuster by the Russian ultimatum, and that they desire to be released from their contracts with full pay for the unexpired portion of their engagement. Mr. Sulzer declares that he will take up the matter with Mr. Knox, Secretary of State.

(FROM THE "NEW YORK HERALD" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, January 14.

Mr. Cairns to-day wrote to the Cabinet a letter wherein he says: "I regret exceedingly that your excellencies have deemed it necessary to take such arbitrary measures in the dispossesson of representative Shuster. This regret is unengendered by any feeling of personal resentment, but because of the evident lack of confidence in American officials of this Government. I wish to inform you in the name of all American officials that I have been furnished with a certified translation of your letter of yesterday to M. Mornard, wherein you deemed it necessary and advisable to threaten us with dismissal and punishment. The cause for such action is absolutely incomprehensible unless you have been misinformed as to our attitude towards this Government, or that you seek to compel us to a breach of contract. Your attention is invited to the fact that such threat, especially the use of the word 'punishment,' can have but one interpretation in this country. I beg to state your threat and our interpretation of it have been communicated to our Government in Washington, and also to the English and Russian legations. Notwithstanding this you are hereby officially advised that the Americans will continue their posts for the present."

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, January 14.

In his communication to the British and Russian Legations, Mr. Cairns addresses them as representing the present *de facto* sovereignty in Persia.

The Americans, with the possible exception of the Gendarmerie officers, whose relations with the Swedes are very cordial, are desirous to go, and contend that Article 2 of the ultimatum constitutes a violation of their contract, as they only contracted to serve Persia, whereas they are now dependent on Great Britain and Russia, and are, therefore, entitled to receive the balance of their three years' pay, since this was the period of their contract.

10th February.

The British and Russian Legations are ready to support this claim and have informed the Americans accordingly.

Teheran, January 14.

The Cabinet appears already to have repented of its inconsiderate language, for Mr. Cairns to day received an official communication politely urging him and the other American functionaries, in the interests of the financial administration, not to refuse to lend M. Mornard their assistance, and for the present the tension between the Americans and the new acting Treasurer-General appears to be somewhat relaxed.—*Reuter*.

Teheran, January 18.

The Government is now engaged in a lively controversy with Mr Cairns, who was left in charge of the Treasury by Mr Shuster. He has been reprimanded for his letter to the Cabinet protesting against the manner in which Mr. Shuster's office was taken over. The Government alleges that its letter to M. Mornard, of which M. Mornard retains the original, referred to the discharge and punishment of Persian officials only, and has sent Mr. Cairns what profess to be a copy and a translation of the original. Unfortunately, the supposed copy varies in many respects and is signed only by an Under Secretary, whereas the letter shown by M. Mornard and translated before him and Mr. Cairns was signed by four Ministers. The intention of the Foreign Minister in drafting the second letter appears to have been excellent, but [the execution leaves something to be desired.

December 1911.



Punch]

AS BETWEEN FRIENDS.

[London.

British Lion (to Russian Bear): "If we hadn't such a thorough understanding I might almost be tempted to ask what you are doing there with our little Playfellow."

Teheran, January 15.

Mr Bruce, an American *Gendarmerie* officer, was fired on to day while proceeding from the barracks to his residence. The miscreant was concealed in a house and is unknown.

St. Petersburg, January 14.

Duly authenticated photographs have been received here from Tabriz showing the abominable mutilation of Russian soldiers by the Fedais. Of the 40 soldiers who lost their lives at Tabriz only 17 bodies have been discovered. Many had been buried alive, after undergoing horrible tortures.

When it is remembered that these soldiers, as testified by the British Consul, behaved with the greatest humanity in succouring the Persian women and children, the effect upon Russian minds may be easily imagined.

Copies of the photographs have been sent to Count Benckendorff, and will, presumably, be submitted to English eyes. Russians are at a loss to understand the partiality displayed by a section of public opinion in England towards the authors or instigators of such atrocities.

The Situation in Southern Persia.

The "Times."

13th January.

The departure of Mr. Shuster, who left Teheran on Thursday cannot fail to ease the situation in the capital. M. Mornard will, at any rate temporarily, take over the duties of Treasurer-General. We cannot profess to regard his appointment, should it be made permanent, with any satisfaction. We expressed our opinion some time ago that Mr. Shuster's successor should be acceptable to both Russia and England, but not unacceptable to Persia; and that he should not have been already in the Persian service or have taken sides in recent controversies. M. Mornard, as an official who has already been for some time in Persian employ, and has been inevitably mixed up in some of the conflicts which have led to the present unfortunate situation, cannot, we fear, be said to fulfil those conditions. Yet practically the same conditions were formulated in the *Narodnaya Vremya* and we may therefore presume that Russian Ministers would not see anything unreasonable in them. We hope, therefore, that, before Mr. Shuster's post is definitely filled up, the Russian and British Governments will look for a more suitable nominee, and we feel persuaded that if they look for him they will find him. For a satisfactory issue to the present crisis so much depends upon the personality of the new Treasurer-General that, we feel bound to lay special stress on this point.

January 1912.



[London.

THE HELPERS' LEAGUE.

British Lion (to Russian Bear): "I join you, though under Protest. After all, we undertook to act together."

Persian Cat (diminuendo): "If I may quote from the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, this understanding can only serve to further and promote Persian interests, for henceforth Persia, aided and assisted by these two powerful neighbouring States, can employ all her strength in internal reforms!"

[Prepares to expire.

Of more immediate concern to this country is the situation in the South, which the recent attack upon Mr. Smart and his escort of Indian *sowars* has so unpleasantly illuminated. Ever since the new *regime* in Teheran the Southern tribes have relapsed into absolute lawlessness, which the Central Government has been more powerless than ever to restrain; and there are apparently very definite indications that when the winter snows have ceased to impede their movements their activities may be directed against the small British force, of which their presence at Shiraz has not only hitherto protected British lives and property in that city, but has substantially tended to check the turbulent forces of disorder. For instance, one of the strangest counts in Mr. Shuster's indictment of British and Russian policy was that the British Consulate at Shiraz had given sanctuary to one of the Kavam brothers who had, in fact, thus alone been saved from sharing the fate of his brother, foully murdered by Kashgai tribesmen with the connivance, there is good reason to believe, of the Persian GOVERNOR-GENERAL, from whom

they had received a safe conduct to the coast at our instance. That GOVERNOR-GENERAL has since then fallen out with his Kashgai allies and been recalled, but the temper of the tribes has not improved, and anarchy is spreading throughout the Southern Provinces. The articles we published some months ago from our Special Correspondent in the Persian Gulf showed how little the South cared about what was going on in the North, and how slender was the hold of Persian nationalism upon tribesmen who possess, at any rate, qualities of virility which the Persian townsmen too often lack. But if we are inclined to doubt whether the movements of Russian troops in the North have *per se* had much influence upon the trend of events in Southern Persia, we are quite ready to believe that the appeal which has lately been made to fanatical religious sentiment by the Teheran demagogues, who did not themselves hesitate to hang *mujtahids* and other holy men in the first flush of Nationalist victories, may have found in the South a response which was denied to mere Constitutional platitudes. The proclamation of a Holy War would not only afford as good an excuse for loot as any other, but it would undoubtedly mobilize forces of which it would be unwise to underrate the depth and strength, especially at a moment when Mahomedan feeling is not unnaturally moved by the many unfortunate complications which have arisen in other parts of the Islamic world.

From this point of view we should strongly deprecate any hasty action being taken at this juncture by the British Government. We have repeatedly stated our own confidence in the sincerity of the Russian Government's declaration that it has no wish to occupy permanently any part of Northern Persia, and in the withdrawal of a portion of its forces from Kazvin and the postponement of any further advance towards Teheran it has given an undeniable earnest of its sincerity. But a British advance into Southern Persia would give a very dangerous handle to the more adventurous elements in Russia; and we hold strongly that in present circumstances a military occupation of Southern Persia outside possibly one or two points of the Gulf littoral, should be avoided, save in the last resort. It must not be forgotten that, when the Anglo-Russian Agreement was being negotiated and the British zone of influence defined, its relatively exiguous proportions, for which the authors of the Agreement have been frequently criticized, were determined mainly by the advice of our own military experts, chief amongst them Lord Kitchener, then Commander-in-Chief in India, who held, very rightly, that it would be unwise to extend our responsibilities into the interior of Persia beyond an area which we could, if necessary, defend by force of arms. Moreover, the state of Indian finances, threatened by a serious loss of revenue imposed upon India by British sentiment, and Indian feeling would alike render anything in the shape of a large and costly expedition into Southern Persia singularly inopportune and impolitic. But the paramount consideration which weighs with us is that, by holding our hand, even at the cost of a temporary sacrifice of obvious material interests, we should give the Mahomedan world a very striking and definite proof that we are determined not to take advantage of political complications in a Mahomedan country for any purposes of self aggrandizement, and that, in the discharge of our international obligations, wherever they may appear to conflict with Mahomedan interests, our influence will always be exerted to mitigate any injury that may appear to be inflicted upon them. These are the chief objects towards which British policy, based on a broad conception of the interest of the Empire as a whole, should now be directed in Asia. Such a policy would, moreover, bring home, as no mere threat could to the Persian Government, the necessity of placing the restoration of order in Southern Persia in the forefront of its programme. In the Swedish officers who have entered the Persian service it has at its command an excellent body of men capable of organizing an efficient *Gendarmerie*; and if in the loan which will be a necessary part of the settlement, soon, we hope, to be reached in Teheran, due provision is made for the financial requirements of such a service we do not altogether despair of Persia being able to turn to useful account the misfortune for which we plead for the discharge of her responsibilities in the South.

"Manchester Guardian."

We are accustomed to look to a Conservative newspaper when we wish to learn what policy the Foreign Office has in mind, and we therefore note with apprehension that the *Times*, twice last week hinted at the possible occupation of the chief harbours on the Persian Gulf, or at least some of them; on Tuesday it suggested that the "immediate occupation of the harbours" might be necessary and on Saturday it declared that a military occupation of Southern Persia should at present be avoided "outside possibly one or two points of the Gulf littoral." We hope very strongly that we are wrong in assuming that the Foreign Office has any such step in mind. The reason that the *Times* offers is, that the disorder in Southern Persia has recently increased, and it admits that this is probably due to the action of Russia in the north, for which, of course, Great Britain is held jointly responsible throughout Persia. But if we assume that the disorder has increased, and for this reason, the remedy suggested

is utterly wrong. The remedy is the re-organisation of Persian finances, the appointment of a competent Treasurer-General who will be a tool of neither Russia nor England, permission to Persia to obtain a loan on terms which she can reasonably accept, and the formation of a strong police. What Russia has done in the north and it is suggested we should do in the south is to make it impossible for Persia to keep order and then to make disorder a pretext for seizing territory. The real remedy therefore is, as it has always been, to act up to our professions, to respect Persian independence and integrity, and to insist that Russia, if we are any longer to act with her, shall do the same. Surely it is obvious that we must do our best still to get the Russian force of occupation out of Northern Persia. And is it not equally obvious that to seize the Gulf Ports would be, in effect, to establish the Russians even more firmly in the north, and almost certainly to lead to an extension of their grip? Finally, what is the use of pretending that if a further expedition is sent to Southern Persia its object will be to occupy "possibly one or two points of the Gulf littoral"? Its arrival will accentuate the unrest and arouse the tribes to still greater bitterness against this country, and the greater unrest will be made the pretext for the extended occupation which the advocates of a limited expedition now profess to deprecate. If the Foreign Office wishes to set things right in Southern Persia, let it begin by doing its duty at Teheran.

British Liberals and Russia.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

Sir,—Can you solve a mystery for me, which the more I think of it the more it puzzles me? When we had no Duma in Russia the English Liberal papers were the best friends and advocates of an Entente with Russia.

In good old days, when Mr Gladstone made his great fight for the Slavs, the advocacy of a cordial friendship with Russia was for many years the distinctive note of the English Liberals, and their leading organs did splendid service to the cause of Anglo-Russian understanding.

Now that we have—wisely or otherwise—established a kind of Parliament called "the Duma"—which was, I always understood an object greatly cherished by English Liberals—what do we see to-day?

We have set up the Duma, and lo! we seem to have lost the friends whose enthusiasm, in the pro-Duma days, knew no bounds.

If an Anglo-Russian Entente were such a good thing when we had no Duma, why has it become a bad thing to-day, since we have a Duma? Is it a case of *post hoc, propterea hoc*? If so, it gives me an altogether new and unexpected reason for dishing that new-fangled institution.

When I read—as I sometimes do as a penance for my sins—some of the many angry articles published in the old pro-Russia Liberal papers against Russia to-day I am still more mystified.

In concert with England we are attempting the very difficult task of saving Persia from dissolving into a chaos of anarchy and brigandage, we are at once accused of trying to bring about the very evil which we dread.

On Monday next, in the magnificent Jew's Harp that has recently been erected in Kingsway, as the house of music and harmony, a meeting is summoned to foment discord and to excite hatred against Russia. It is very deplorable, but there is no need for me to add a word to the unanswerable statement of Sir Edward Grey in defence of the common policy of our two Governments.

But a new grievance has arisen, and Russia, of course, is again the culprit. The Manchu Empire is breaking up. The Southern Chinese, with the ardent patronage of the English Liberals and the American people, have declared themselves a Republic. In the North, at Peking, the Manchus are defending the Empire and the dynasty. Close to the Russian frontier live some three million Mongols, who have been, more or less oppressed for generations by Manchu officials. Seeing that the Southern Chinese have thrown off the Manchu yoke, the North'n Mongolians have driven out the Manchu officials and have declared that they wish in future to govern themselves under their native Princes.

It is most important to Russia that these near neighbours of ours should live in peace and that Mongolia should not be the scene of a bloody war. So, at their urgent request, we have recognized the autonomy of the Mongolian Princes, to the great satisfaction of the Mongolian people, and intimated to the Manchus of Peking that the Mongolians are not to be attacked.

What can be more admirable and more in accordance with the traditional policy of Russia, which has secured the liberation of all the Balkan Slavs? But to the jaundiced eyes of our apostate friends Russia's conduct in Mongolia is worse than Italy's attack on Tripoli. Really, some statements are so funny they make one laugh! Italy, in defiance of European treaties, attacks an independent Power without notice, sends an army to seize two provinces belonging to the Ottoman Empire, and wage a ruthless war of extermination against the native inhabitants.

10th February.

Russia, without violating a single Treaty or firing a single shot merely recognized the result of a peaceful revolution and protects the native population against their former oppressors.

Therefore, Russia is worse than Italy. Amazing logic. But in topsy-turvy land it is perhaps natural that people should see things a little upside down.

4, Brunswick-place, Regent's Park.

OLGA NOVIKOFF.

Sir,—Mme. Novikoff asks for a solution of a "mystery" of her own making. It is difficult to reply to her letter without quoting it, for her statements are of such a nature that they cannot be summarized without purging them of that distortion which makes them clamour for reply, but space forbids that one should ask you to reprint so remarkable a tissue of misrepresentation.

The writer of "British Liberals and Russia" raises a new point in each paragraph, and one can deal with her allegations only categorically.

(1) British Liberals vainly hoped that there was real meaning in the gift of a Constitution to Russia and sincerely believed, with sublime simplicity, that an Entente with Russia would lead to the Liberalization of Russia. Now that the gift of a Constitution has shown itself a sham, now that the Duma has lost almost all semblance to the freedom which was promised to it, now that an Entente has been shown to tend rather towards the Russification of England than to the Liberalization of Russia, English Liberal papers are willing to admit their error and to offer opposition to the continuance of so monstrous a mesalliance.



London.]

THE BRITISH WAITER.

Sir Edward Grey to Russia :—"Yes, Sir, hope you've enjoyed them, Sir. What can I bring you next, Sir?"

(2) Russia, we are told, is "in concert with England," "attempting the very difficult task of saving Persia from anarchy and brigandage." This ingenuousness might be pardoned in a novice, but in one so experienced as its writer it leaves one almost breathless. This saviour from anarchy and brigandage is the Russia which is degrading Finland, the Government whose own agents are so uncontrollable that they assassinate the Ministers who nominally employ them, the Russia whose governors are notoriously corrupt, the Russia which, pledging itself not to assist the dethroned Shah, permitted its officials to connive at—nay, definitely to assist—his invasion of the country which had spurned him in order that he might stir up the aforesaid anarchy and brigandage, the Russia whose high police are proven public plunderers, the Russia of the Cossack, the knout, the infamous gaol, the Courts-martial, and the countless victims of "administrative orders".

(3) We are informed by this representative of a Government which we permit to call itself our friend that we have no right to criticize the foreign policy of our own rulers, and that we must not meet in a building with a Jewish owner.

(4) Then we are asked to believe that Russia's action in Mongolia is dictated by a disinterested desire to succour the poor Mongols in their uprising against the Manchus. This is the Russia that suppressed Georgia, yet we are told of her "magnanimity" in the Balkans.

(5) Certainly Russia's actions in Mongolia are as bad as Italy's in Tripoli, and they are the less culpable only because Italy has at least some pretence of democratic government.

Finally, as Mme. Novikoff says with real truth, "in topsy-turvy land" (for which read the realms of Russian bureaucracy) "it is perhaps natural that people should see things a little upside down."

13th January.

C. HAGBERG WRIGHT.

The Opera House Meeting.

The great demonstration in favour of Persia, over which Sir Thomas Barclay presided in the London Opera House last night, was extremely striking on account of its size, its unanimity, and the diverse political forces it brought together. The spectacle of fashionable ladies and gentlemen in evening dress applauding the impassioned oration of Mr J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., the Labour leader, gave the note of the whole gathering. Lord Courtney and Lord Roberts were found in a common sympathy among the letter writers. Prominent Liberals, Conservatives, and Socialists were among those who identified themselves with the movement.

Supporting Sir Thomas Barclay were Professor E. G. Browne, Mr. A. W. Barton, M.P., Mr. J. S. Fletcher, M.P., Mr. Sylvester Horne, M.P., Mr. H. F. B. Lynch, Mr. Philip Morrell, M.P., Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald M.P., Mr. A. Ponsonby, M.P., Mr. H. G. Chancellor, M.P., the Hon. Eustace Fiennes, M.P., Sir John Rolleston, M.P., Sir Albert Spicer, M.P., Mr. Josiah Wedgwood, M.P., Dr. Clifford, Dr. Garnett, the Rev. S. W. Gentle-Cackett, Professor T. M. Kettle, Dr. Alfred Salter, Mr. Frederick Whelen (honorary secretary), and many others.

Lord Lamington, president of the Persia Committee and a former Governor of Bombay, wrote—

"It is the constant refrain of the Government and of some of the leading organs of the Press to ask what would be the present situation had the Anglo-Russian Convention not been agreed to. But everyone approves of the avowed principle of the Convention. What is objected to is that this principle has not been maintained, but has been repeatedly and grossly violated. Its object now is chiefly to serve as a blind to shut out from British views what is taking place in Persia.

"Thus it happens whilst Russia, ruthlessly advancing, knows its policy, whilst Germany complacently looks on at the complications accumulating for us, whilst the Persians know to their cost the blood-stained trend of events, and whilst the Mussalman world gazes in dismay at our subservience, we Britishers have our vision obscured by the uplifting of the Convention whenever Persian independence receives a stab. The actual position to day is the same as if no Convention existed, except so far as it is used to justify our doing nothing. It is obviously difficult at this late date to save Persia as a buffer-State, but it is worth a bold effort, even to the verge of rashness, rather than that we should drift into the many worse perils that await us should Russia become supreme at Teheran."

Other letters were received from Lord Courtney of Penwith, the Bishop of Hereford, Lord Roberts, Mr. G. N. Trevelyan, Madras and Lucknow Muhammadans, and others.

The Bishop of Hereford said—"That our Foreign Office should be mixed up with Russia, as it seems to be, in the discreditable policy of hampering and binding Persia in her struggle for independence is, I feel, very humiliating to us as Englishmen, whose proud boast it has been to be always on the side of justice and freedom and the protectors of small nations against aggression of the strong and unscrupulous. I trust you will succeed in keeping us on the lines of this nobler policy, which won us our good name and influence."

Mr. Trevelyan said—"The policy we have pursued of recent years seems now to be hastening towards its logical result in the partition of Persia. This transaction, if accomplished, will bear a close resemblance to the second partition of Poland, in that it follows hard upon an attempt at constitutional reform on the part of the victim—the signal to Russia to destroy the reforming Government before it had time to make itself efficient. By supporting Russia diplomatically at every stage of the proceedings we have enabled her to achieve her object—which was not ours—of reducing Persia to anarchy."

"If we begin 'temporarily' to occupy South Persia we shall never get out again. Such an occupation would sign and seal our complicity with Russia in a very dirty business, and would further

provide for our Empire a flat, open frontier conterminous with Russian territory. Such a frontier would lead immediately to an immense increase in our Indian armaments, and ultimately, in all human probability, to a war with Russia—a war which would be fought, not to establish the independence of Persia long dead, nor on behalf of any valuable British interest, but to enable us to police the deserts contiguous to the Persian Gulf."

Sir Thomas Barclay disclaimed the notion that the meeting was anti-Russian. "There is a great difference," he remarked, "between an anti-Russian meeting and a pro-Persian meeting." (Hear, hear.) Only in so far as the independence or territorial integrity of Persia was threatened, he said, could the meeting be considered in any way anti-Russian. "If," he added, "it is anti-Russian to insist on Russia's respecting her treaty engagements towards Great Britain, then we must frankly admit we are as anti-Russian as we can be." (Hear, hear.)

"The object of this meeting," he concluded, "is to strengthen the hand of our Government in the efforts it is bound to make in carrying out the agreement of 1907."

"I have known the Persian for 25 years or more," said Professor E. G. Browne, who rose to propose a resolution. "I know their language and literature, and I love them, after my own nation, better than any other nation in the world. They have been most cruelly treated in this matter. (Applause) I have seen the growth of a new spirit of true patriotism, a desire to work for the welfare of the country among the Persian people—young Persians studying in England that they might return and serve their country. And what do we find now? That fair promise blasted apparently."

Professor Browne went on to criticise official explanations of our attitude. "When," he cried, "black can be explained as white, bondage as liberty, then the time has come to ask ourselves if our diplomats are worth the money they cost us" (Cheers.)

Professor Browne concluded by proposing the following resolution:—

"That this meeting expresses its deep concern at the continued disregard of the undertaking jointly given by the Governments of Great Britain and Russia in 1907 to preserve Persian integrity and independence, and urges His Majesty's Government to pursue a policy so directed as to give full effect to our pledges to Persia, and thus to safeguard our national honour and vital interests."

Mr. H. D. Lynch, in seconding the resolution, set out clearly the commercial aspect of the situation (our interests in which, as he pointed out, were far transcended by our political interest). Our exports to Persia represented three millions sterling, mainly the products of Lancashire. If Persia became absorbed by Russia, he argued, the Russian frontier would march with the British frontier for hundreds and hundreds of miles. We should be bound to put men behind that frontier and to impose immense additional burdens of militarism and taxation upon India and this country. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., Chairman of the Labour Party, said they could not refrain from remembering that the Persian question had now become an English question as well.

"When I think of Great Britain in connection with Persia to-day," Mr. MacDonald went on, "I think of a country that had a great reputation as a lover of liberty and of righteousness. I think of a country the most inspiring masters of whose history were written by men who religiously kept the lamp of liberty burning in front of them, so as to guide every step they took in the world. Therefore, I offer no apology, because in my heart I have none to give, for coming here to-night, taking the attitude of an English citizen, and expressing my detestation and opposition to the foreign policy that is pursued in my name and your name. (Cheers.) These inheritances that nations get from the past can only be built up by many generations walking in wisdom. But they can be destroyed, they can be violated, they can be desecrated by one Foreign Minister pursuing the path of folly" (Hear, hear.)

Mr. MacDonald went on to deal with the *entente* with Russia, and said that they must be very careful to divine why it exists.

"It is not a political instrument," he proceeded. "Do you think that that partition of Persia would have been accepted as a political partition? It was a very bad commercial partition. Nevertheless, it was a commercial partition. It had no political significance at all—we were told that over and over again in the House of Commons—for, at any rate, tradition compels us to believe what we hear." (Laughter.)

"At this moment," Mr. MacDonald went on, "there are actually 11,000 Russian troops over the Persian border, counting the escorts of the Consulates. What are they doing there? For peace? (Laughter.) They demonstrated their peaceful methods when they hung an eminent ecclesiastic the other day. Supposing the Archbishop of York, or a high ecclesiastic respected by every Englishman, a very learned and reverend man—supposing somebody came along and hung him, say, on Good Friday or Easter Sunday. That atrocious crime, I am told by a gentleman who knows the situation, would be the parallel in English life of what the Russians did the other day in Persia. (Shame.)

"These 11,000 troops want a few riots. They want a little disorder, and they are taking the very steps that will secure what they want. And when that disorder takes place, then the 11,000 men are going to be reinforced, and the political partition of Persia becomes an accomplished fact. And then our wise Ministers and our wise citizens will say 'What an iniquitous thing!' And those of us who are a little wiser than they were will say, 'What big fools other sections of the world are!' For it is our folly, our blindness, our shortsightedness that is the cause of the trouble in Persia to-day. (Hear, hear.)

"Of all the fruits of Sir Edward Grey's administration," Mr. MacDonald concluded, "the one that is most precious to us is the treaty of arbitration with America (Hear, hear.) But even that laurel is going to have a very doubtful resting time on Sir Edward Grey's brow, because America is beginning to say, 'Ah, you profess to desire justice in your international relations. Are you only going to make that profession when the nation with which you are dealing is a strong and powerful nation like ourselves? Are you going to enter into agreements with only strong nations, in order that they may be free to crush out the weak nationalities?' (Hear, hear.) I am not so sure about the fate of the arbitration treaty now. I hope it is going through. I shall work night and day for its going through. But the Minister who is responsible for the Persian policy has been the greatest enemy that the Arbitration Treaty with America has had. (Cheers.)

"Because our Persian policy to-day, because the conduct of our Foreign Minister in Persia threatens that good name of ours at every opportunity, on every occasion, inside and outside the House of Commons, we shall challenge his right to pursue that policy, in the name of the people who, we are convinced, are opposed to it." (Cheers.)

"If a Conservative Government were in power and pursuing this policy," said Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, M.P., "the theatres of the United Kingdom would be filled to overflowing with protest meetings" (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Philip Morrell, M.P., protested against the forthcoming visit of British M.P.'s to Russia, and described it not as a Parliamentary visit, but as a mysterious and bogus kind of visit which had for its object the condoning of Russian policy and the arranging of a loan.

Mr. Sylvester Horne, M.P., said that the events of the last few months had made our people begin to think of foreign politics, and they had come to three conclusions. That they were allowed to know very little, far too little, about the foreign policy, that England was being put in an impossible and untenable position, and that as a consequence of this we had been dragged to the very verge of war with our closest kinsfolk and our best customers. He ventured to say as a loyal Liberal—loyal within its limits—(laughter)—that Sir E. Grey and the Government underrated altogether the tremendous force of public opinion, and that there was ripening in this country an opinion that will undoubtedly destroy the Government's power and authority unless they altered their policy. (Applause.)

The resolution was carried with great acclamation.

Dr. Clifford, in proposing a vote of thanks to the chairman, said what we wanted most was that the democracy should be represented in our foreign policy. (Hear, hear.) That day had just been inaugurated by the vote given by the Socialists in Germany. (Applause.)

Anecdote.

Mr. Lloyd George was speaking at a Liberal Meeting not a hundred miles from Redhill, Surrey, of the unfulfilled prophecies and promises of a certain statesman, and quite accidentally he stretched his arm right over the head of Sir Jeremiah Colman, one of the local pillars of Liberalism, who was sitting close to him on the platform. "We have had enough of those Political Jeremiahs," he cried out. The audience rose to the joke and laughed and clapped vociferously. And, perhaps for the first time in his life, the little Welshman stood completely non-plussed, for it was not until the meeting was over that he found out where the humour had come in.

Mr. Lloyd George once concluded his speech with these words: "The Almighty does with you just as a good gardener does with his flowers. He plants geraniums and clitoropesh in the sunshine because he knows they will grow better there, but he looks out for a shady nook for the fuchsias." On leaving the chapel the statesman was effusively greeted by an old lady. "Oh, Mr. George," she cried, "I want to thank you for your address. It was so practical and so wise." "I am delighted to hear it," Mr. Lloyd George replied, "and I hope it will prove a help to you." "Yes, indeed," said the old lady, "it has helped me already, for never before have I been able to tell what was the matter with those daffodil fuchsias!"

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 1st.—The motor launch belonging to Messrs. Thorneycroft which was seized by the Italian cruiser *Piemonte* has arrived at Massowah. The Italian account of the capture says that the launch was flying the British merchant flag and also the Turkish national emblem.

Reuter wires from Perim on the 1st.—An Italian warship on 30th January took ten prisoners from a native pearling boat on the Yemen coast and killed two who were swimming ashore.

Hoha was bombarded by warships on 24th January and Djebbanah on the 27th.

Two bombs exploded in Monastir on the 1st and did some small damage.

The aviator Signor Rossi with Captain Montu as passenger flew over the Turkish Camp near Tobruk successfully on the 31st and threw bombs at the Turks who replied with rifle fire. Four of their shots struck the aeroplane and Captain Montu was slightly wounded.

Reuter wires from Perim.—The bombardment of Turkish forts on the Yemen coast was continued on the 31st.

Reuter wires from Paris on the 1st.—It is semi officially stated that twenty-seven of the Turks captured on the *Mamouba* are undoubtedly Red Crescent Male nurses and these will be allowed to proceed to Sfax. Twenty-eighth is seriously ill while the identity of the twenty-ninth is obscure and he will not be allowed to proceed to Tunis.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 3rd.—The Italians lost four killed in the attacks on Benghazi on 30th January, which were repulsed.

It is officially stated that the war has hitherto cost five and a half million sterling. It is not intended to raise a loan.

Reuter wires from Hodeidah on the 3rd.—The Italians bombarded the fort of Jabana on 27th January.

They fired 150 shells and set fire to two tents. They also killed a goat.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 6th.—It is officially stated that at the time of the declaration of the blockade, the only vessel at Hodeidah was the Bombay-Persia Navigation Company's, which was allowed to land her cargo of flour, though it was strictly contraband. The *Mohammedi* was also allowed to take several passengers on board. Another steamer was allowed to go to Hodeidah at the request of the authorities at Aden and remove all British subjects with their goods.

The Turkish passengers concerned in the *Mamouba* incident have arrived at Sfax.

Reuter wires from Constantinople that the Cabinet has decided to enforce the closing of all Italian institutions in Turkey including private banks and insurance companies.

Reuter wires from Perim on the 6th.—It is reported that the Italians begin the blockade of Jeddah and Yumbo as soon as the pilgrimage is finished.

Mr. Hogarth of the British Museum lecturing before the Central Asian Society on Arabia said that Turkey's loss of the western province would go near to involving a crash of the whole Empire. The immediate result would be anarchy all down the Red Sea shore. Great Britain, he said, would be compelled to take possession of the province or allow Germany to do so. Mr. Hogarth urged that Great Britain should render any aid, direct or indirect, that it could towards the maintenance of Ottoman Power in its present provincial possessions in Western Arabia. Sir Henry Durand, presiding, said it was devoutly to be hoped that Turkey would retain its hold. "The alternative was the enlargement of British responsibilities which could not be safely extended from that point of view." He regarded with misgiving the danger of our recent action in southern Persia.

News by the English Mail.

Constantinople, January 7.

A Protocol was recently finally signed at Teheran by the Ottoman Ambassador and the Persian Foreign Minister agreeing to submit the long-pending question of frontier delimitation to a Turco-Persian Commission to meet in Constantinople, and in the event of disagreement on any point, to have recourse to arbitration by The Hague Tribunal with the proviso that such arbitration is to be completed within six months.—(Reuter.)

Rome, January 8.

An Arab village in the oasis of Gargaresh was rushed on Friday night by a party of Arab raiders, who not only pillaged the houses, but massacred a great many of the inhabitants, including women and children. To judge from the official report, this incident has been greatly exaggerated in to-night's newspapers. Steps are being taken to give more protection to friendly Arabs, but the oasis of Gargaresh has a bad reputation for similar raids.

The rumours of peace negotiations published in some foreign newspapers seem to have no foundation whatever. No initiative in this direction has been taken in Italy, and nothing is officially known of any such initiative elsewhere.

Rome, January 9.

If the published list of the new Turkish Ministry raises no hopes in Italy, at least it disappoints no expectations. Said Pasha had so manifestly become the prisoner of the Salonika Committee that no surprise is felt at his choice of colleagues among the most uncompromising representatives of the Young Turk Party. On the whole, as the *Popolo Romano* remarks this morning, such an issue from the crisis is perhaps to be welcomed, as the Committee may now be regarded as playing their last card. Their final credit in the eyes of Europe is now at stake, and they cannot escape the verdict which will be passed upon their policy according to the failure or success of this incarnation. It is now a question of either the dissolution of the Young Turk Party or the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. While protesting that the fate of the new Government matters little to Italy the *Popolo Romano* sees some significance in the appointment as Sheikhul-Islam of Nessib, the Grand Cadi of Egypt, whose influence over his Egyptian co-religionists is beyond dispute. Thanks to the loyalty of British neutrality the Muslim population of Egypt has abstained from taking any part in the war in Tripoli. It remains to be seen whether the new Sheikhul Islam may not attempt to interest the sympathies of his coreligionists in some practical fashion, and the Roman journal warns the Italian Government to be on its guard against surprise.

Vienna, January 5.

There is much comment here on the news that attempts are being made to bring about peace between Italy and Turkey. The Press expresses itself somewhat sceptically, and semi-official announcements show a determination to prevent Austro-Hungarian diplomacy from being connected with any possible negotiations. It is declared that the report that the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in Berlin, Count Szegyeny, has had conversations with the German Chancellor in connexion with mediation is false, as well as the news from Constantinople that the Ambassador there, Marquess Pallavicini, has opened negotiations. A communiqué to the highly official *Politische Correspondenz* states that the idea that Italy has expressed any wish for the conclusion of peace is erroneous. Public opinion in Italy is actually averse to the idea. The *Communiqué* finally declares that the demand of the Italian Cabinet, according to which Turkey must acknowledge the annexation of Tripoli and Cyrenaica, must remain beyond any possibility of discussion. The *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, which is in touch with the Italian Government, has received the following intimation from a competent Italian source:—

It is true that for some time proposals have been made from various quarters to put an end to the war, but it is not true that either Italy or her representatives have entered into negotiations either of an official or semi-official kind on the basis of these propositions. Italy does not think of opening the negotiations, but she is prepared to consider proposals of peace. Her demands have been known to all the Powers as well as to Turkey for some time. If pressure is spoken of, it cannot be exercised in Rome.

Berlin, January 7.

The *North-German Gazette* this morning says:—

Rumours suggesting an impending conclusion of peace have been circulated for some days past without it being easy to detect what background of fact they contain. In all probability they are to be traced to a circular of the Grand Vizier sent to the Vails and reported on Thursday last, which contains the statement that a peace with Italy securing the prestige and honour of the Ottoman Empire will within a short time be concluded.

The German Government organ remarks that the military situation has not undergone any change of importance since the New Year, but adds:—

The position of the Turks is likely to be made more difficult by the circumstance that the Egyptian coast on the Mediterranean and Suez Canal is being subjected to a more rigorous control by the presence of a British man-of-war and a British naval corps with the object of preventing the landing of contraband.

Vienna, January 11.

A despatch from Podgoritz to the *Reichspost* states that several leaders of last year's Malissori revolt have informed the Austro-Hungarian Consul-General at Skutari that in consequence of Turkish tactics and of the non-fulfilment of Turkish promises a new rising will take place in the spring and have asked for information as to how Vienna would behave. The Malissori chiefs are alleged to have pointed out that their situation will be better this year than last and that they can rely not only on Montenegro but also on the Great Powers. They therefore wish to know whether Austria would be favourably disposed towards them.

A telegram from Salonika reports that the state of siege has been proclaimed at Ishtib and Kuprili, apparently in consequence of fresh Bulgar revolutionary menaces.

(From the "Times" Correspondent).

Rome, Jan. 12

An official statement published in this morning's newspapers affirms the entire confidence of the Government in the conduct of the war in Tripoli, a confidence based on the fullest possible knowledge of circumstances and facts. It also warns the Italian public against listening to incompetent and irresponsible critics who seek to discredit the military authorities while pretending that the struggle can be brought to a more speedy conclusion by following some other line of tactics.

The newspapers express their approval of this communication whose moral each of them considers is applicable to a contemporary and not to itself, though as a matter of fact there are few that do not merit the rebuke.

Cairo, Jan. 13

According to trustworthy information the reports published in the native Press of impending action by the Senussi are much exaggerated. The facts appear to be that the proclamation, which was issued, not by El Senussi himself but by his brother, does not call upon the members of the sect to join in a Holy War or to make a general rising, but merely encourages the Arabs as a whole in resisting the Christians. The heads of the various *Zamias* (Senussi settlements) are instructed to read an exhortation which contains the usual promises of spiritual blessing on the Beduin in the vicinity. Until the actual text is known it is difficult to gauge the probable effect of the exhortation, but in view of the general terms in which it appears to be couched, and seeing that it emanates only from the brother of El Senussi, it is not thought that very great importance need be attached to the proclamation.

Information has been received in London, that on the morning of the 17th instant some Italian troops who were engaged in repairing the water supply at Derna were attacked by a number of the enemy who had crept up unobserved during the night. General Trombi sent up support of infantry and mountain guns, which repulsed the Turkish attack and took by assault a small Turkish fort. A Turkish non-commissioned officer was taken prisoner, and several dead Turks and Beduin were found near the fort. Later on, while the Italians were pursuing the Turks, a second column of the enemy appeared, but was repulsed by artillery fire. At 1 o'clock in the afternoon the Turks, who numbered perhaps over 3,000 men, were in full retreat all along the line. The Italian losses were three killed and seven wounded; those of the Turks were much more numerous. No fewer than 100 dead were left on the field.

Rome, Jan. 14

Long details of the fighting at Konfuda, which have been received here, show that the principal trophies, besides the yacht *Fauvette*, were seven flags and four pennants, one 6.5 gun, one 5.7 gun, four 4.7 guns, three 3.7 guns, one Maxim, three Nordenfeldts, all with mountings, etc., some compasses, signal code-books and books of tactics, a complete electric searchlight apparatus, and 33 cases of ammunition.

Soon after quitting Konfuda the warship *Piemonte* met two sambuks with coal for the Turkish fleet and a spare wheel and rudder for the *Fauvette*. The cargo of the sambuks was seized. At Konfuda the *Piemonte* captured two other sambuks. According to information derived from an excellent source, the fighting at Konfuda and its outcome have made a deep impression all along the Arabian coast as making it plain that the Turkish troops are scattered about in isolated positions and exposed to attack.

A Tripoli message received here says that yesterday an aeroplane threw into the Arab encampment a manifesto with the news of the battle of Konfuda.—*Reuter*.

Berlin, Jan. 16

In reply to a press inquiry, the German Foreign Secretary, Herr von Kiderlen-Waechter, who has been absent from his post for some weeks on leave of absence, telegraphs this evening that he is going for some time to Upper Italy and perhaps for a day to Rome "in order to make the acquaintance of the Marquess di San Giuliano."

News from Turkish Sources.

IT APPEARS from a communication received by the Minister of War that on the 6th January an Italian regiment which had marched out of Homs was attacked by the Turkish forces about one kilometre from the town and was obliged to retire in consequence of an onslaught on its left wing, leaving on the field 50 dead and a quantity of ammunition. The rearguard, composed of 150 men, was entirely exterminated. The Turkish losses consisted of one officer, two soldiers, and 15 natives killed, and 37 wounded, among whom were two women and a child.

At Lwa, January 10.

All the correspondence that had taken place between the Ottoman, Egyptian and British governments about Saloum together with all other documents relating to this question have suddenly disappeared from the Foreign Office of the Sublime Porte. It appears from Constantinople newspapers, that although active search is proceeding, no satisfactory and reliable clue has yet been found. Generally a European who is an officer of a European Embassy is suspected and the Government has even arrested two such Europeans on a charge of being concerned in the crime. The *Tardis* writes that the theft took place last week and even hints at a house where the plot was hatched and the thief was paid his remuneration.

This theft is very strange and is certainly a political affair. The inferences of Constantinople journals in this connection are clear and easy of belief. They state that whoever the thief it is certain he had buyers of the stolen property at hand to whom the question of Saloum was of some importance and that these were ready to pay considerable price for these documents. On this theory the buyers could have been none other but Italy or Germany and that not only for the sake of the Saloum question itself but also because it was desirable to learn prematurely what communication had taken place between the Porte and Britain. It is still more strange that the European Press Agencies which were expediting the world for some weeks past with unnecessary and unreliable news should have forgotten to mention such an important matter. In fact we have learnt of this only to day from Constantinople papers. It is evident that this affair has considerable political importance and the silence of the two European agencies was wilful.

Al Haqiqat, January 14.

It is reported on good authority that the Ottoman Government has sent an army and has occupied the province of Urumiah on the Persian frontier. The Persian Government is pleased at this occupation by Turkey as they think that this is a sort of help to them against Russia. As long as the Russians do not evacuate Persia completely Turkey proposes to keep her forces in Urumiah.

Dr. Kareem Sabati Bey, President of the Red Crescent Society in Tripoli, has wired to the Minister of War that on the occasion of the battle of Ain Zara the enemy poured a constant fire from its guns on the Red Crescent Society's tents, although they bore in a most marked and visible way the banner and signs of the Red Crescent Society. Besides this on several occasions it has happened that the enemy has left off fighting the soldiers and opened fire on the tents used as hospitals. The fighters in Tripoli request the Sublime Porte to bring the matter to the notice of the European Powers and make the strongest possible protest.

Al Haqiqat, January 11.

The Turkish Red Crescent Society has received Rs. 1,500 from the inhabitants of Mauritius.

A Turk's Letters from Tripoli.

[Specially translated for the "Comrade"]

(From the SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE "TANIN".)

CAMP AZIZIA,

November 23 1911.

WE LEFT Constantinople on the 19th October, and stayed for ten days in Marseilles. The delay in this town occurred on account of our having had to wait for Kareem Sabati Bey and for making purchases for the Red Crescent party. We left Marseilles on the 4th November and having visited Bizerte and Tunis on our way arrived at Sfax. Nine officers who had come by the same steamer with me were detained by the Sfax police and had to return. The Red Crescent Mission was also subjected to a good deal of inspection and investigation, and a number of "precautionary measures" were adopted, so much so that our

physicians, surgeons, and male nurses were subjected to a searching examination in their art by the French military doctors.

To be fair I must say that the French Government was not altogether unjustified in adopting these measures. For many of our officers who attempted to pass through Tunis were not very careful in their ways. They tried to cross the frontier in groups! Some of the officers just when they crossed the frontier, are said to have changed their clothes and put on their uniforms in the sight of the frontier guards. All this could not escape the observation of Italians in Tunis, whose number, if anything, exceeds that of the French. The Italians were very watchful; they kept their men to observe in every place, on board every ship and were ready to make complaints and kick up rows. At this time too the riot at Tunis took place, and the French were placed in a very awkward position. We passed only two nights in Sfax As in Tunis, so also here, there was great excitement among the Arabs. They gave every assistance to us and showed they our anxiety. Here, however, we could not free ourselves for one moment from being shadowed by the Italians. They even went so far as to insult us once or twice, their object obviously being to provoke an incident and thus prevent our crossing the frontier.

Kareem Sabati Bey and a few doctors remained in Sfax to get things for the Red Crescent Mission, while we, fourteen in number, passed on to Biskra in a day in motor cars. We passed two nights in this little place also, which is about six hours' journey from the frontier. We were to wait here for our friends left behind in Sfax and then go on together, but on receipt of a telegram from Kareem Sabati Bey that they would not be able to leave Sfax for some time longer, I, in company with Husainuddin, Shanti, Mazhar and Abdullah Ezzendi, mounted our animals and took the road. As we had received a written permit in our capacity of members of the Red Crescent party we passed the frontier at night without any incident or trouble. Before we reached the frontier a halt was made for rest in the little village of Shousa. The ruler and commander of this point was an indigenous Arab Sergeant. This officer in his zeal out-Frenched the French themselves. He had before this turned back some of our officers, and interrogated us too with great vehemence, but in the face of the permits we possessed he could not do anything. We crossed the frontier at night openly and without any difficulty.

We heaved a sigh of relief as soon as we put our foot on our own ground. We felt as if we had stepped into our own home. The road followed the coast. The waters of the Mediterranean were kissing the lands. As we had to take ourselves to Zawara by the evening in any case, we were making a forced march. We could reach the Furuwa (فورووا) outpost at about 4. This appeared to us one of the prettiest natural harbours of the world. There was only one soldier with five Arab guards in this outpost. Two days earlier the ironclads of Italy had come to this harbour and bombarded the outpost! The soldiers said that hundreds of rounds were fired by the enemy, but we could see that the effect had almost been nil as only one or two stones had fallen out of the outpost. We also saw the cannon balls fired by the enemy. Here we recognised that we were fighting a nation which had lost all nerve and morale.

We proceeded slowly on the monotonous sands but under the clear sky of Northern Africa. We sometimes came across camels, but nothing else was met with, only here and there a solitary date tree which seemed in the bush to sigh, not sing, a dirge of the illimitable desert.

We entered Zawara after the prayer call of Magrib. The front of Zawara was enclosed by sand mounds looking on the sea, and its rear by thick groves of palm. Barracks only could be the place of shelter for wayfarers like us, and we lied there and passed a night that did something to lessen the fatigue natural after a continuous ride of 30 hours. Some houses had tumbled down and some paces destroyed. Two or three days ago a cruiser of the enemy had visited and bombarded the fort. People said that two or three hundred rounds were fired from the cruiser.

There was a company of regulars not up to full strength. The enemy tried its best to come on land, but could not do anything owing to the heroic resistance offered by the soldiers and the people, specially by the Commandant, Major Muhammad Musa Ezzendi, who continued his work undaunted by the stream of fire emanating from the guns of the vessel which seemed to have run amock through fear; they lit it after having succeeded by desperate cannonading to demolish a few houses.

The Yemenite commander of Zawara is an extraordinary man. He appeared to me a personification of courage and strength of character. Under a veritable hail of cannon fire from the enemy, it is a sight to see him going about with supreme nonchalance among his soldiers, smoking his cigarette, ordering them to take cover and exhorting them.

From Zawara began our camel journey. My companions and myself had this experience for the first time in our life. It is not

a luxury, I can tell you. The stupid camel does not care at all about your pains or about your wishes. You have to submit yourself entirely to his whims. However, there is no other way but to throw yourself on his back. Walking and riding by turns, we reached Ajilat (أجلات) at midnight. Passing the night under a sort of cover—I might just as well say passing the night in the open—we took the road at dawn, and reached Surman (سرمان) before noon. Here we began to meet sights which reminded us in grim earnest that we were in a state of war. There were quite a number of our wounded here. We attended as best we could to five or six of them.

It was apparent that our wounded were in a pitiable condition. Mujahids from the people gathered together here in Surman and were despatched to the front. We travelled from here with a contingent of these. The spirit of all of them was excellent. They all of them thought very poorly of the Italians whose cowardice and want of experience had amply been proved. We came to Zawia (زاوية) in the evening and passed the night in the military barracks.

Got on camel back again in the morning and resumed the journey. To-day, as we had to keep near the coast and were getting to the scene of war, our road was not free from danger. Indeed a little after we had started we saw very near the coast a cruiser of the enemy, trailing its smoke in the air. We were going on shore parallel to the steamer and heard sounds of cannon at a distance. In order to keep away from the coast as much as possible we made a detour to our left, yet we were always within the reach of the enemy's guns. This danger increased after we had passed Zanzur (زانزور). An hour before sunset we saw the enemy on the shore to the left of Tripoli with its fleet in front of the redoubts of Qarq-qaresh (قرقش) which was now in its possession. The town of Tripoli could also be seen behind the date trees. At sunset we reached Findaq-ut-Togħri (فينداق التغرير) where there was a company of our gunners. This was at some distance behind the fortifications of Qarq-qaresh and was surrounded by hillocks of sand not easy to cross.

The distance from Findaq-ut-Togħri to Aïnara, the headquarters of our division, was said to be about three and a half hour's journey. The greater part of the road to-day we traversed on foot. At last on the 27th day of my start from Constantinople we arrived near Ferablas-ul-gharb, and put our heads under canvas.

Getting up early next morning, we observed an aeroplane passing over our heads, and afterwards became accustomed to see a balloon hanging in the air. The non-moving balloon would stop in the air and from there make signs to the warships which would train their guns to the locality it pointed out. There was incessant fighting for the six days we were in Aïnara. No appreciable change, however, took place in the general situation. It is difficult to write a complete record of the events of these days. But the first thing that forced itself on our knowledge was the complete want of proportion between the enemy's strength and ours. To oppose its powerful fleet, quick-firing batteries, mortars, aeroplanes, and an army of at least 40,000 men equipped with arms and ammunition of every description, we have got—almost nothing!

But a handful of our hero-soldiers, and a few of the brave Arabs have, it is now two months, brought the Italians to their wits end. They do not know what to do up to now, and the number of their casualties has gone up to thousands. In the battle of Sunday, the 13th November, alone, the whole regiment of the Bersaglieri—their best and most efficient regiment—was destroyed, and its arms and ammunition fell into our hands. That day the Italians attempted a sortie from their last out of the redoubts of Qarq-qaresh (قرقش) but were routed. However, that day's desperate fighting did not leave us unaffected. We, who were up to then on the offensive, have had since to change our tactics, and aggressive tactics have passed on to the enemy. This situation continued up to the 21st November. Conflicts took place every day, resulting in heavy losses to the enemy who rained fire from the sea as well as from the shore. But of their shells, one in a hundred had any effect. The accounts of the last day are very confused, one thing, however, stands out in relief and it is the display of glorious heroism, and sacrifice that will never fade in brilliance in the pages of Ottoman history.

I am writing this letter in very great hurry. My ears are still tingling with that memorable day's cannonade, and my thoughts are not quite collected. That veritable rain of fire from Italian guns was diabolical. I must, however, give an account.

On Monday morning, the 21st November, we rose from our beds with—as usual—the sounds of the enemy's guns. We were

accustomed to their every-day practice. However, there was some variation each day. To-day's firing looked desperate. This indicated that to-day something unusual was in store for us. Every moment the firing was getting hotter. To this our poor sir Mantell slow-firing guns mounted on sand Tabias (طبايا) were replying. The ammunition of guns being limited, a very economic use was made of it, for example, to their hundred shells we replied with one, (one or two were presented every day to the city). The fighting was getting warmer. They began to move from the Qarq-qaresh fortifications from their left with a Division, in any case with more than 20,000 men under the protection of the fearful fire of their cannon.

On our left there were about a 100 or 150 soldiers with a proportionate number of Arab volunteers. (I afterwards learnt that in that day's battle our right and left together did not boast of more than 3,000). The Italians came on advancing, their mountain batteries and mitrailleuses working continuously, their shrapnel bursting all round, their cavalry hiding themselves in deep ditches and then suddenly appearing when our men were at a distance of a few metres and enveloping them. To all this our men offered a most stubborn resistance; in fact some extraordinary feats were performed. The Italians had, however, come out in an immeasurably superior force. The spirits of our men were getting low, ammunition was running out. The mechanism of their old Mauser rifles was clogged with sand, so much so that out of every 20 rifles only one or two worked properly. At about two in the afternoon we were entirely surrounded by the enemy; and no way seemed to be open other than surrender or retreat.

Excitement began to prevail in the camp at Ainara. Stores and provisions were promptly loaded on camels. I left on foot with a caravan at about 3 o'clock. The place we had to retire to is called Findaq-Ghasheer (فندق غشير), four hours' journey. We walked, exposed on our right to the enemy's fire. We came to Findaq Ghasheer after the Maghrib call to prayer. A few hours later the Commander-in-Chief, Neschiat Bey and Fethi Bey, Chief of the Staff, and the combatants arrived. Later on we moved to Aziza at a distance of five or six hours into the interior. We had received a set back and retired in disorder.

It was easy for the enemy to pursue, harass and disperse us, but its cowardice prevented it. This engagement thus resulted in a change of the situation. We are at present at a place which is a good deal removed from the line of our first engagement. Yet some of our troops are still stationed in Sini-at ul-Benya (سينا العينا) which is at a distance of four or five hours in front of us. The enemy occupied the mounds forsaken by us. They have not advanced one step further. But it appears they will develop an offensive movement again.

Our men are not experiencing any difficulty with regard to provisions, but cannot find any means to replenish the ammunition. The thing that affects me most, makes me in fact weep, is the condition of our wounded. There were occasions when we could not get proper cotton wool or bandage linen for dressing, or ordinary instruments for operation. We are experiencing most heat-redding privations with regard to these. It is two days that the Red Crescent Mission has arrived.

After making a general survey of the situation my first and last verdict is this: here combatant and non-combatant everyone is doing his duty with the utmost devotion. Blame attaches only and exclusively to the Government, that Government which, through neglect and want of forethought—my conscience does not allow me to use a stronger expression—has nearly succeeded in severing the big limb of Tripoli from the body politic of our country. With ordinary sacrifices, Tripoli could be defended against an ordinary enemy of the type of Italy. Oh that we should be helpless in face of Italy!

The situation in any case is full of anxiety. Let us look to the future which may bring us power to rise from this slough.

I have got many things to write, but the Porta-chi (the desk carrier) is standing at my head ready to start and I must close.

—AHMED SHARIF in the *TANIN*

(FROM THE "TANIN")

We have noticed one or two inaccuracies in our correspondent, Ahmed Sharif Bey's letter from Tripoli which we published yesterday There is nothing for us to be ashamed of in the fact that the Mujahids in Tripoli do not possess all the arms and the means of war nowadays required. We think we can be proud of the fact that our brave warriors lacking all these have inflicted several defeats on their foe who possess a perfect organisation. The whole nation ought to know and feel that the devoted band in Tripoli has brought into existence an army out of the desert-sea which is performing such feats of valour, and it ought to rejoice. For nothing could be a more convincing proof of what a well-equipped Turkish army may do. It would have been easy for us

to change some lines of our correspondent and substitute expressions of self-laudation. But we think the publication of the letter as it is does not cast any reflection on our national honour, in fact we believe it enhances it. It should also be borne in mind that a correspondent in a country where war is being waged is capable of observing only a very limited area, and it would be wrong to come to any conclusion as to the whole force and its dispositions from the writings of an easily impressed correspondent himself ignorant of the art of war.

We, however, made inquiries yesterday at the Ministry of War in order to give to our readers reliable information, and we learnt that in Tripoli there existed more than enough stores, provisions and ammunition. Further, we should not forget to note that the date of Shareef Bey's letter is more than a month ago. After this letter was written, the Ottoman Mujahids gained the signal victory of Bir Tibras (بئر الطبرس) and compelled the enemy to retreat, and have thus practically proved that they possess ample munitions of war. We can therefore be confident, as Shareef Bey himself is, that our warriors in Tirablas-ul-Gharb will perform their task most efficiently.

Egyptian Neutrality.

(FROM "AL-LIWA" SPECIALLY TRANSLATED FOR THE "COMRADE")

January 9.

The proceedings of the Egyptian Government since the beginning of the war are passing strange. In reality Egypt is an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, her army is included in the Ottoman army and her Government is a vassal of the Ottoman Government. It was for this reason that when war broke out between Greece and Turkey, the Egyptian Government cut off all relations with Greece. But the Government of Egypt has changed her garments to-day and the fashion in which she now appears before the world has no resemblance of her original raiment.

For some time the Egyptian Government remained quiet, and then proclaimed a policy of neutrality. But the neutrality of Egypt is no less strange than her desertion of the Ottoman Throne. This neutrality is so used that Italians are left without let or hindrance, but the door of all aid and assistance to the Ottoman army is being closed with the harshest of coercive measures. Sometimes poor Bedouins and the dwellers of the desert are arrested on the ground of being bound for Tripoli. Sometimes several localities on the frontier are closed to all traffic for fear somebody may leave that way for the Tripolitaine. Sometimes men are arrested without cause or reason on the mere supposition that they might go and join the Turkish forces as volunteers. Some days back a man named Abdullah Yusuf, an inhabitant of Tripoli, was arrested at one of the outpost stations on the frontier with his 1,320 camels, simply because he wanted to enter the Tripolitaine which was his native country. It is now reported that this innocent man has been exiled and shipped by force to Constantinople. Several instances of this nature have occurred, and although it is announced publicly that nobody would be exiled, it seems these professions are not acted upon. Over and above these there are many other coercive measures of the Egyptian Government, such as the guarding of the Suez Canal, the reorganisation of outposts on the frontiers, additional reinforcement, total prohibition of immigration and emigration in the neighbourhood of the frontiers and stoppage not only of arms and contraband of war but of all sorts of articles, all of which the Egyptian Government considers as covered by the term "neutrality". Perhaps the French Government understands this better than the Egyptian, but we do not find a single instance of this procedure in Tunis. When Italy made a protest to France that the movements of the Arabs of Tripoli and Tunis were left quite free and unchecked, France plainly replied that it was impossible to stop incoming and outgoing Arabs as they had always come into Tunis to buy and sell.

But has the Egyptian Government become neutral to-day or was it also neutral up to a month and a half after the commencement of the war? If the connotation of neutrality is so vast as to exclude any and every kind of help, then why did the Government not raise an objection when the people of Egypt collected and sent thousands of pounds, when thousands became ready to go and fight as volunteers and no less than twenty thousand of these are actually fighting in Tripoli?

Not a single implement of war has been found in any of the caravans that have been stopped. But the Egyptian Government on the pretext of contraband of war wishes to cut off every connection between Egypt and Tripoli.

The Tripoli Campaign.

(BY THE "TIMES" MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.)

January 5.

The situation has remained practically unchanged during the past week. The weather is partly responsible for Italian quiescence.

10th February.

Aeroplane reconnaissances have been almost impracticable, and the state of the sea has been very unfavourable for landing troops. Thus Bir 'Tobras has not been avenged, and the 5th Division has not yet been reported off the coast of North Africa, though it was expected there during the last days of the old year.

Mr Marconi has returned from a tour of inspection of the Italian wireless stations at Tobruk, Derna, Benghazi and Tripoli, and declares himself well satisfied with the efficiency of the system. These garrisons are all in communication with each other, while Cyrenaica communicates with Coltano near Pisa, which in its turn is in touch by wireless with Massowah. Thus the Italians are well placed so far as the communication of news is concerned, while the cruisers have useful transmitting stations for reports. Admiral Faravelli's Squadron was off Benghazi during the third week in December. Here also were the *Marco Polo* and *Agordat* serving as guardships, the former anchored to the north of Benghazi and the latter to the south, ready to use both guns and searchlights as required. There is not much information of the position of other ships, but as the Duke of the Abruzzi reached Rome on December 22, no immediate naval movement seemed at that date to be in the wind.

The Army Corps at Tripoli has remained on the defensive, completing the defences of Ain Zara. General Rocchi of the Engineers, a distinguished soldier and author, has arrived to organize the defensive works, while two companies of the 7th and 8th Fortress Regiments have left their garrison in North Italy and will no doubt be landed when the weather serves. Scouting parties of Arabs led by Turkish officers have come close up to the trenches at Ain Zara. A subsequent reconnaissance by the Florence Lancers on December 27 towards Bir 'Tobras and Bir Akara found traces of large camps recently abandoned. The Turkish headquarters are probably at Anziah, but may be at Zebea. Strong reinforcements have come up, and as the Sultan's forces are united and determined the Italian advance on Ghurian is likely to be hotly opposed. Upon Zanzur the Arabs descended after the Italians had retired, and made things unpleasant for the inhabitants who had been civil to the invaders. Thus on this side there is little doing for the moment and 40,000 Italians are rating the *potentia* of idleness.

The Turco-Arabs in Cyrenaica have been enterprising and have delivered several attacks against the Italians at Benghazi, Derna and Tobruk. Among the dead in some of these attacks have been found black warriors from the Sudan. Enver Bey's camp is 7 miles east of Benghazi, and his tents are said to cover a front of four miles. Here is the main force, but the Italians believe that there are two strong detachments wide on the wings, at Leqheim and Haia-Segui respectively, and that Enver Bey's plan is to hold an Italian attack in front and to assail its flanks. As Enver Bey is a disciple of Marshal von der Goltz, the plan is not inherently improbable. Enver Bey was present at the German manoeuvres last September, on which occasion von der Goltz twice made the double enveloping attack with which the Italians now credit the Turkish commander. But in vain is the net spread in the sight of the aviator, and Enver Bey's flank columns appear to have been marked down by the airmen before the stormy weather began. On Christmas Day the Turkish commander made a demonstration and moved out towards Benghazi, showing several thousand—“alcune migliaia,” says the official report—of his men and some guns. The Italians manned their trenches, but were not to be tempted into the open, so the Turks pulled up a mile oft and the affair resolved itself into an artillery combat, in which all the advantage was naturally with the Italians.

The objective of most of the Turkish attacks is the oasis of Fochad, near Benghazi, where are the best wells in the district. It is not quite clear from the reports whether the Italian trenches enclose this oasis or not. The water-supply of the troops is drawn mainly from cistern ships which are anchored off the shore. Here, as elsewhere, the water supply is a serious matter. As for the other attacks, some very bravely made, against Italian fortified posts, it cannot be credited that a man of Enver Bey's attainments can hope to make any lasting impression upon the Italian bases with their naval backing. It must be supposed that the Turkish commander has to keep his Arabs in play, and lets them go against the forts when he cannot ensure their patience by any other means. The last fight at Derna on December 26 was a different affair, for on this occasion the Italians were in the open. A smart skirmish ensued, and the Italians retired to their works with 80 casualties after a successful counterattack. On this occasion, as at Benghazi, the Turks brought some field artillery into action. To Benghazi has come the 4th Regiment of Bersaglieri, consisting of the 26th, 29th and 31st Battalions from Turin. The arrival of other Italian reinforcements possibly the 5th Division, is expected at Benghazi, for which place a native battalion from Eritrea is also under orders. The Italians have four native battalions in Eritrea, each 750 strong, and reported to be useful troops. The 5th Division consists of the 34th, 35th and 89th Regiments of Infantry, besides two Alpine battalions. The 19th Guides and the 30th and 61st Regiments of Infantry are also mobilized.

It is too early to say whether the reconstruction of Said Pasha's Ministry will affect the general situation, but it may be recalled that Enver Bey has declared in the most categorical manner that he will not make peace even if the Turkish Government consents to it, and that the Arabs under his orders cannot be induced to lay down their arms.

In a letter to the *Neue Freie Presse* Marshal von der Goltz thinks the Turks have gained an inestimable advantage from the war, since it has cemented a confraternity of arms between Turks and Arabs, and has created a union which will not easily be broken. The German Marshal highly approves of the tactics of enticing the Italians into the interior, and believes that we are only at the beginning of a long and obstinate war.

In replying to some observations by the writer on the subject of desert warfare, the *Tribuna* of December 26 admits without any reserve the justice of the greater part of these observations, but considers that penetration into the interior is not an immediate necessity, and that the invaders, having mastered the coast towns, can wait in patience and security until the tribes of the interior, driven by commercial necessity, come to terms. Therefore, urges the *Tribuna*, we are not caught by the pincers of the dilemma or the trilemma which *The Times* critic holds out to us. But, almost in the same breath, the patience and security argument is thrown overboard, and the Ministerial journal proceeds to advocate the first of the three courses which the writer referred to, namely, the construction of railways, as the best to follow. It asks that these Railways shall not be improvised for military necessities, but shall be planned for the development of the country and for the subjugation of the tribes of the interior. The *Tribuna* must, surely, see that it speaks with two voices, and that foreign critics must be forgiven if they continue to find some difficulty in deciding upon the plan of campaign which commands itself to the Italian Government.

There is a great deal to be said for the patience and security argument if both factors could be counted on, but 80,000 conscripts, largely made up of men withdrawn from civil avocations, will not be patient for ever, and the security of the five or six coast towns which the Italians hold is only relative, and requires vigilance and strength for its affirmation. We can only talk at present, as we used to talk of the Spanish holdings in Morocco, of the Italian *presidios* in North Africa. Conquest there is none, yet there stands the Decree of Annexation, and there also is the declaration of the Italian Government that the war would be prosecuted with the utmost rigour.

In the *Corsiere Delta Sera* of December 29, Signor Giorgio Bompiani, who writes lucidly and with measure, has also examined at some length the considerations which the writer set out in *The Times* of December 26. Not relying on the *status quo dignitate* argument, the correspondent of the *Corsiere* declares that the advance will be made, as the writer admitted, by a combination of the three means suggested, namely, railway construction, occupation of intermediate posts, and camel transport; and Signor Bompiani not obscurely hints that the advance will begin some time in January or February, and that it will be “a classic example of the manner in which a desert expedition should be carried out.”

That is good news for our soldiers, who are studying the campaign at a distance with the sympathy for both sides which the British declaration of neutrality imposes upon them. The Carriere's statement is, in fact, quite interesting, for failing it we might have complained that there was no clear indication of a plan of campaign based on a reasoned judgment of the general situation and upon a clear and unbroken view of the ways and means necessary for meeting it.

(By the “TIMES” MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.)

It is difficult to place much confidence in the current rumours regarding peace. Italy sincerely desires peace, and has good cause to do so, but her Decree of Annexation is a bar to the suggestion of any terms which Turkey can honourably accept. On the Turkish side there is no sign of giving way. The new Ministry is purely Young Turk and the Salonika Committee stands for war to the bitter end. A Turkish Minister declared in last week's debate at Constantinople that it was false to say that the Government desired a dissolution in order to make peace with Italy. He added that it was impossible to surrender an inch of Turkish soil, and that such cession was absolutely forbidden by the Constitution. Skilled indeed will be the diplomacy which discovers a formula to reconcile the conflicting claims of the belligerents.

Meanwhile the war goes on. The weather up to December 31 continued bad. No aviators could scout, and all operations of landing troops and stores had to be suspended. In Cyrenaica not even the post has been able to enter or leave the occupied towns. Serious disadvantages have, no doubt, been entailed by these circumstances, but we cannot tell how great they are without knowing the reserve of water, stores, and supplies which the Italian staff have accumulated. The *Vita* has reported—and the report has been printed in Ministerial papers without contradiction—that just before Christmas, the Tenth Brigade of the Expeditionary Force, consisting of the 35th and 89th Regiments of Infantry, with auxiliary services,

left Naples in four transports, escorted by the *Pisa* and torpedo-raft with the intention of occupying Suara, but that the weather was so bad that no boat could be launched to communicate with Tripoli and that the convoy was compelled to put back to Augusta, in Sicily.

It is probable that the occupation of Suara and of one or two other points on the coast between Tripoli and the Tunis frontier is contemplated in order to check the contraband trade, but the belief of the *Messaggero* that this action will definitely arrest the trade between Tripolitania and Tunis is sanguine, for all that will happen will be that the caravans will be deflected to the south. Suara is a small town without importance, and the anchorage is much exposed, but a fair caravan road unites the village with Gharian via El Oghl, and some of Neshet Bey's supplies have reached him by this route.

Except for an attack at Homs, some night alarms at Ain Zara and some cavalry reconnaissances, little has been done on the Tripoli front. The position of the Turks remained uncertain until December 31 when the aviators were able to resume work and reported scattered parties of the enemy at Suara, Ben Iden, Ben Gaschi, and Sidi Saiai with reserves at Azizah and Gharian. Neshet Bey is apparently strengthening his position at Gharian, where he has been joined by Arabs from the interior, and as Gharian has the best water supply in all this district, the main body of the Turco-Arabs will probably remain here until the Italians move, worrying the enemy with feints by scouting parties.

The plan of the Italian staff originally was to link up Italian posts in Tripoli by a Decauville line of 80-centimetre gauge. This plan has been now abandoned in favour of another which adopts the 95-centimetre gauge, and consequently renders it possible to utilize the rolling stock of the Sicilian *ferrovie complementari* which are of similar gauge. On January 3 the *Official Gazette* published a Decree authorizing the Direction of State Railways to proceed with this undertaking and already ships have been taken up to carry the necessary materials from Venice and Syracuse. Sufficient rolling stock for construction trains is at disposal; the locomotives are of Mark 202 of Italian design, and a few passenger wagons will be sent out at once. The first lines to be made will be from Tripoli to Ain Zara, Tayurah, and Zanzur. The survey of the lines is now being made by Signor Gulini, while Signor Cavenago has the direction of the construction, and will have under him heads of technical brigades to superintend the works of the Army engineers and native labourers.

It is to be expected that the rest of the 5th Division will be sent to Bengazi or Derna for the more active prosecution of the war on this side. At Bengazi, Derna and Tobruk reiterated attacks have been made on the Italian redoubts and block houses and although these attacks have all been repulsed it must be very embarrassing to the Italian command to be restricted for so long to defensive and to be wearied by continual alarms which deprive the troops of their rest. The moral ascendancy in Cyrenaica is on the side of the Turks, and it must be the desire of the Italian command to break the spell at the earliest available opportunity. There are 20,000 Italians at Bengazi, 16,000 at Derna, and 6,000 at Tobruk. Enver Bey holds a central situation between Bengazi and Derna, and can throw his Arabs against either column if the Italians advance from both places, but the Italian control at sea enables troops to be moved from one point to another, as may be required, when the weather serves.

The Duke of the Abruzzi returned to Taranto on January 3 on which date there was reported a large fleet of ships of all classes at this port. The Bey of Tobruk or Mersa Tebruk as we call it, continues to serve as the advanced base of the Navy in Africa. The guardships at Bengazi, Derna and Homs, the cruising squadrons, the flotillas, and the auxiliary cruisers, all use this base in turn. Homs also is the centre of the war against contraband. The war is waged partly by destroyers and partly by auxiliary cruisers. The destroyer flotilla, under Captain Cienta, for example, includes the *Lusitania*, *Garibaldi*, *Corsaro*, and *Artigliere*, and has been active of late. Among the auxiliary cruisers are the *C. di Catania*, *C. di Messina*, *C. di Palermo* and *C. di Sicilia*, ships averaging 3,000 tons, with armaments of 12 c.m. and 76 mm. guns, and speed of 16 knots.

The Tobruk inlet extends two miles north-west by west. It is three-quarters of a mile broad and from five to eight fathoms deep, except for half a mile at the head of the bay where the water is shallow. It affords excellent shelter in all winds except those from east and south-east, which are more prevalent in summer than in winter. Tobruk itself is a wretched hamlet totally devoid of resources, and not more than 100 Arabs remain in the place. The water supply is so bad that the troops first landed had to be supplied with water distilled by the *Hina*. Iron cisterns have since been landed on the beach and are refilled from time to time by the cistern ship *Siderno*. This is the post which England is supposed to covet. Many millions must be laid out before Tobruk becomes the Spezia of North Africa. On the hills to the south of the bay the Italians

have built three small forts which are connected by trenches and covered by strong lines of wire entanglement, as are all the other Italian fortifications. On the promontory which forms the north side of the bay another fort has been built above the old Saracen citadel and it is being armed with 149 mm. guns. A few nights ago this work was attacked, but thanks to a steady garrison and to a searchlight which was not turned on until the Arabs were within 400 yards, the attack was beaten back.

Thus after three months of war there are 92,000 Italians in North Africa, in occupation of five points on a coastline 1,100 miles long, restricted to the defensive, and without the means for penetrating far into the interior. On the other side, in practical control of the entire country annexed to Italy by decree, are a few thousand Turks, leading and forming the cadre of large forces of Arab irregulars, untrained and short of many resources which an army needs, but drawing from religion and their native valour a strength of resistance which remains intact and awaits the favourable moment for asserting itself.

It is necessary to say a few words, in conclusion, upon the subject of the neutrality of Egypt. An Italian agency has supplied the French *Press* with a note affirming that English troops have "definitely occupied all the Suez Peninsula" and that "everything is ready to commence works of fortification". Nothing of the sort has taken place. Proper steps have been taken in Egypt to fulfil the obligations of neutrality, and precautions have extended to the Suez Canal because the collection of large herds of camels at Gaza in Syria, and other episodes, pointed to an intention to run contraband goods across the Sinai desert into Egypt. Patrols of infantry, irregulars, and Customs guards are consequently posted to prevent this traffic, but no idea of occupying the Sinai desert has ever been entertained. Apart from all questions of neutrality, the importation of arms and ammunition into Egypt is forbidden by a municipal law and consequently it is the duty of the constituted authorities in Egypt to prevent this traffic. The duties of neutrality have been exercised in an absolutely impartial spirit, and neither belligerent has any just cause of complaint.

Lieut. Montagu on Italian Atrocities.

We publish below by special arrangement with the Central News Agency, in account of the Italian atrocities at Tripoli by Mr. Herbert G. Montagu, late Lieutenant in the 5th Royal Fusiliers, the British officer who joined the Turk, outside Tripoli. Writing of the fighting immediately after his arrival at the Turkish camp, he says —

It is my purpose to set forth in full detail what I myself know of the atrocities perpetrated by the Italians in the oasis of Tripoli and to explain the circumstances under which it came about that I, abled to the Central News Agency a signed protest against these horrible barbarities. Attacks on the Italian lines were delivered by us day after day, generally, indeed, we made two attacks a day. This kind of warfare was particularly galling to the enemy. We never let them sleep, and the effect on their nerves was such that they soon by all accounts became utterly demoralised and frightened. They had not the pluck to make a determined advance upon the oasis, but they were maddened by the so-called "revolt" of the Arabs in Tripoli and by the discovery that they had placed too great reliance on the protestations of friendship which the Tripoli Arab had very naturally made to them at the time of the invasion. The love of the Italians for the down trodden Arabs changed in a moment to frenzied hatred?

The war had been in progress just about a month when orders were given by Fethi Bey for an attack on a small scale. The direction of the attack was entrusted to four officers operating in different districts, and each officer had under him about 500 or 600 Arabs and one or two companies of Turkish regulars. My men and I had been fighting from about eight in the morning until about four in afternoon (though with an interval for a decent meal, since we could do pretty well what we liked, the Italians remaining in the position to which we drove them), and at the latter hour I decided that we had done enough. As I passed the order to the troops I noticed a number of apparently insurated soldiers gathered together in groups, shouting and gesticulating and all pointing in one direction, so I ordered them off and rode forward with an escort and an interpreter to reconnoitre. I should mention here that the dwellings in the oasis are, or were, picturesquely situated, with beautiful walled-off gardens very much like those to be found in the suburbs of an English town. Coming to one of these houses I came across the dead body of a woman and at first I feared that we had ourselves accidentally shot her. I accordingly dismounted and entered the house, when to my horror I found that inside the building there were the bodies of perhaps 20 women, some of them with babies. All had been thrown into the house after having been outraged and mutilated in the most frightful manner. Some of the women had both breasts cut off, others had been ripped open, Jack-the-Pipper fashion, and some of the little babies had been spiked in a filthy way. It was especially noticeable that the hands and feet of the victims

were tied. I went on to another house. Here there was the same sort of thing to be seen and the yard was full of bodies. I set two orderlies counting them, and they brought me the report that there were about 120. By now the other officers had finished their attacks, and I went right along the lines where the Italians had previously been, looking for further evidence of outrages. In this way I reached Henna [Henni?] and here I made the most appalling discovery of all. I made my way to the mosque, and the door being shut, I pushed it open. The mosque was absolutely running red. With my foot I touched the body of a little girl who had been thrown on top of a heap of women, and she slipped down to the floor in a way that made me feel faint and sick. In this case the women had been tied together in batches, bayoneted, spiked, and otherwise mutilated.

Now I am fully alive to the great importance of every word that can be written about this horrible matter, and so I shall proceed to give a number of facts the significance of which will be apparent to everyone. There can be no doubt that bayonets were used by the murderers. In one case I found a portion of a bayonet fixed fast in a woman's skull. There were one or two Italian hats lying about—hats of the pith helmet type, green inside—which being swamped in blood, had been left behind as useless by their owners. On the faces and other parts of many of the bodies were the marks of boots, and in the mouth of one woman was the heel of an Italian soldier's boot, ripped away from the other portion. Some soldier had trodden on this unfortunate creature, had put his foot on her face, and, perhaps in her death agony, she had bitten deep into the heel of his boot, which had remained between her teeth.

I recled out of the mosque in a hot sweat. The ghastly things I had just seen swam in front of me, and the only thought I could frame was that it was my duty to cause these crimes to be known everywhere. Having come part of the way to Tripoli with Seppings Wright, I determined to cable to the agency he was representing, knowing that my telegram would then be distributed broadcast; and I divulged the fact that I was a British officer, and gave my name and regiment, so that it should not be said that this story was only a sensational press report. Seppings Wright was then at Zwarra, and I obtained permission to send for him, specially that he might photograph the scenes I have described. Incidentally, I may point out that my telegram was mutilated rather badly in transmission, and that it was deciphered at the London end as stating that I was sending on behalf of Mr. Seppings Wright instead of sending for him, which, of course, was not the case. Unfortunately, Wright was a very long time in joining us, and the Arabs insisted upon burying their women-folk, so that he took no photographs of the actual scenes above referred to. I believe, however, he photographed the place of burial. Here the desert wind had blown the sand away from some of the bodies and the limbs were showing above the surface.

It has been suggested that the bodies which I saw were those of cholera victims, torn and mutilated by pariah dogs. In answer to this suggestion, I can only say that I have never heard even of a circus dog that could tie a knot, much less lash women and little girls together in gangs. Nor do pariah dogs wear European boots that leave marks upon the faces of those upon whose bodies they prey. Nor do they wear helmets. If the bodies had in fact been those of cholera victims the Arabs would never have defiled a mosque by placing them therein. Moreover, only Italians had previously been in this locality. There had been some very heavy fighting there, in which we ourselves had sustained severe losses, and when we had driven the Italians out we had called our own men away, so that there had as yet been no investigation ever for stores.

It has been said again that the Italians were compelled to take drastic action against the Arab women, because the latter fought against them like their men. This is a ridiculous statement. There is nothing more timid than an Arab woman, who would no more dream of letting off a rifle than of jumping out of window. The women are as timid as the men are fierce and would certainly not take part in the fighting. It is possible that where there was shooting going on round about detached houses the women in the house may have loaded their husbands' rifles, but they would have done nothing more, and with the army they were separated from the men. The women of the oasis hung about their homes, and that is how they fell into the hands of the Italians.

I have had my attention called to reports, seemingly well authenticated, of Arab atrocities in Cyrenaica on Italian captives. Not having been in Cyrenaica, I cannot speak about them, but it seems quite probable that they have actually occurred. The Arabs were maddened beyond all restraint by the outrages in the oasis, and to my mind, anything they and their brethren may have done to Italian men finds plenty of excuse in what the Italians did to their women.

I have seen something of the temper of the Arabs towards the Italians since the day we found those bodies in the mosque. In the course of a reconnaissance, on which I was accompanied by a

Turkish escort, an interpreter, and a party of Arabs with a sheikh, I found the bodies of eight Arabs who had been done to death in a manner which I cannot possibly describe in a newspaper. They had all suffered the same fate, injuries of the most revolting nature having been inflicted, apparently with hammers. We had only journeyed about 500 yards further when some Italians opened fire on us from a house, and the Arabs, who were frantic with rage, broke away and rushed the house, which they succeeded in taking. Some of the Italians got away, but two of them, who had been wounded, were captured and dragged outside by the Arabs. They were exceedingly frightened, and begged and implored for mercy, but mercy was just then far from the minds of their captors, who hoisted them up against a wall and prepared to drive nails into them and crucify them. The Arabs were absolutely mad. The sheikh whom I mentioned was, as I know, a most humane man when ordinary fighting was the order of the day and as tender as anybody could be with the wounded, but he, too, was given over to blind fury at what he had just seen. After a great deal of exhortation which was not without its peril to myself and to my escort, I managed to put my Turks around the two prisoners. We dared not take them prisoner, because there would have been no holding the Arabs for long, so we let them go. These possibly were the two men who, returning to their camp, gave out that they had been terribly tortured. They had both been wounded by splinters of woodwork, and one had a bullet through his forearm. If these men are honest men and are still alive they are able to confirm the story I have just narrated.

—*Manchester Guardian.*

Lieut. Montagu With the Turks.

WE WERE early astir on the morning following my arrival at Souk-el-Youghra, for we were to deliver an attack on the left of the Italian line, which then lay about half a mile away. We set out in column of route along a sandy road, Captain Huni, an Arab officer, and I leading the way. We had half a battalion of Turkish regulars and about fifteen hundred Arabs with us, all the men, Turks and Arabs alike, being armed with Mauser rifles. Huni and I carried Mauser repeating pistols, and I by this time had adopted the uniform of the 38th Turkish Cavalry Regiment.

Our Turkish troops were excellently disciplined, but the Arabs were, of course, only partly trained. Before the march began the Arabs clustered around their respective Sheiks, who exhorted them to kill as many Italians as they could in the name of Allah. Each fresh exhortation was the signal for a wild, fanatical shout of "Allah!"

After marching for about five minutes we caught sight, among the palms, of large numbers of bodies of Italians, Turks, and Arabs killed in the fighting of the preceding few days. All the bodies, irrespective of nationality, had been stripped naked by the Arabs. The latter, as a matter of habit, refuse to leave anything on the field to waste. The property of their comrades killed in action is collected and carefully sent to the relatives; loot from the enemy's killed is looked upon as the property of the killers.

Some of the corpses bore the marks of brutal ill-treatment. For example, I noticed some Arab corpses the faces of which had been shockingly disfigured by burning. Apparently some sort of oil had been poured on them and then fired. In some instances the fingers of dead Italian soldiers had been cut off for the sake of the rings upon them, but at that time I saw no other mutilation.

We were advancing steadily, and I can assure you I was feeling terribly sick, when, without the slightest warning, we found ourselves under fire at a range not greater than fifty yards or so from four Maxims posted behind the bank at a bend in the road ahead of us. We all threw ourselves flat on the ground, and secured some little shelter from the hedges, but an Arab was killed and a Turk wounded, while a bullet tore a hole in my coat. The shock of the unexpected attack reduced me for the moment to an absolutely childish state. The noise was deafening, and one felt utterly helpless. I was profoundly thankful that for a few minutes we did not get the order to move. Captain Huni quickly recovered his self-possession, and we attempted an enveloping movement. In doing so we ran full on the Italian lines, and for one solid hour we were engaged in sharp fighting amidst a frightful din. It is curious how in the uproar of battle, above the rattle of machine guns, and even above the heavy artillery and bursting shells, one can distinguish the characteristic reports of the various rifles.

There was no shell fire, but the machine guns maintained an endless roar amidst which it was quite easy to note the difference between the "pom" of the Mauser and the "C-rack" of the Italian rifles. The Italians, by the way, used a thin, pencil-like, nickel-coated bullet, which could stick a particularly neat hole. Wounds from these bullets caused the Arabs little concern. They would pick up a lump of dirt, put some oil on it, slap it on the wound, and go on as before. Our bullets were the regular fat bullets of the Mauser weapon, made of soft lead.

In that hour's fighting I lost all sense of nervousness, and came to the conclusion that one stood as much chance of being hit behind a rock as out in the open. At the end of the hour we noticed that the Italians were slowly withdrawing. I decided that a charge was about the best thing to decide upon, and passed the word to the Arabs to get ready. Their preparations did not take long. They cast aside their ordinary clothing, some throwing their rifles down as well and drawing daggers and knives of curious shapes.

There was among them a giant, standing some 6 feet & inches high, who carried with him a huge two-handed Crusader's sword almost as tall as himself. He threw away his rifle and his burnous, and stood waiting the signal, wearing nothing but a cloth around his waist. Knowing something of the Arabs' reputation for swiftness of foot, I started first with about half-a-dozen Turks, but before we had covered twenty yards the whole place became alive with demoniac howls and yells, and the Arabs were flashing past us like hares. I got there fairly to the front and emptied my Mauser at short range, but I did not stop to refill the magazine, for the feverish excitement of the moment had communicated itself to me.

The affair only lasted a couple of minutes. At the end of that time all the Italians who were able to make good their escape were out of sight, having fled uncontrollably. At our end of the line they left twenty-three dead, including one officer who had fallen before a prodigious blow delivered by the giant already mentioned. With his two-handed sword, so I was assured—and I was shown the corpse—he had at one blow shorn off the head, shoulder, and left arm of his foe.

The Turkish success was complete, for the fleeing Italians had sought to cross a road held by Captain Huni, and had been picked off like rabbits. We captured about 67 Italian rifles, and I estimate the Italian killed at 60. We lost some 10 killed.

This success immediately preceded the so-called Arab "revolt" in the town, which was brought about by a number of Arabs, who not being disposed to yield any strict obedience to orders from me, persisted in making towards the town, with the result that they got behind the Italians and had to fight for it. Fourteen of them were badly wounded, and these were bestowed in a place of hiding by their comrades, who being unable to retreat made their way into the town and stirred up the town Arabs. Altogether about 150 of them got through into Tripoli.

It chanced that a Jew got to know about the fourteen wounded men in hiding, and he sold his information to the Italian General, who ordered a raid and secured the wounded men as prisoners. They were taken into the town and placed in hospital, where they practically recovered from their wounds. And a fortnight afterwards they were all executed as "rebels," though not one of them had moved a finger in connection with the "revolt" in Tripoli.

—Daily News

Christmas in the Gharian.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" CORRESPONDENT)
TURKISH HEADQUARTERS, TRIPOLI,

December 27

IT seemed clear that after the crushing disaster near Fonduk Ben Gashir on 19th December the Italians would abandon the idea of any further advance for some time, so I resolved to pay a flying visit to the Turkish base at Gharian. Some twenty miles away across the desert, there rose abruptly from the dead level the long range of the mountains which would naturally form a third line of defence against the invaders if they ever succeeded in making good their advance as far as Azizieh—a barrier of so formidable a kind as to be practically impregnable even if it were possible to drag artillery so far or use it amid the broken surface of the foothills. Fethi Bey most kindly provided me with a horse, and in company with Mr. Bathurst, an Englishman who had somehow or other made his way to the Turkish camp, I set off on 2nd December for the mountains. Farewell for the present to Azizieh with its delightful Turks, kindly Englishmen, brave and greedy Arabs, and malignant microbes! When during a brief halt on our way I surveyed through my field-glasses the busy camp we had left behind us, another Arab funeral was slowly ascending the slopes of Jabel Zoweish towards the little cemetery on the summit.

Riding on the plains of Tripoli means as a general rule a walking pace for the horse, with an occasional trot, galloping or cantering is almost out of the question in deep sand or over rough tracks of loose stones. It took us—Bathurst was mounted on an excellent mule—fully four hours before we reached the little Fonduk among the palm trees where the journey to Gharian can be broken. For the first seventeen miles the road had been—for Tripoli—a passable one, but at the close, when the foothills began, the tracks lay over masses of stones, hollows, and boulders, and to render our course still more arduous darkness had overtaken us. Riding was now quite impossible, and the poor animals, especially the horse, stumbled continually. Amid the holes and hillocks of this rugged track, lit

only by the dim radiance of the stars, we walked by faith rather than sight, and good fortune alone saved us from heavy falls or sprained ankles. A Turkish soldier—our escort from headquarters—trudged sturdily along, his Mauser slung over his shoulder, and he seemed as glad as ourselves when at length a twinkling light near a tall palm tree brought us to the end of our tedious march.

The village of Gharian, in the heart of the mountains, possesses an excellent base hospital—formerly the school—and serves as a great dépôt for military supplies, to be subsequently distributed by the camels which are here gathered together in vast numbers and render sleep difficult by their gruntings and gurglings. An enormous konak built by the brigand chief Gouma before the days of the Turkish annexation, and constructed with an amazing disregard for regularity of design or economy of space, rises up like some great medieval castle on the edge of a plateau and commands a magnificent view of the endless hills and the expanse of desert. We passed Christmas-eve in the harem—*Hanot vot qui mal i pese*,—the fair ladies who had once dwelt behind the barred and latticed windows had long since disappeared.

Two days later I found myself back again in Azizieh, and was met by news of terrible significance. Within 24 hours there had been no less than 14 cases of cholera! Four corpses were dragged out by the heels from the courtyard just in front of the room used as my bedroom! The doctors took instant and drastic action. The dirty denizens of the market were removed with all their stock in trade to another site south of the village. The wells were thoroughly drenched with permanganate of potash and all the water subsequently drawn from them was filtered or boiled. This energy produced excellent results. The scourge ceased as abruptly as it had arisen. No further cases were recorded during my stay at headquarters. Moreover, it was proved later on that after all the muddy water of Azizieh was not the source of the infection. Every one of the fourteen Arabs who had been stricken with cholera had passed a night in a village far out in the desert, and had drunk from the same contaminated well. A load of anxiety was lifted from the minds of all at Azizieh. Hapless, indeed, is the army assailed by this terror that flitteth by night and destroyeth at noonday—the sudden agony, the violent sickness, the sinister blueness of the lips, the merciful coma that ends in death.

On the day of my arrival at Azizieh two Musselman spies were brought in. These men had been surprised near Ain Zara in company with an Italian by a Turkish patrol. They put up a brief fight, the Italian was killed, and the two Musselmanns were captured and marched off, their hands tied behind their backs, to headquarters. When brought before Nessim Bey, Fethi Bey, and the other officers composing the court martial the two prisoners exhibited no sign of perturbation. There was no possible doubt as to their guilt. They were both of them Tripolitan Arabs who had served in the Turkish gendarmerie, and when captured they were actually wearing their former blue uniforms with a Roman numeral on the collar in lieu of the original badge of the Sultan's service. After a short trial they were, of course, found guilty and condemned to death by hanging. But before passing sentence the Commander-in-Chief asked them both why they had deserted for service with the enemy and whether they wished to say anything before the Court rose. The elder of the two said that he had committed this crime for the benefit of his family, but as it was proved that the pay received from the Italians was no greater than his ordinary pay as a Turkish gendarme there seemed to be little in this excuse. The younger man simply said, "I am guilty. I deserve death. I throw myself on the mercy of the Court, and for the rest I ask forgiveness and peace from Allah." He had been given a cigarette before the death sentence, and after this was pronounced he continued to smoke with the same absolute indifference. The two prisoners were at once despatched to the lines, and at 7 a.m. next morning one was hung from a palm tree at Sehir Beni Adam and the other at Fonduk Ben Gashir as a warning to those who in this supreme crisis of stress and peril might see fit to act as traitors to their faith, their Khalif, and their country. That arch offender Hassouna Bey—Turk by origin, Musselman by religion, and a former servant of the Ottoman Government—has been discreetly packed off to Italy. His life was not worth an hour's purchase in Tripoli, for Arabs had sworn to kill him. His son, true to his oath and his flag, fought with the Ottoman forces until, alas! his young life was cut short by fever in the Gharian mountains.

E. N. BUNNATT.

Party Politics in Turkey.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, January 12.

A local French journal, the *Liberte*, publishes an interesting account of an interview which was granted to its representative by Hilmi Pasha. The ex-Grand Vizier expressed regret that the proposals for a compromise had not been accepted by either party. He did not believe that the Government would obtain a two-thirds majority for the proposals of the Chamber. The majority

of the Senate also appeared to be opposed to the immediate modification of Article 35 of the Constitution. The creation of new Senators would, in his opinion, have the unfortunate result of lowering the prestige of that body, which should hold the balance of power between the parties. Should Parliament be dissolved a General Election would be inevitable. This was not an opportune moment for electoral struggles, which were certain to cause agitation, and might result in disturbances, which would only increase the *malaise* from which the whole country was suffering in consequence of Parliamentary rivalries. An understanding between Moslems and Christians and between the Committee and the Opposition was necessary for the welfare of Turkey. The prorogation of the Chamber for three months would be a simple method of putting an end to these polemics which were having a bad effect everywhere.

Hilmi Pascha added that, in his opinion, the war would last a long while yet, but he did not apprehend any serious danger from the Albanians or from the Balkan States.

An agreement has been signed by the Delegates of the Party of Union and Liberty and by the Greek Party for common Parliamentary action. The agreement will be submitted to the first Congress of the former party for ratification.

Constantinople, January 17.

The proceedings in the Turkish Chamber this afternoon were marked by considerable animation. There was a full attendance. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Assim Bey, proposed the closure of the debate on the Constitutional Bill, which had lasted ten days, and the continuance of which, he argued, was prejudicing the interests of the country, especially abroad. The motion, which was received with protests and tumult from the Opposition, was adopted by 141 to 89 votes, there being six abstentions. Subsequently the Chamber decided the fate of the Bill—125 voted in favour of the measure and 105 against. Consequently the Bill was rejected, owing to the absence of the required two-thirds majority of the entire Chamber, namely, 188. The result of the voting was loudly cheered by the Opposition. It constitutes a defeat of the Government, and is what the Union and Progress Party have been striving for in order to provoke a dissolution, to which step they will now proceed, considering the present moment favourable for new elections.

Constantinople, January 18.

The following is the text of the Imperial *Khatt*, which was transmitted to the Senate this afternoon:

The necessity having arisen, I have decided to dissolve the present Chamber of Deputies, to order new elections, and the convocation of a new Chamber of Deputies in three months. In conformity with article 7 of the Constitution I wait the Senate's reply.

After a secret Session of the Senate, at which most of the members of the Cabinet were present, it was decided to appoint a Commission of nine to report on the advisability of a dissolution. As the majority of the members of the Commission are partisans of the Committee, it would appear that the Senate has decided not to raise difficulties.

Constantinople, January 19.

The report of the Senatorial Commission approves by a majority vote the dissolution of the Chamber.

Constantinople, January 17.

The Senate, after a long debate, has voted by 39 to 5 that the Sultan be advised to dissolve Parliament. The fear of the creation of Senators induced the supporters of the Opposition parties to support the motion.

Constantinople, January 18.

To-day's Imperial *Izadel*, closed a brief, profitless, and turbulent session, in which the Chamber quarrelled much and did little. The elections, it is said, begin in a month's time, though a probable estimate is over sanguine in the case of the up-country districts. All prophecies concerning the composition and character of the next Parliament are based on mere surmise and must be accepted with the utmost caution. All that can be said is that while the Committee lost ground there is no proof that the Opposition gained any access of strength save in Albania and perhaps in some of the Asiatic provinces. The general pessimism in regard to the future is perhaps the most striking feature of the situation.

Yet though the results of four years' Constitutional Parliamentary Government have been in many ways disappointing, though Parliament has shown itself timid and turbulent, submissive and obstructive by turns, it must in fairness be admitted that the Lower House, with all its faults, has done a certain amount of useful legislative work and has more recently developed a laudable taste for "economy," that the Opposition was allowed greater liberty within the Chamber than was to be expected during a period of democratic revolution, and that the representatives of the subject races were generally allowed to criticize the acts of the Government from the standpoint of their constituents, though the criticisms usually fell on deaf ears.

The Senate has done what was required of it with the minimum amount of friction. It is to be hoped that the next Chamber of Deputies will not be too progressive and will take a lesson from the calm moderation which marked its debates.

The "Tanin" and the Dardanelles.

To THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—Your Constantinople Correspondent in his letter of 20th December states that the Union and Progress Committee has blamed me on my articles on the relations between Russia and Turkey, and that I had declared myself ready to rectify my declarations on the subject.

All these statements are entirely untrue. The *Tanin* is neither an official organ of the Union and Progress Committee nor that of the Government. Consequently nobody has the right of demanding such a thing from the editor of the *Tanin*. Neither am I in the habit of changing my views by order. I have never ceased to believe that a *Turco-Russian entente* built on solid and lasting basis would be a beneficent policy for my country.

I am sorry that your Constantinople Correspondent, who is not a stranger to the *Tanin*, did not think of consulting me before sending such groundless information concerning me.

Asking you kindly to publish these few lines in your paper,

I am yours respectfully,

DJAVID,

The Editor of the "Tanin" and the Deputy of Constantinople
CONSTANTINOPLE, 31st December.

[Our Constantinople Correspondent, who has already seen the above letter in the *Tanin*, writes to point out that the *Tanin* was not described by him as the official organ of either the Government or the Committee. As regards the other statement, he says that perhaps the phrase "promised to desist from further discussion of the Dardanelles question on these lines" would have been a more accurate account of Hussein Djavid Bey's submission.]

The Balkan Committee.

Constantinople, January 10.

There is reason to believe that the Porte has instructed its Ambassadors to call the attention of the Powers to certain military preparations made by the Montenegrin Government in the vicinity of the frontier.

The Balkan Committee has addressed to the Turkish Government and leading members of the Young Turk Party the following remonstrance on the condition and treatment of the subject populations in the European provinces of the Turkish Empire—

The Balkan Committee, while recognizing and admitting the special difficulties in which Turkey is now placed, cannot but hold that these difficulties have been increased by the Ottomanizing policy adopted by the Young Turks—a policy which they believe to be fatal to the hopes of a contented and united Empire, and in direct violation of the pledges to give political and religious equality to all the subjects of the Empire without distinction of race or creed.

Holding these views, the Committee have reluctantly come to the conclusion that they can no longer plead for a patient and sympathetic judgment of young and inexperienced administrators faced with problems of government of exceptional difficulty, and that it is now necessary to appeal to the public sentiment of this and other civilized nations to impress on the Turkish Government the absolute and immediate necessity, in their own interests as well as in those of their subjects, of ameliorating the conditions of life in the provinces, of devoting funds—hitherto largely wasted upon wars due to the policy of "Turkification"—to education, justice, and public works: and, above all, of suppressing with vigour the injustices and cruelties from which the people suffer.

The Committee regret that reports which they have recently received from several places and persons in Turkey confirm their fears that the improvement in the administration of the provinces, which they had hoped for and expected from the professions made by the Young Turks at the time of the Revolution, had not been realized, and that lately there has been little, if any, diminution of the evils complained of under the old régime. They fear that the Government of the Porte is still either unable or unwilling to carry out the Constitutional reforms so freely and fully promised by the leaders of the Revolution.

NOEL BUXTON, Chairman,

ARTHUR G. SYMONDS, Secretary.

For

Old Boys of Aligarh and Others.

General Stores.

Universal Suppliers, the William Whiteley of Moslem India.

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**Address :—General Stores,
Civil Lines, Aligarh.**

The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal.

Edited by Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

—Morris.

Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 7. Anna 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, February 17, 1912.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1.

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Government could repeal such a law. Religious freedom would be secured. Mr. Churchill emphasised that the military would be under Imperial control. He pointed out that the matter of finance was the most important question of all. He would not ask the views of Mr. Redmond, Sir Edward Carson or others. Each had his own opinion, but it was the Government's duty to decide on the question. Those wishing to wreck Home Rule would doubtless argue that once a National Government was created, the Imperial subsidy must cease and not a farthing of British money go to Ireland. That was not statesmanlike or patriotic.

All those who realised that a prosperous, loyal Ireland, lying like a breakwater over Great Britain in the Atlantic would be worth many divisions of the Fleet and the Army would not grudge the comparatively small sum required to give Ireland a good start and a fair opportunity to carry on her own administration. The Government intended to provide the long delayed social and economic prosperity. Mr. Churchill said that the financial proposals would give a fair start to the Irish Government. Invidious taxes could not be imposed upon Ulster though the Irish Parliament would have real control over finance. The Imperial Government would carry out the Land Purchase and Old Age Pension Acts. The Irish financial system must be consistent with the finances of the United Kingdom. The actual separation of Ireland from Great Britain was impossible. Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament would be reduced. In conclusion, Mr. Churchill declared that the Government was prepared to fight the matter through and asked for fair play from the Unionists.

Mr. Churchill said that the case for Home Rule rested on three main sets of arguments, the Imperial argument, the House of Commons argument, and the Irish argument. He laid special stress on the Imperial argument as the largest and widest. He said that the settlement of a long quarrel between the British Government and the Irish people would be to the British Empire a boon and a blessing, a wonderful reinforcement precious beyond compare. In their own island, the Irish race had dwindled while the populations of Europe overflowed. The population of Ireland ebbed away, but elsewhere all over the world the Irish held their own, and in every country where English was spoken, the Irish were a power, a power for good or for ill, a power to harm us or a power to help us, a power to unite us or a power to keep us asunder. "What can we say of those Irishmen," Mr. Churchill continued, "who, we are assured, are in their own island incapable of managing their own affairs, but who in every other part of the English-speaking world have won their way, out of all proportion to their numbers, to positions of trust, affluence and authority, particularly political authority?" Speaking as an English minister, I must say that on the whole, in varying degrees, no doubt with notable exceptions, they have been our enemies. They have been filled with feelings of resentment and anger against British power and name, and they have worked counter to our interests as the years have passed, especially since Mr. Gladstone rallied half the British nation to the Home Rule cause. Things have got better and a gentler feeling has supervened, but still Irishmen overseas have done us much harm in the past. They have been an adverse force in the Colonies. They have more than once unfavourably deflected the policy of the United States and they are now a very serious obstacle to friendship between England and America. We have got along despite all that. We have got along despite a great many things. I speak not only

The Week.

Home Rule.

MR. CHURCHILL arrived on the ground safely in a motor car, which was blocked for some time by large angry crowds, but the police succeeded in extricating it.

The ground was surrounded by infantry, cavalry and police, while other soldiers were stationed in the adjoining streets and fields with their arms piled. Mr. Churchill met with a rousing reception from a gathering of six thousand persons in the marquee, through which rain was pouring, rendering the ground a black bog.

The Nationalists in the vicinity displayed effigies swinging from ropes labelled "Londonderry and Carson, the Turncoats," while in the Orange quarter youths paraded with sticks and banners bearing the inscription "No Home Rule," and also carrying an effigy of Mr. Churchill.

Mr. Churchill, on rising, was received with cheers and the singing of "For he's a jolly good fellow." Sketching the outlines of the Home Rule Bill, he said it would be a measure harmonious with Imperial interests and creditable to its authors. Parliamentary business must be divided between Imperial and National. That was vital in modern communities. A measure applicable to Scotland and Wales was not applicable to Ireland, but the Government's plan would fit in with a general scheme of devolution and ultimate federation. Protestant fears, Mr. Churchill said, were groundless. The Irish Parliament and Senate would fairly represent minorities as well as majorities, and safeguards would be provided in that the Crown could refuse to consent to any unjust law. The Imperial

17th February,

to you but to the great audience in all parts of the Empire, to all those who follow the Home Rule cause, either on one side or the other? Only think if we had their aid instead of their enmity, their help instead of their opposition, how much smoother our path, how much quicker our progress, how much brighter our fortunes, what new possibilities would be opened, what old dangers vanish?

There is no final reason for this antagonism between races or countries. The Irish people are by character and tradition attached to monarchical institutions. The idea of the King not only of Great Britain but of Ireland is familiar and grateful to Irish minds. No natural barriers stand between the Irish people and the Throne. Here as elsewhere throughout the Empire the Crown may become the supreme central link of unity. Since his accession the King has travelled widely and reviewed his fleet and armies. He has been to Scotland and Wales and he has journeyed to the vast provinces of the Indian Empire. Many great and famous cities have rendered him allegiance. But it was Dublin, Catholic, Nationalist Dublin, that gave him the warmest welcome of all. It is this that makes me put my first question to earnest and generous minded Unionists in Ulster. Is it really necessary for your safety and welfare that this natural sentiment of Irish loyalty should be repulsed? Must the Empire be made for all time to stand out of all the advantages of reform? Are British Governments to be condemned to maintain a perpetual quarrel with the Irish nation, for it is a nation? Are British Governments to be compelled to govern them only by force as a subjugated race? Are we to be forbidden, on both sides, to achieve the friendship so full of hope and benefit for all? Surely, at the very least, it is incumbent on Ulster Unionists, if they take that view, to offer very grave and substantial reasons to make it clear to the British public and the Colonies, who are also inquiring, that they are not swayed by obstinacy or partisanship and to justify, if they can, with patience and heartsearchings, the attitude which attempts to bar the path at once to Irish hope and Imperial deeds.

For our part, we look forward to the time which has been long retarded but which we believe now to be near, when this island instead of being a disruptive force within the Empire will be transformed into a new centre of union, when the harsh and lamentable cry of reproach, which has so long jarred the concert of the Empire, will die away, when a creaking machinery by which hatred has been manufactured and preserved will be broken for ever, when from every country where our language and institutions are established, hands will be joined across the seas in peace and cordiality. Then, indeed, will be a victory to stand for ever with Trafalgar and Waterloo. Every part of the Empire would join in our rejoicing, every Parliament within its bounds and in the United States would approve and applaud our decision. Self-governing dominions would draw more trustfully towards the motherland, the difficulties of the federation of the Empire would be sensibly diminished by reconciliation between Great Britain and Ireland, and far wider even than the unity of the Empire, the great dream that could be dreamed of good relations between and the ultimate unity of the English-speaking people all over the world will be realised. Why should it not come? Why cannot this great settlement be made? Why cannot we all make friends? We have done it in Canada and South Africa and much perhaps has been accomplished during the last few months in Bengal. Meet the grievance, heal the quarrel, bury the hatchet, link interests, conciliate, consolidate and unify—thus and thus alone shall we be able to surmount the toils and perils which the future may have in store.

How often have we been reminded that a handful of Irishmen fought against us in the Boer War? Have we forgotten the brave Irishmen that never failed in their duty to the Queen and the Army? Why, in these days, when Irish Catholics are assailed with so much ill nature, are they never to be remembered too? I cannot help thinking of scenes, of which I was a witness, when the heights of Tugela were stormed, when Ladysmith was relieved. On the crest of the hill facing the fire of sixty guns; in a veritable whirlwind of exploding shells stood the valiant Boers and up the Boer slopes marched unflinchingly the Dublin and Inniskilling Fusiliers. That was a struggle of heroes ranged by fate to die on opposite sides. What a tragedy, what a cruel pity, that such noble breeds of men should be locked together in hateful carnage! We have made friends with our enemies. Can we not make friends with our comrades too? Can we not win them both and all within the shelter of the great mother Empire, which, for all the disparagement of modern times, still raises her broad shield against every foe that threatens and still keeps open what is perhaps upon the whole the surest road of human progress? That is the Imperial argument. To those whose minds are darkened with bigotry or to those less excusable, whose hearts are rank with faction, these arguments will not appeal but we believe that there are thousands of Protestants in Ulster, as there are tens of thousands of Unionists in England, to whom the Imperial aspect of the Irish question will be at least as important as the discussions about *se seorsamh* or *proprietary*.

Mr. Redmond said he accepted every word of Mr. Churchill's noble speech. When a Parliament was given to Ireland, there would be a clear understanding that the powers were not to be abused, otherwise the Imperial Government would be justified in interfering and bound to do so. He was confident that the Liberals would never become the instrument of the oppression of the Protestants of Ireland (Applause.) It was the duty of Ulster to help to settle the Irish question. In that sense he accepted Lord Randolph Churchill's words: "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right." Mr. Redmond protested against the arrogant claim of the Unionists to override the will of Ireland, Great Britain and the Empire.

Sir Edward Carson, in a speech from the balcony of Ulster Club, said there was no knowing what would have happened if the meeting had been held in Ulster Hall. The Unionists had cheerfully let Mr. Churchill go to the Nationalist quarter. Sir Edward declared that Belfast's behaviour had shown that Ulster men were orderly and disciplined which had inspired him with courage to fight.

In an interview Mr. Churchill said it was a splendid meeting. The wicked had digged a pit and had fallen into it themselves.

The Liberals offer congratulations on the triumph of the forces of disorder, which they say is a magnificent and unanswerable plea for Home Rule.

The Conservative papers declare that Mr. Churchill came and saw but did not conquer. They criticise what they describe as his failure to give a clear idea of the Bill and declare that he will not succeed any better than did Mr. Gladstone in carrying Home Rule by rhetoric.

The Master of Eliebank, speaking at Edinburgh, complained that the Conservatives never attacked Home Rule on its merits. Home Rule, he said, would be a triumph for the principle of democratic government and would give strength to the Empire where there was no weakness. Mr. Bonar Law in his speech of 26th January had not said a word to rebuke the Privy Councillors who had ostentatiously organised the rebellion and had declared their intention of preventing the public meeting in Belfast. The attempt to deny the right of free speech was unparalleled for the arrogance and deliberation with which it was made. The Master of Eliebank concluded by declaring that the fight for Home Rule was beginning in immensely improved conditions compared with the campaigns of 1838 and 1843.

At a conference of English Nonconformists on the 12th in London to discuss Home Rule, Sir Edward Carson said Home Rule meant the extinction of Protestantism in Ireland. No so-called guarantees could possibly prevent that. He was confident that Nonconformists in England would never desert their co-religionists.

Anglo-German Relations.

LORD HALDANE, who had an audience of the King on Tuesday, left for Berlin on the 7th, his sudden departure is occasioning much speculation.

The *Daily Mail* says the journey is connected with important political business and associates it with the audiences which Sir Edward Grey and Lord Lansdowne had of the King and with the speech of Mr. Lloyd George on the 3rd instant.

Lord Haldane on the 9th lunched with the German Emperor and Empress, sitting next to the Emperor. The Chancellor, Minister for War and Admirals von Tirpitz and Mueller were present.

The *Tatzsche Rundschau* says that important negotiations between Great Britain and Germany are in progress with a view to an Agreement by defining the two countries' spheres of economic and political interest throughout the world. The statement says: "Diplomats are now determining as a preliminary points where British and German interests clash."

Reuter wires from Paris on the 9th:—The newspapers here are much exercised about the visit of Lord Haldane to Berlin. Some fear that a new turn in British policy is about to take place, while others are confident that France will also benefit by any advantageous results which may accrue as a result of the visit.

Reuter wires from Berlin on the 9th:—The population is agog with an unsatisfied curiosity as to the purpose of Lord Haldane's visit. Interest in the opening of the Reichstag is suspended. Lord Haldane's hotel is besieged by journalists who are not content with the explanation that the object of the visit is private. Lord Haldane yesterday lunched with Dr. Von Bethmann Hollweg at the British Embassy. The *Daily Chronicle* is convinced that the visit, even if it is private, is a step towards an entente.

The *Daily Telegraph* is authorised by the Foreign Office to state that Lord Haldane as President of the Royal Commission to enquire into University education, has gone to Berlin to enquire specially into scientific education at the Universities, but as he is well known to many of the leading people in Germany he will doubtless have a general conversation on the political relations of the two countries. The *Daily Telegraph* has reason to believe that exaggerated importance is being attached to Lord Haldane's

visit to Berlin, and says that it is not anticipated that any result will follow except the creation of an atmosphere which will be more favourable to the cultivation of more cordial relations.

The *Berliner Tageblatt* states that Lord Haldane is authorised to inaugurate negotiations for the settlement of Anglo-German frontier questions in Africa and that it is possible that the cession of Walhach Bay will be discussed.

It says that England has for some time been endeavouring to improve Anglo-German relations. The Kaiser once remarked "The English would take a different view of things if their Ministers would take the trouble to visit us. My friend Haldane is best fitted for the task." The journal adds that this was reported in London and resulted in Lord Haldane's mission.

Reuter wires from Berlin — Lord Haldane dined with the Kaiser on the 8th. Among the guests were the Chancellor, Herr von Kiderlen-Wachter, Professor Harnack and several Generals.

Baron von Stumm, Director of the British Division of the Foreign Office, conferred with Lord Haldane on the 10th.

Reuter wires from Berlin — Lord Haldane lunched with Baron von Stumm on the 10th. He returns to London on the 11th.

Reuter learns that Great Britain has notified France and Russia that if Lord Haldane discusses political questions while in Berlin, the two countries will be kept informed of such discussions.

The Belgian periodical *Le Nouveau Géographique* says that the *poussards* stated to be proceeding between Britain and Germany relate largely to the island of Timor, half of which belongs to Portugal, and the neighbouring island of Amboina, which belongs entirely to Portugal, but in which Germany is greatly interested, Portugal receiving compensation.

Reuter wires from Berlin on the 12th — Lord Haldane and his brother left here yesterday. There was nobody at the station but a handful of journalists. The private character of the visit was thus emphasised to the end. More speculation has been aroused in German papers by the fact that Sir Ernest Cassel arrived in Berlin by the same train as Lord Haldane and left on Saturday after prolonged conferences with Lord Haldane.

A message to the *Daily Mail* says the correspondent has official authority for stating that the subject of naval armaments was not discussed by Lord Haldane with his hosts in any form. It was mutually agreed that the subject could not be debated so far as Germany was concerned. Interviewed by a party of journalists, Lord Haldane stated that he had found the friendliest feeling everywhere in Germany.

It is semi-officially stated at Berlin that Lord Haldane came to ascertain whether anything, and if so what, might be done to mitigate the undoubted tension between the two countries. The statement says it is unlikely that any definite agreements have been reached but is quite certain that the question of armaments was not raised. Indeed, it was impossible to find any formula upon which a serious discussion on the subject might be based. One must wait and see whether the information which Lord Haldane takes back will materialise into tangible proposals in the course of further diplomatic discussions. Anyhow, the statement concludes, Lord Haldane will do a service by dispelling Mr. Churchill's idea that the German navy is a luxury.

Lord Haldane spent a busy day in London on the 13th and had consultations first with Mr. Harcourt and then with Mr. Churchill, who afterwards conferred with Mr. Lloyd-George. He met the Cabinet in Downing Street in the evening.

Mr. Churchill and afterwards Lord Haldane had exceptionally prolonged audiences of the King on the 13th.

British Politics.

THEIR MAJESTIES were given a splendid ovation as they drove in State from Buckingham Palace to Westminster on the 14th to open Parliament. The weather was dull and dry. The usual brilliant scene in the House of Lords was somewhat dimmed by Court mourning. Peeresses wore black, only relieved by white plumes and veils.

In the Speech from the Throne the King said —

"Relations with foreign Powers continue to be friendly. A state of war between Italy and Turkey unfortunately still exists. My Government is ready, whenever a favourable opportunity occurs, to join other Powers in mediation with a view to terminate hostilities."

"The situation in Persia continues to engage the serious attention of my Ministers, who are in constant communication with the Russian Government regarding the Persian Government and the re-establishment of order and tranquillity. Papers will be laid upon the table as soon as possible."

"I trust that the crisis in China will soon be satisfactorily terminated by the establishment of a stable form of Government in conformity with the views of the Chinese people. My Government will continue to observe an attitude of strict non-intervention while

taking all necessary steps to protect British life and property. I fully recognise that the leaders on both sides in China have shown every desire to safeguard the lives and interests of foreigners resident in the Empire. Papers on the subject will be laid upon the table."

"I am glad to announce that the Opium Conference has arrived at an agreement."

The speech dwells on the Delhi Durbar, which, it says, furnished an overwhelming proof of the devotion and loyalty of the Princes, Nobles and People, and upon the spontaneous manifestations of affection and loyalty of all classes in Bombay and Calcutta. His Majesty continued. We were not less moved by the welcome accorded on our return Home and by the sympathy in the personal sorrow which has overtaken my family.

The speech trusts that the transfer of the Capital to Delhi and other changes will promote the prosperity of India.

I view with grave concern, His Majesty continued, the prospect of disputes between employers and workmen and firmly trust that a reasonable spirit will prevail on both sides and avoid developments which would seriously affect the trade of the country and welfare of the people.

The speech in conclusion mentioned forthcoming legislation in connection with Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, electoral reform, and certain social and industrial reforms, and a bill to carry out the recommendation of the Imperial conference for the amendment of a consolidation law relating to British Nationality.

Sir Harry Verney moved the address in the Commons, Mr. Gladstone seconding.

In the House of Lords the address was moved by Lord Sheffield and seconded by Lord Furness.

Mr. Bonar Law rejoiced at the success of Their Majesties' visit to India and dealt with the transfer of the Government to Delhi. Mr. Bonar Law considers that the expenditure would be far greater than was estimated. He emphasised the undesirability of displaying to the Indians lack of continuity of policy. There was much to be said for and against the scheme, but the manner in which it had been carried out, he said, was utterly unconstitutional and indefensible.

Mr. Bonar Law said that under three successive Viceroys, the Partition of Bengal had been accepted as a settled fact, first by those approving and then by those disapproving. If it was necessary to reverse the policy then it should have been done when the Government came into office. He did not say the change was not right but there was a deal to be said on either side.

Mr. Asquith endorsed Mr. Bonar Law's note of personal congratulation of Their Majesties. The Government took full responsibility for the Durbar announcements. They did not involve the reversal of the policy of the Partition of Bengal but re-arrangement in the light of experience, which it was believed would increasingly commend itself. With reference to the charge of unconstitutionality, he asked was the House of Commons consulted to reference to the Partition?

In his speech in the House of Lord, Lord Lansdowne said the success of the King's visit to India exceeded all expectations. It was a wonderful achievement and probably unequalled in the history of the Royal House. Their Majesties had faced risks, particularly real in Eastern countries, which were the homes of fanaticism, with an intrepidity commanding admiration and intensifying Their Majesties' welcome home. The idea that the success of the visit was mainly due to the announcement made at Delhi underestimated the effect made on the people of India by Their Majesties' demeanour and personal character.

Lord Lansdowne went on to say, however, that regarding the policy announced at Delhi, the Opposition would have something to say on a future occasion. Referring to the Government of India Bill, His Lordship said that the House would be placed in an embarrassing position if it were told that the sanction of Parliament were necessary to give effect to that policy and simultaneously told that what it was asked to consider was not a proposal but a policy to which His Majesty's word had been irrevocably pledged from the Throne at Delhi.

Lord Crewe paid an eloquent tribute to Their Majesties, the success of whose tour was mainly due to Their Majesties' own devotion, fearlessness, simplicity and accessibility. They thus rendered a service to the Empire. He also dealt with Lord Haldane's visit to Berlin and with Mr. Asquith's statement.

Lord Crewe said that the King's visit to India was an unalloyed triumph from his landing to his departure. Every one recognised what thanks were due to the Viceroy for the part he took in the preparation for Their Majesties' welcome, to the Durbar Committee and to those in Bombay and Calcutta for the endless pains they took to devise the means of welcoming Their Majesties. "I must also say," Lord Crewe continued, "how much of the success of the visit was due to Their Majesties themselves. Their entire forgetfulness of everything except the performance of their State duties, many involving much physical fatigue, their complete

accessibility to all sorts of people in India and, most of all, perhaps the air of fearless and unaffected enjoyment with which they entered into the popular side of the pageant of which they were the chief figures, all contributed more than anything to the marvellous success of the visit. Without in any way impairing that tremendous feeling of awe and reverence, they created about themselves an atmosphere of simple human fearlessness and simplicity and thus rendered a service to the Empire which could have been performed by none of their subjects however distinguished.' He believed that the effect on India was no transient one but one which with the love and admiration which Their Majesties had inspired would sink deep into the hearts of the Indian people.'

As regards the administrative changes Lord Crewe thought it better to wait and treat the matter as a whole at an early day when there would be an opportunity to discuss them in all their bearings.

Mr Bonar Law paid a tribute to Mr Churchill's recent speech on the Navy and said that if the same spirit animated his policy, then he could rely on the support of the Unionists. Mr Bonar Law was of opinion that the insurance scheme would never be carried out and retorted to an interpolation from Mr Asquith by declaring that the Unionists were prepared to repeal the Insurance Bill. Mr Bonar Law combated Home Rule and further made a pointed reference to Lord Haldane's "mysterious" mission.

Mr Asquith said Mr Bonar Law in referring to Lord Haldane's visit to Germany has used the expression "limelight." As a rule, the charge against Government, and particularly against Sir Edward Grey, had been that of furtiveness and secrecy and of subterranean diplomacy. It was rather a relief to find that the Government was carrying on diplomatic proceedings in the "limelight." This, however, was a most serious matter, and he desired to use the language of seriousness as well as of home regarding it.

Mr Asquith said it was undoubtedly a most lamentable fact that the traditional feelings of Anglo-German friendship and good will had been seriously overclouded for the last few months. When the atmosphere of suspicion was once created, fiction readily displaced facts and legends, which at other times had been dismissed as incredible, were accepted and widely believed. He had been told, for instance, that there were masses of people in Germany who firmly believed that at some time in summer or autumn Great Britain had meditated and had even prepared an attack on Germany. Also that Great Britain's armaments had been carefully calculated with that object in view.

He was almost ashamed to have to contradict so wild and extravagant a fiction. (Cheers.) It was pure invention. There was not a shadow of foundation for it nor was there anything anywhere at any time of an aggressive or provocative character in the movement of the Fleets. The very fact, however, that such rumours could find credence in the minds of many intelligent and far-minded people was surely in itself a significant and most regrettable symptom.

Both the British and German Governments had been and were animated by a sincere desire to bring about a better state of understanding, and in the course of the last month Government had indications that the visit of a Minister to Berlin would not only not be unwelcome (Cheers) but might facilitate the attainment of the common object. Lord Haldane was in any case going sooner or later to Germany on business in connection with the London University Commission. In the circumstances, they thought it well that Lord Haldane should hasten his visit and take advantage of the suggestion of friendly confidential communication with those controlling and guiding German policy.

That involved on both sides a departure from conventional methods, but on both sides it was felt that the frankness of statement and communication would be easier if, in the first instance, it was a question of informal, non-committal conversation rather than full-dress diplomatic negotiations. (Cheers.) Those expectations had been completely realised. There was perfect freedom of statement and frankness of explanation over a wide area of discussion. The very fact of such an interchange of views under such conditions ought in itself to dispel suspicion wherever it still prevailed, that Government contemplated aggressive designs, but he was happy to say that that in itself was a great gain.

He earnestly hoped, however, that he might go further and say he genuinely believed that the conversations might have more than this negative result. He could not at this stage make any predictions or enter into matters in detail, but he would say this, that in the course of Lord Haldane's visit there was unmistakable evidence of a sincere and resolute desire on both sides for the establishment of a better Anglo-German feeling without either side in any way sacrificing or impairing the special relationships in which each stood to other Powers. (Cheers.) It was in that spirit and in the fresh light that this interchange of views afforded that both Governments were now engaged in a careful survey of practical possibilities. (Cheers.) He heartily endorsed Mr Bonar Law's remark that in

matters of that kind they must possess and exercise the virtue of patience. (Cheers.)

The House of Lords has voted the address.

Lord Lansdowne urged caution in regard to any mediation in the Turko-Italian hostilities. Lord Lansdowne declared that in the efforts to dispel misunderstanding, such as had recently brought us to the eve of a serious quarrel, Government would have the Opposition's support. If Lord Haldane had succeeded in contributing to such an end and had been able to take anything in the nature of an olive branch the Opposition would congratulate him heartily as a friend. Lord Lansdowne, in conclusion, described the programme outlined in the speeches as preposterous.

It is officially stated that an Opposition amendment to the address will be moved on the 19th instant. It amounts to a censure on the Government for proceeding to legislation upon great constitutional questions before carrying out the pledges for the reform of the House of Lords. A member of the back bench will move a tafif amendment, which will be supported by Mr. Bonar Law and his colleagues if there is opportunity for discussion.

In the House of Commons, the debate on the address unexpectedly collapsed following upon a heated passage-at-arms between Mr. Asquith and Mr. Bonar Law, culminating in Mr. Asquith's indignant repudiation of charges of corruption. He said that these were the most serious that could be brought against a democratic Government and Mr. Bonar Law was bound to prosecute them on the floor of the House. Mr. Asquith challenged the Opposition to move an amendment to the address. A long pause ensued, broken by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald moving an adjournment.

There was an excited scene in the lobbies, the discussion chiefly centring round Mr. Bonar Law's attitude to the Insurance Act. His undertaking to repeal it evoked tumultuous cheers from the Liberal benches, which Mr. Asquith emphasised, dramatically exclaiming, "Now we know that to repeal the Insurance Act is the first plank in the platform of New Tory Leader."

Mr. Bonar Law's letter of explanation is described by the Liberals as a case of second thoughts and an attempt to remedy a big blunder.

The Unionist papers deny that the collapse of the debate was due to consternation of the Unionists at the result of the Leader's statement on the Insurance Act. They declare that Unionists were waiting for Mr. Ramsay Macdonald to move the Labour amendment. Moreover, they say, Bonar Law's attitude was in accordance with Mr. Forster's amendment to the Insurance Bill in December.

Mr. Bonar Law has written to the Press explaining that his statement that he was ready to repeal the Insurance Act meant that if there were an opportunity of dealing with it immediately. Once the Act was in operation, it would only be dealt with by means of drastic amendments.

In the House of Commons on the 15th, Mr. Asquith announced that he hoped the Budget would be introduced before Easter.

Lord Crewe will introduce the Government of India Bill at the earliest possible date and Lord Curzon will initiate a general discussion on the changes announced at Delhi next Wednesday.

Dealing with China, Lord Crewe paid a tribute to Sir John Jordan, British Minister, who, he said, throughout the difficult times had shown tact and ability of which it was impossible to speak too highly.

China

REUTERS wires from Peking on the 13th.—It appears that the recent Edicts were arranged by Yuan-Shi-Kai. They are regarded as a wonderful compromise and have caused profound relief to every one. It is hoped that their contents will satisfy all parties.

The Edict accepting the Republic says: "It is evident that the majority of people are in favour of a Republic, and from preference of the people's hearts and will is heaven discernible. How could we oppose the desires of millions for the glory of one family? Therefore the Dowager-Empress and Emperor vest their sovereignty in the people and order Yuan-Shi-Kai to confer with the Republicans on the methods of forming a great Republic which will unite Manchus and Chinese, Mongols, Muhammadans and Tibetans."

REUTERS wires from Nanking on the 13th:—The Republicans insist on the capital being Nanking. Their constitution proposed follows the lines of the American model, except that the President and the Vice-President will be elected by Congress. It provides religious freedom and establishment of conscription.

REUTERS wires from Wei-Hai-Wei on the 14th.—That there has been a local insurrection in the neutral territory of Wenteng. It is anti-revolutionary in character. Hundreds are being tortured and killed. Chinese without queues are especially liable to slaughter. Marines from the cruiser Kent are guarding the British boundary pending the arrival of the Inniskillings.

Yuan-Shi-Kai having issued a manifesto announcing his appointment as organiser of the Republic, Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen has telegraphed,

refusing to recognise the appointment of the Throne and asking Yuan-Shi-Kai to come to Nanking immediately or send a plenipotentiary.

Keuter wires from Tokio on the 14th.—The Chinese revolutionaries have ignored the protest of the Japanese Governor-General of Kwantung against the violation of the neutrality of the Peninsula and a regiment of Infantry has been despatched from Port Arthur to enforce neutrality.

New Governor of Madras.

Official information has reached the Governor-General, Lord Pentland has been appointed to that succeed Lord Carmichael as Governor of Madras. The date of his arrival in India will no doubt depend to some extent upon that of the passing of the Bill in Parliament dealing with the administrative changes announced at Delhi, but it may be taken as probable that he will reach India in April.

New L.G. of the United Provinces.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING-EMPEROR has been pleased to approve of the appointment of the Hon Sir James Meston, K.C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India, in the Finance Department, to be Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces in succession to the Hon Sir John Hewitt, G.C.S.I., when the latter retires in July next.

Morocco.

REUTER wires from Paris, on the 14th — The Senate has ratified the Franco-German Treaty by 212 votes to 42.

M. Poincaré, Prime Minister, made the vote a question of confidence in the Government. He said the Treaty was not perfect, but that its ratification was urgent. Its rejection would weaken the prestige of France and do hurt to her alliances, and would especially greatly surprise England, which had greeted the conclusion of the Treaty with marked satisfaction.

M. Clemenceau denounced the Treaty, which he said was concluded "under the guns at Agadir."

Sir Edward Grey.

SIR EDWARD GREY has been appointed a Knight of the Garter. The papers point out that the honour conferred on Sir Edward Grey is a signal mark of Royal confidence, he being the first commoner to be so honoured since Sir Robert Walpole.

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Amount received during the week ... 1,218 11 0

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TETE À TETE



We owe to some of our readers an apology and a confession. We were painfully conscious of it, even before Lack of Variety some of them mentioned it to us most courageously and after quite a complimentary preface, that during the last few months the *Comrade* has lost a good deal of its variety. Of course, we never guaranteed that its readers would find in the columns of the *Comrade* a variety entertainment, but we had certainly intended to sugar coat its bitter pills and interlard its thick chunks of dry bread with the help of its purely hedonistic and irresponsible adjunct, *Gup*. And this intention we have not been able to carry out quite as consistently as we had hoped and still devoutly wish to do. But we are such hardened sinners that we are loth to plead guilty even to the soft impeachments of those who may not unnaturally have been expected to provide for us a *dies irae* after our recent outspokenness as our no less outspoken contemporary, the *Empire*, puts it. Italy has sins enough to answer for, and the Russians are not only deeply in the debt of French money lenders, but have run up a long account in the Hcreaster also, which the expulsion of the American Jews cannot wholly wipe away. But if it is a sin to be a kill-joy to thousands of people who have never hurt Italy and who have called the Russians bad names only because all loyal subjects were hitherto expected to do that, then we say that in another and a hotter world, both Italy and Russia would get as warm a reception as the late lamentable capital of India is giving just now to those whose only sin is that they cannot call Delhi a charnel and are not afraid of the serpents in the new bason of Imperialism. We would not quarrel with such of our readers as have a grievance against us, but we shall only ask them a simple question. "Man to man, can you expect us to chatter and crack jokes, when not so very far away the chatter of rifles and the crack of guns is attuned in a very different key? Can you think that we are capable of rattling off smile provoking pleasantries when the electro-magnetic ear of human sympathy can distinctly hear the death-rattle of that rare being, a twentieth century martyr? Can we be lively when an ancient kingdom is gasping for breath before life is extinct for ever? So much for ourselves, but what of you? Is it nothing to all ye that pass by?" It is sad that a man broken down in spirit and totally shattered in health sought relief from a doctor, who prescribed for the morose patient an hour or two at a theatre where Grimaldi was putting with his humour the sides of his hearers. It is related that the unfortunate patient turned round to his physician and quietly announced, "I am Grimaldi." We must confess at once that we are not such consummate actors ourselves. Such a mime is beyond our powers. We cannot even jest and frolic an hour upon the stage when we are so sick at heart, and if our readers cannot share our sorrow they may at least bear a little longer with us. The speech of Mr. Asquith about Persia and the advice of Lord Lansdowne that intervention in Tripoli should not rashly be attempted, give us hope that it will not be for long that we shall suffer this sorrow. After all,

باقی سببت دار باقی

which we may very, very freely render as, "Long live the *Comrade* and long live its liveliness!"

IT WAS only a few months ago that we welcomed the appointment of Lord Carmichael as the Governor of A New Satrap. Madras, and now comes news of the appointment of his successor Lord Cumichael seems to have won golden opinions everywhere in Madras, so much so that there was some protest that Madras should not be robbed of her new Governor. But we are sure that the good people of Madras would recognise that the task of ruling a re-united Bengal calls for exceptional talent and they would not grudge the gain of

Bengal even if it entails some loss to Madras. But the Southern Presidency is not in the least likely to lose. In Baron Pentland they will not get a mere limb of the British aristocracy, disposed to regard his tenure of office as a lengthened picnic, and with little beyond his good breeding to recommend him. Lord Pentland ought to be an educationist, being Vice-President of the Committee on Scottish education. He has also had considerable experience of administration, having been Secretary for Scotland since 1905. What is more, he has been follower of Lord Rosebery in the matter of recognising his civic no less than his political duties, for he has been for three years a London County Councillor also. Speaking only the other day at Edinburgh, Lord Rosebery had said that any reflecting mind could point out the enormous advantage that there was in local service, where one could live at home and enjoy one's own neighbourhood and the company of one's own lifelong friends in working for results which one saw immediately fulfilled all around one, as compared with political service, which occupied one in a close and often intolerable metropolis, co-operating nominally with many with whom one politically differed, for purposes which one was not always likely to see realized in one's lifetime, and which it was not always certain that one particularly wished to see fulfilled. That he should put comprehensively as the difference between local public service and political service. There were daring and ambitious spirits wishing to mix in the turmoil of the world and raise themselves high above the common herd who would always prefer the last, but the tranquil and contented philosopher would always prefer the first. Only, local service in Lord Pentland's case did occupy him "in a close and often intolerable metropolis"—which, by the way, makes that service all the more creditable to him—and he would have to plead guilty to the charge of being among the "daring ambitious spirits wishing to mix in the turmoil of the world," for in spite of having been unsuccessful in seeking a seat in Parliament in 1886—after which the pursuit of "the tranquil and contented philosopher" attracted him—he sought it successfully in 1892, when he seems to have left the London County Councillorship. For three years he served as Member for Dumbartonshire, and when unseated, he went to Canada as Secretary to the Governor-General for two years, returning after this fresh experience to mix once more in the same "turmoil," and compete successfully for a seat in Parliament, which he held for 12 years as Member for Fofurshire. While we agree with Lord Rosebery in the praise of local service, and would commend it to the labour of our own educated countrymen who are not disposed to rub shoulders with a class of people that now seem to monopolise civil offices, and to "ride off" the official Chairman—that supremely despotic though often very efficient mandarin of the Municipal and District Boards we must say we rejoice to find that Lord Pentland's experience is not confined to City lamps and sewage, and that he has not remained the contented and tranquil philosopher of Lord Rosebery's idyll. India owes much thanks to the Liberal Ministry that has refused to insult it with sending out amiable nonentities to be its Governors, and though neither Lord Pentland nor Lord Carmichael is the first M.P. to be sent out to rule in India, two such appointments coming so close to each other indicate that the Liberal Government realises that representative institutions must become increasingly important in India, and that it is necessary to send out Governors who are used to "the turmoil of the world," and are not likely to be shocked and have a fit of "blues" the moment there is any strong criticism of Government measures. Parliamentary life may not make a man wiser, but it certainly thickens his cuticle, and that is no small gain in practical politics.

Sir James Meston. It is no exaggeration to say that the news of Sir James Meston's appointment as the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, which had long been wished

for and, in view of some keen competition, awaited with much interest, was received with great relief followed by a good deal of rejoicing. We all know how well he is spoken of by his appreciative and liberal minded chief, the Honourable Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, and everywhere in official circles he is regarded as an ideal Civilian. But what is still more satisfactory, he is universally admired by the non-official members of the Legislative Council, whom he has not only treated with the utmost courtesy but also unsparingly assisted. With a simplicity of character and charm of manner he combines great business shrewdness, and few know how strenuously he has been working. Sir James has been for the greater part of his official career in the Secretariat. But the people of Rohilkhand have not forgotten the unassuming, urbane "Junt" who was known as "Mishton Saheb," and when he is rid of the cartload of files through which a Secretary has to go, he will find himself in the midst of friends who would not need so ardent a courting, nor be so exacting in their demands as those blue devils, the files and despatch boxes labelled "Immediate." But habits once formed are not easily changed, and Sir James's application and industry would only be directed into a new and more human channel. That he will succeed appears as obvious as anything which can best be judged five years later, for apart from

his experience in the United Provinces, he has widened his knowledge and sympathies in South Africa, where he successfully laid the foundation of a re-organization of its Civil Service, a task in which a Civilian successor of his, who is himself a Colonial, proved anything but a success. But one thing is certain. The finances of the United Provinces would feel the hand of an expert in finance, and though, like Sir Edward Baker, he may sigh for the lost opportunity of making a more liberal Provincial Settlement for the Province over which he is soon after made to rule, the bloated figures of all spending departments which show reckless expenditure would be dispensed a liberal dose of financial Antipon. But we do wish Sir James may follow the example of Sir Edward, and be equally successful in getting a larger allotment. It is sheer cruelty to a Province which is admittedly backward in education to make it the only exception to the general rule of a four-eighths allotment of Land Revenue. Provincial satraps who have had to fix the Provincial Settlements of their satrapies as Member or Secretary in the Finance Department are, no less than non-officials who join the Government by direct recruitment, in the position of well-meaning ladies with a past. The words and deeds of other days come home to roost, and we fear before very long Sir James Meston's Provincial Settlement would come "to plague the inventor." But for our part, we promise to let him off very lightly if he comes to beg where once he could have commanded.

لے کر میں تو کہاں کہوں میں اپنے
(Take our oath for it if ever we say, "Did we not tell you so!")

It is with great relief that we read the following in our Hare Street contemporary.—A representative of the **Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson** Englishman called upon the Finance Minister yesterday with regard to the strong rumour alluded to by the Statesman that he intended to shortly retire on the ground of ill-health. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson in reply to queries said "I have read the statement to which you allude, and which appears in to-day's Statesman with considerable surprise. Perhaps the marked and uniform courtesy which the English and Indian Press in India has accorded me has spoilt me, but I must say that I think it would have been only courteous of the editor of the Statesman if he had done me the honour to ask me whether there was any foundation for what he calls a 'strong rumour' in regard to myself, before giving prominent publicity to it. The rumour is devoid of all foundation. It is my present intention to complete my term of office in India and to continue to do my best to serve a country and a people to whom I have become deeply attached." It is not only that Sir Guy has become deeply attached to the people of this country, for they claim—and we vouch for the truth thereof—that they have become equally attached to Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson. It will indeed be a sad day when the time comes for him to depart from India, and we have no wish to hasten the sadness of farewell.

Our opinions on the subject of the proposed Dacca University have been hailed by some who seldom agreed with us with such evident jubilation, and read by others who so frequently received approvingly our views on public affairs.

with such painful surprise that we confess we would have seriously begun to think we had said something particularly foolish. But, although we had taken care to explain that under the peculiar circumstances—which were not of our creation—our examination of the Government announcement could only be cursory and would be far from exhaustive, our views were not formed equally hastily, nor, we may now confess, under the stress of even such excitement as the circumstances in which the Government announced its intentions. In the first place, we must explain that our leading articles in the last two issues have not been directed against the promised University as such, but against its being debited to the long-suffering Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal. In the second place, we must say that we are not without our misgivings that the University at Dacca may help to cut off the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal from the Moslem University, and to choke the channel of Eastern Bengal charity running in the direction of Aligarh after watering the withering crops of that region itself. Aligarh must remain the core of Moslem India and blood must flow to the heart of Islam through the arteries before it can flow back to the various limbs.

میرا بھر کی جانِ حاصل کی جائیں * جس کی وجہ سے
(Clouds must pour themselves on the desert. What boots it if they pour on the sea?) It is true that Eastern Bengal, with all its superfluous moisture, is still a howling wilderness in the matter of education and educational endowments, and that it must pour all it can into itself. But the child of to-day hopes to be the adult of to-morrow, and who knows that when education has once fitted the millions of Bengal to take their proper place in the life of the land, they may not rescue Aligarh if need be, even from insolvency, and play the part of the Roman daughters that suckled her

own aged sire. All that matters is the recognition of the relationship, and His Excellency will do a service not only to the Mussalmans but to the Government itself if he takes an early opportunity of making it clear to the Constitution Committee of the Moslem University that Aligarh shall have power to affiliate other institutions of like nature, if conducted on the residential lines of Aligarh and in the estimation of the Chancellor qualified to rank as its branches. We understand that the Secretary of State for India has already communicated in a general way his opinion on the Moslem University Constitution, and there should be no difficulty in arresting further uneasiness in Moslem circles. We may also add that little encouragement was given by officials in Eastern Bengal to the Moslem University scheme, and since the Government of India issued a Press *communiqué* prohibiting official participation in meetings called in aid of the project, an impression unfortunately prevails that Government does not very much favour it. We think we can say that whatever particular Local Governments may think, this impression is extremely unjust to the Government of India. All the same it is there, and its being a mistaken impression makes it all the more necessary that Government should speedily correct it by introducing the Moslem University Bill at an early date, and in the meantime announcing that Government officials could even collect funds for this purpose outside their official jurisdiction. The third important consideration is that although the creation of a teaching University at the very doors of the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal is bound to lessen the value of another teaching University at Aligarh, that is no reason why those who advocate the latter should come in the way of the former. For our part, we wish every University in India was a teaching University, and if the creation of fresh Universities means more education or better education, we shall continue to accord them a warm and a cordial welcome. In the next place, we have already admitted our readiness to admit that the people of Eastern Bengal would receive greater consideration for their special requirements than they have been doing at Calcutta. If Job Charnock could know how this swampy hamlet has acted as the breeding ground of a class of people that are always bent on reducing the vitality of others to the lowest ebb, we have no doubt he would, to some slight extent at least, regret his creation. We are far from ignoring the many aspects of Calcutta that endear it to people and that have made it one of the greatest cities of the British Empire. But it has acted as a Ulus tree for all undergrowth, and the figures which His Excellency the Viceroy quoted in his reply to the Anti-Partitionists *Ridwan* are convincing proof that education would prosper in Eastern Bengal much more if that region was not left to the tender mercies of Calcutta. To-day there are 2,500 College students in Eastern Bengal and Assam as against some 1,700 in 1906, and the annual expenditure on higher education is now much more than 3½ lakhs as compared with a little over a lakh and a half five years ago. Not a single aided College existed when Bengal was partitioned, but when it is re-united it has four such Colleges. Here we may say that a new University does not necessarily mean more Colleges, more scholars, more scholarships and more expenditure. In India we must dissociate from our minds the idea that a University is the chief instrument of promoting higher education. All that the University used to do here was to fix the curricula of studies and to examine candidates in the courses fixed by itself. Since the passing of the Universities Act, the Universities have also begun to send out inspectors to see whether proper provision is also made or not for imparting instruction to its would-be examinees in the courses it has fixed. The promotion of higher as of other education is mainly in the hands of the head of a Government Department, known as the Director of Public Instruction, who is now a subordinate of the Honourable Member of Education also. The creation of another University in India on the same lines would no doubt create hopes of an improvement in the management of examinations when fewer persons are to be examined than before, and it would also raise expectations that in fixing the curricula more attention would be paid to the wishes of the people living in the area to be served by the new University. As for the inspection of Colleges, Government institutions were never likely to arrest the critical gaze of these gentlemen, but it is quite likely that more efficiency would be demanded from aided and unaided private Colleges than before, if not also a hide-bound uniformity. So far as the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal are concerned, the only special benefit that would accrue to them from a University at Dacca—judged merely according to the announcement of His Excellency a fortnight ago—would be an alteration in the Arabic and Persian courses in accordance with their wishes. But, as the Calcutta deputation of yesterday suggested, this could have been done by the exercise of the powers of nomination of Fellows possessed by the Government. Only, the Calcutta gentlemen forgot that the new University is a compliment to their prowess, for Governments in these days have a knack of bowing low before the blast of agitators, and the University at Dacca is hoped to be more sheltered from such storms than the one in Calcutta. There is therefore no reason to refuse the University at Dacca, even though a sixth University of the type of the existing five can do little by itself, and although it cannot in any way be accepted as a compensation to

the Mussalmans of that sequestered, still-vexed region. This latter point has been made conspicuous by the absence in the resolution of the Eastern Bengal Moslem League of anything indicating that the Mussalmans regard it as a special boon to themselves, and we trust that they will not be asked to give the Government a receipt in full settlement of their account.

A MORE hopeful promise made by H. E. the Viceroy at Dacca was that a special officer would be kept for Partial Disclosures. supervising education in Eastern Bengal and Assam. If that officer is to have the independent powers of a Director, the evil effect of the revocation of the Partition is likely to be felt as little as possible in the matter of education. Apart from the framing of educational courses and schemes with reference to local conditions, the rise in the number of pupils from some seven lakhs to about nine and a half lakhs, the increase of expenditure from provincial revenues from eleven lakhs to twenty-two lakhs and from local sources from about half a crore to about three quarters of crore, show a remarkably rapid rate of progress, and when we consider that private institutions had the grants-in-aid raised from 1½ to 3½ lakhs, we have reason to declare that the Partition was a blessing to the whole of the new Province which is now to be re-united to the old. The annulment of the Partition endangers this progress, but the least that could be done for Eastern Bengal was to retrain its separate Director. In fact, we think it a great mistake not to have mentioned these figures and given these assurances in the Despatch of the 25th August last which the Government of India sent to the Secretary of State. That would have prevented much uneasiness and many misgivings. But even this is no adequate compensation to the Mussalmans for the loss of their majority. An officer specially held responsible for Eastern Bengal education would have to devote special attention to the education of the Mussalmans there, for the number of Hindu pupils cannot indefinitely be increased, and if an increase has to be shown as an indication of administrative success, the condition of the Mussalmans must be improved. To that extent the Mussalman must indirectly benefit, and it is hard to reconcile a desire to benefit the Mussalmans educationally with the outcry of the Calcutta Deputation that "there would be a general feeling that the heavy sacrifices which Bengal had to make (*An enumeration thereof would be an interesting disclosure*) for the revocation of the Partition have been unavailing in putting an end to the evils which it had brought into existence." If the evils which the Partition had brought into existence have been increased of 35 per cent. in the number of pupils in schools and 50 per cent. in the colleges, of cent. per cent. in the expenditure on schools from provincial, and 50 per cent. from local sources, of about 150 per cent. in the expenditure on colleges and last, but not least, of 150 per cent. in the grants-in-aid to private institutions, then the patients in Eastern Bengal would not wish to be cured, and healthy people in other parts of India would wish they had half the Ebassarne disease. So far as the Mussalmans are concerned, the Government have not explained what they intend to do to meet their special requirements, and Lord Hardinge still seems to leave their case to Lord Carmichael. But one good thing which the fear of a University at Dacca has done is to make the Calcutta gentlemen commit themselves to the doctrine that "the whole province would welcome the grant of special facilities for the spread of education among Muhammadans in the shape of endowments and a more liberal award of scholarships." We hope the Government would take these gentlemen at their word, and do justice to claims of Moslem education both in Western Bengal and Eastern Bengal, and reform, enlarge and endow more liberally the Madrasas at Calcutta, Hooghly, Dacca, and Chittagong. We understand that special allotments for Moslem Education are under contemplation, and when that project materializes, we hope the "growing and visible desire among the Hindu and Moslem populations to live in the old and long standing relations of mutual amity and concord which recent events had tended to upset" would bear the strain of promised Moslem emancipation. We are, however, confident that if the Mussalmans do get such a "boon," they would not only ram but pour their thanks on the Government of India. Hitherto the Government have kept their projects, the best even more than the worst, in the purdah, and when a veiled lady chooses to disclose no more than her henna-tinted finger tips, in the East at least she does not expect to hear rapturous odes on the surpassing loveliness of her carefully muffled face.

We DESIRE to give prominence to the following letter which the Right Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ameer Ali had addressed on the 11th January to the *Pioneer*, and which appears in that journal a month later, not only without any expression of contradiction but also without any comment:—"My attention has been drawn to an article in the issue of the *Pioneer* of the 7th December last in which you comment on the views I expressed on the Persian crisis to a representative of *The Manchester Guardian*. Within certain limits imposed by the law of libel it is open to every news-

17th February.

paper to place its own interpretation on any man's words according to its bent. But even within those limits it is not justified, by the ordinary canons of fair play, to import into them meanings or motives which are utterly baseless. It would now serve no useful purpose to deal with the subject matter of your criticism. I cannot, however, allow it to pass altogether unchallenged, for I consider any publicist seeking by veiled threats or insinuations to deter fellow-subjects from calling attention in the public interest to important considerations is doing a positive disservice to the Empire. Fortunately the intolerant view that only certain class among His Majesty's subjects is entitled to express opinions on questions of policy affecting the Moslem peoples is not shared by responsible statesmen. So far as I am concerned I feel it my duty to express freely what I know or believe to be to the benefit of the Empire. From this duty I shall not be turned aside either by hope of favour or fear of reproach." We had ourselves written on the subject of the *Pioneer's* mischievous note in our issue of the 9th December and need say no more about the matter at present. All reasonable men would appreciate Mr Ameer Ali's point of view and admire the dignified and extremely moderate tone of his letter. In the first place, we must all fight against, and give no quarter to the strange though not unfamiliar doctrine that none but white men have any business to express an opinion on the foreign policy of the Empire to which their attachment is sought, and in the next place, we should expose the conscious fallacy that friendly warnings of danger are hostile threats of revolt. If a Government does not care to hear even friendly warnings, its days must indeed be numbered, and if warnings can only be conveyed in the cool penetralia of official residences, all newspapers at least must shut up shop. Every paper cannot afford to keep a seasoned editor posted in Calcutta and Simla ante-chambers of the great, and some still regard such tactics as below the dignity of journalism.

Mr Asquith in the recent debate in the House of Commons while explaining the Government policy in Persia, said that "a not inconsiderable number of

Russian troops had already been withdrawn

The Government was given to understand that the withdrawal of the whole was not only contemplated but was in process of being carried out." We are sure the words of the Premier will be received with much satisfaction by all those anxious for the free and ordered development of Persia. Even from the Russian standpoint there exists no plausible pretext for the continued occupation of the Northern provinces. In spite of the massacres and indiscriminate murders, and the wanton and aggressive assaults committed by a brutal soldiery on the life, honour and liberty of civil population, there has been absolute peace and quiet and the people appear to have comported themselves with marvellous self-restraint under such great provocation. There is, therefore, no disorder to be prevented, and we hope the British Government has really strong reasons to believe that the Persian territory will be completely evacuated. But will evacuation leave no trace behind? Will Persia be what she was before? For it there can now be no return to the *status quo*. With Persia still dependent and not in the actual possession of her sovereign rights, evacuation would mean simply the removal of an outward symbol of foreign domination, while the liberty and independence of the Persian Government has been inwardly fettered and maimed. The Mejlis was unceremoniously dismissed by the Regent at the bidding of the Russian Minister at Teheran. We do not know whether the Constitution for which the people fought so long and at so great a sacrifice and which they had won from selfish despots bent on selling their country to the highest bidder in the international market, has also become a dead letter and ceased to be with the Mejlis. British Ministers, in addition to the *Times*, have more than once hinted at the creation of a "stable" Government for Persia. We have so far failed to understand what constitutes the element of stability in these structural processes. Perhaps the British and Russian representatives at Teheran may be called upon to assume new advisory roles, and the Persian Government may be obliged to take their "advice" in all matters of importance. If this is what is meant by stability, if the Persian Government is to be deprived of its sovereignty and made to depend for its existence on foreign advice, if the Persian constitution is to be destroyed and the Mejlis to be suppressed as an unlawful and seditious body, surely no Liberal statesman of England can congratulate himself on the Foreign policy of the Government and on Sir Edward Grey's handiwork. The ex-Shah, Mohamed Ali is still hovering on the flanks of the Russian army of occupation. His agents are fraternising freely with the Russian officers. What is even more significant, Samad Khan, the reactionary rebel and outlaw and a follower of Mohamed Ali, has been appointed by the Russians as the Governor of Tabriz. Russia holds Mohamed Ali, that cowardly and nerveless tyrant, and traitor to his religion and his country, as a trump card up her sleeve, and though she cannot use him as freely as she would owing to the decisive British declaration not to recognize Mohamed Ali on any account, she is still employing him and his agents in creating the necessary atmosphere for the growth and execution of her designs. It has even been seriously

proposed to the Persian Government to renew the pension which Mohamed Ali has forfeited by his ridiculous attempts to overthrow the constitutional régime. By the terms of the Protocol of 1909, England and Russia were jointly responsible for the actions of Mohamed Ali, and it was more particularly the duty of Russia to maintain a firm hold over his movements and keep him in safe custody. He has lost all claims to the pension by the miscarriage of his ill-planned coup and he alone must bear the consequences. We trust the proposed loan of £200,000 is not to be spent in pensions of all the traitors, rebels and outlaws in the entourage of Mohamed Ali, whose lives would not be worth an hour's purchase if they left the shelter of the Russian camps and Consulates. We do not know what conditions have been imposed upon the Persian Government as a result of the loan, nor do we know of the guarantees that have been demanded. Let us hope the conditions and the guarantees do not infringe Persian sovereignty or limit her freedom of action. By the terms of this loan, the Indian Government will henceforth enter into a more active participation in the affairs of Persia. We have had to criticise the Persian policy of the British Government in no uncertain language; but it would be a bare justice to acknowledge the moderation and self-restraint that has of late characterised British action in Persia. Much of this is due, we believe, to the suggestions and representations of the Indian Government. We trust the Government of India, which has more direct and ample knowledge of the many factors that govern their Persian situation, will try to solve it with foresight, moderation and sympathy. We avoided the mention of the Indian Government in this connection before now for we did not like to involve the Government by law established in British India in the feelings that might have been stirred by any untoward result of Sir Edward Grey's policy. That consideration still exists, but now that the Indian Government's direct participation is proclaimed, we think it only right that the Mussalmans of India should thank Lord Hardinge's Government for so warmly advocating a consideration for their feelings.

BY THE DEATH OF SHAIKH GHULAM MOHAMED SAHEB, the Proprietor and Editor of the *Vakil*, the well-known Urdu bi-weekly of Amritsar, journalism, the Moslem community and the country are alike poorer to day of a singularly rich, upright and fascinating personality. He was one of those who live not for themselves but for faith, ideas, for great and noble causes. Devotion to some overwhelming purpose was the need of his ardent temperament. To try to raise as far as he could, his community in the intellectual and moral plane became early for him the master-purpose of life. He chose journalism as his instrument, and though the instrument is far from ideal and has sometimes driven to despair even men of most steady gaze and nerve of steel, he somehow managed to apply it to his task with patient energy and undiminished vigour of conviction. He was one of the very few Indians of capacity and patriotism who have raised journalism to a vocation. In the grind of petty affairs from day to day in going through the trivial task and the common round as an editor, he was never once adrift of his moorings. This is perhaps saying a good deal when we know that far more pretentious journals we fond of beginning life anew every day. That is why the public trusted him so freely and his opinion carried such a weight in the counsels of the Moslem community. The *Vakil* has represented the best type of Urdu journalism. Its views have always been broad, wise and dignified. It has exercised an intellectual tolerance and comprehension which is rare even amongst the better class of English journalism in this country. The paper has borne the impress of its editor and has a distinct individuality. We hope it will continue to do the great work it has been doing even after the death of its founder. The disappearance of the *Vakil* would be a great loss to Urdu journalism and to the Moslem community. Shaik Ghulam Mohamed Saheb was a man of manifold activities. Amongst other things he had started a trading agency for the promotion and encouragement of Moslem literature and history. Some of the religious, literary and historical tracts for popular instruction and culture issued by the *Vakil* Agency have had great vogue and success. Shaik Ghulam Mohamed Saheb was a very simple, unassuming and unpretentious man. His transparent honesty of purpose and earnestness impressed all those who came into contact with him. He had a horror of cliques and factions and always held aloof from the dust and fray of party warfare. Men of his stamp are not many in India. Amongst the Mussulmans they are positively rare. We are sorry for the community and offer our sincere and heartfelt condolence to the bereaved family.

We ARE asked to state that the All-India Moslem League will hold its annual sessions at Calcutta on the 3rd and 4th of March 1912. His Highness the Aga Khan and other Muhammadan leaders will be present. Members and visitors willing to attend are requested to communicate at once with Mr. S. M. Sheriff, Secretary, of the Reception Committee, All-India Moslem League, 58, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

The Comrade.

Turkey and Neutrality.

NEVER since the British seized the *Bundesrat* in the South African War had any similar incident raised national passions to boiling point until a month ago when French public opinion was stirred to its depth by Italian blundering. We publish elsewhere the French Premier's statement about the *Carthage* and *Manouba* incidents which gives an authoritative account of both and explains the law applicable to them. The Russo-Japanese war was quite prolific in seizures of vessels, and neutral Powers which had suffered considerably on that account sought to define the law about contraband more rigidly. It is believed that Sir George Clarke went so far as to recommend "the total abolition of contraband as a matter, from the belligerent's point of view, not worth the trouble, odium, and friction with neutral Powers which the exercise of the right of search and capture inevitably brings about." The controversy recently carried on in England about the Declaration of London, however, made it clear that broadly speaking two opinions existed on the subject. According to one view, contraband must be limited to articles solely used in warfare, while, according to the other, it included "conditional" contraband, that is articles which may be so used, though primarily intended for pacific purposes. According to the view favourable to neutrals, if the destination of a vessel is a neutral port no cargo that it carries on board can be contraband, while according to the other, which favours the belligerents, the destination of the goods, rather than of the vessel which carries them, is the important point, contraband really meant for the enemy being liable to seizure in spite of the neutrality of the port to which it is consigned.

At this juncture it is important to know what "the descendants of the Scipios" thought of the matter. They tried to find a *via media* between the extremes, and articles primarily intended for war were declared to be absolute contraband, and for those the neutral destination of the ship was not conclusive proof that they were not meant for the enemy's use. If it was proved that they were meant for the enemy they could be seized. Now, an aeroplane is not an article solely used in warfare or primarily intended for such use, and the neutral destination of the *Carthage* which carried M. Duval and his flying machine for one of the several aviation meetings in Africa for which he had entered, was enough to make the vessel and its innocent cargo immune from interference even on the part of Italians. But although the Declaration of London has not been ratified by Italy, it has been duly signed by her. According to Article 24 of that Declaration, an aeroplane is not absolute contraband, but can be included in "conditional" contraband on previous notice being given thereof. If Italy chose to abide by the Declaration that she has already signed, even the *Times* admits that Article 24 "would seem fatal to the Italian contention," and that resolute journal is reduced to hinting discreetly that "it may be that the Italian Government, not having ratified the Declaration, will say that they are not bound by its terms."

But even if she adopted this course,—and she seems to have done that—how could she get over the fact vouched for by the *Times'* own Paris correspondent that "Italy has supplied herself with aeroplanes and with other material of war from France?" Admiral Biennanci, who interpellated the French Government, caused a sensation by remarking that he was astonished at the action of the Italians in seizing an aeroplane destined for a neutral port, since at this very moment Italian officers are taking lessons in aviation in France and some of them are now making preparations to join the Italian forces at the front with aeroplanes bought in France. He even named the aerodrome in the neighbourhood of Douai where Italian officers are now completing their training. Although Italians deny this, they admit having ordered from France some guns "as samples," and declare that in making their purchases of grain and camels in Tunis they "merely followed the example of the Turks in replenishing the Italian supplies."

As regards the general question of contraband, it will be within the memory of our readers that in the very first week of the war, Turkey wished to apply the Declaration of London to cargoes of Russian wheat passing through the Dardanelles. To this the Russian Government objected as "a violation of the rights of Russia" and gave Turkey "warning of the heavy responsibility which the Turkish Government would incur in such circumstances." The *Times* then stated:—

To declare grain contraband "irrespective of destination" is to declare that which is nonsensical . . . Turkey has rights over her own ports, with due respect always to the rights of neutrals; but she has none over vessels coming from Odessa other than that of stopping and seizing contraband, as generally recognized. . . . Of course, if it appears that they are conveying grain for the use of the Italian expeditionary force or fleet they run the risk of being captured and condemned . . . Turkey was a party to the Declaration of Paris; that

is, to the acceptance of the principle that "the neutral flag covers enemy's goods with the exception of contraband of war," and "that neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flag." Accordingly, grain shipped on board English vessels, though belonging to Italian consignees, would be exempt unless its destination rendered it contraband.

Now that the danger (of stoppage of vessels bearing Russian grain through the Dardanelles) is removed there is to be found among shipping firms an undercurrent of sympathy with Turkey in her attempt to describe grain shipped to whatever port as contraband. Italy annually takes large quantities of grain from South Russia, and it is pointed out that there is no insurmountable obstacle in the way of arranging for steamers bound from the Black Sea to Gibraltar for orders to proceed thence to Genoa—a distance of only 850 miles. It is even asserted that such a double voyage has just been completed and will again be attempted in the very near future. Turkish officials, it is suggested, are alive to the possibilities of this trade and, therefore, would have been glad to prevent supplies from leaving the Black Sea for Italy in the only effective way—that of stopping all vessels, under whatever charter, at the Dardanelles. Such general prohibition apparently proved beyond the strength of Turkey, and now since she is powerless in the Mediterranean sea she must leave the gateway open for Italy to supply herself if she chooses with the assistance of neutral owners.

Let us contrast this view of the *Times* as expressed on the 11th October, 1911, with the following which appeared on the 23rd January this year:—

A belligerent is naturally tempted to press his claims with special vigour in circumstances such as exist in the present war. The exception of contraband can rarely have much effect upon the issue of hostilities when they are waged between two countries with highly developed industries. They can as a rule get at home, though perhaps after some delay and at great expense, supplies which but for the enemy's cruisers would come as contraband from abroad; the only exception in the case of such countries being as to foodstuffs. In the case, however, of a war in which one of the belligerents is a State such as Turkey, necessarily dependent upon foreign countries for many appliances in use in war, the condition of things is different. Strict and vigilant enforcement of the rights of search and capture may be an effective agency for terminating a war.

And this is the logic of the *Times*. The stoppage of the food supplies of Italy by Turkey which was fully authorized by the Declaration of London must not be allowed, and "since she is powerless in the Mediterranean Sea, she must leave the gateway open for Italy to supply herself if she chooses with the assistance of neutral powers." But when Italians have purchased aeroplanes in France and ordered guns "as samples," if a French aviator takes his aeroplane from France to a French port it may be seized by Italy, because "one of the belligerents is a State such as Turkey," and the open breaches of the Declaration duly signed by Italy may be "an effective agency for terminating a war." What is sauce for the Italian goose is evidently no sauce for the Turkish gander.

The *Carthage* incident and the comment of the *Times* thereon serve to prove that International Law although it could never do anything to preserve peace, is now unable even to regulate war. It was appealed to by the pacifists and the advocates of arbitration when the Italian raid was first launched, but it could not even man a straw to oppose the dogs of war. When atrocities unparalleled in the history of humanity occurred, and were reported by fair-minded Europeans who have so largely redeemed the name of European honesty, the response of International Law was "Military Exigencies!" It mattered little if only a week before the same journals were accusing Shevket Pasha of "ruthlessness" in suppressing an internal rebellion in Albania incited by "friendly neighbours." But it is the desire of peace this time which has led the *Times* to come out as an apologist for Italy's illegal capture of an innocent aeroplane going to Tunis.

Whether M. Duval takes his aeroplane across the Tunisian frontier or not is a matter of little consequence, but the *Manouba* incident meant life or death to hundreds. We published a translation last week of the letter of Ahmed Shareef Effendi who was a member of the first Red Crescent Mission to Tripoli under Karim Sebati Bey. This party had passed through French territory after having satisfied the French authorities both in France and on the Tunisian frontier. It must be remembered that under the Hague Convention No. X, hospital and ambulance services are immune in time of war, and had the Italians not proved strangely inhumane, such a party would have gone straight to Tripoli under Italian permits instead of going all the way via Tunis. A second party of 29 men followed the first, but, thanks to Italian braggadocio, they were not allowed to reach their destination. According to the Paris correspondent of the *Times* "They all had their Red Crescent passes in order. Their intended arrival in France was notified by the Turkish Embassy here, and free transit for them via Marseilles and Tunis was formally requested and granted. Twenty-two of them travelled overland from Turkey to Marseilles, the remaining seven arrived there by way of Paris, where they made various purchases which, it is alleged, were confined to articles of medical and surgical equipment. They had a few Browning revolvers for their own personal protection, but nothing is known of any further purchase of arms or ammunition, or of an Italian story to the effect that they first tried to charter a

private yacht at Marseilles to convey them across the Mediterranean."

The French Shipowners' Committee also pointed out that even if the *Manouba* had any contraband, such as arms on board, it could not have been landed in Tunis, for a civilization which rests its claim to superiority on its fighting capacity denies to "barbarism" even a chance of challenging that claim by prohibiting the traffic in arms, among other places, in Tunis.

According to some accounts, the Italian regarded three of these to be doctors, 21 ambulance or hospital attendants, but suspected the remaining five who are administrative officers of the Red Crescent Society. It must, however, be remembered that the semi-official Italian statement issued on the 19th January in Rome asserted that the Italian Government had "sure information that 29 officers and men, whose names were given, of the Turkish Army were leaving Marseilles on board S.S. *Manouba* for Tunis under the guidance of two organisers of the contraband service." "It is singular, however," says the *Times* correspondent, "that the Italian Government does not publish its information."

But on the 1st January this positive information had transformed itself into a mere suspicion, and the next semi-official communiqué stated that—

"(1) The Turks in question attempted to leave Marseilles secretly by chartering a private yacht with the object of landing unseen at a deserted spot on the coast of Tunis or Tripoli. They were, however, unable to realise this plan because the owner of the yacht found out that they were combatant officers and refused to allow them to charter it."

"(2) They did not buy surgical materials at Marseilles or elsewhere, for all that was found on them was two small cases of surgical instruments and a very small quantity of medicaments. They had no bandages whatever."

"(3) That the doubt as to their being doctors is strengthened by the fact that some of them declare themselves to be accountants and that they have in their possession a cheque for £10,000."

And what was the end of it all, of the "sure information" which was never disclosed? A telegram from Milan stated that the *Secolo* published an account of how the 29 Turkish prisoners at Cagliari were taken to the hospital there and subjected to severe tests to prove their alleged occupation. The three doctors, Brenni, Kanni, and Emin, were asked to diagnose the complaints of several patients, which they did correctly, and the male nurses displayed their proficiency with the exception of three of them. The *Daily Telegraph* correspondent says that he learned after the interview between the Marquis di San Giuliano and M. Camille Barrore, that the Italian inquiry had just been concluded. "This was a strangely abrupt and timely conclusion. Let that be neither here nor there. The Italian examining committee at Cagliari found that four of the 29 Turks are genuine doctors and that the remaining 25 are genuine members of the Red Crescent Mission, ergo, the Italian Government can release them at once. As the Italian Government had precisely found this out within a few hours of the arrival in Rome of the French Ambassador, bearing his own Government's instructions, all is for the best. The French Government will not cavil at the reasons given by the Italian Government, on its own side, for releasing the Turks. It would not only have cavilled, it would have protested vigorously at any disposition on the part of Italy to deter her compliance with the French request to some later date, on the ground that the Italian inquiry was still pending. But if the favourable result of that inquiry happens to come out just at the right moment to enable Italy to grant the one essential French demand, all is well, and the rest is plain sailing! Alas for a "sure information" which ends in plain sailing!"

There is one point of special importance regarding the law on the subject. If Italy chooses to abide by the Declaration of London, even then Article 47 permits her to make prisoner of war or any one found on board a neutral vessel only if he is an individual embodied in the armed forces of the enemy. We now know from Italy herself that the 29 men she had arrested really belonged to hospital and ambulance services and were therefore immune from capture. But at the very worst they were only suspects, and not men "embodied in the armed forces of the enemy." It is only when men are clearly "embodied in the armed forces of the enemy" that Article 47 applies, and the burden of proof is on the capturing belligerent. It would be intolerable if a desperate belligerent that had had the worst of the fight took to capturing men on board neutral vessels, merely on the off chance of discovering men belonging to the enemy's armed forces by "ploughing" a doctor in bandaging or a male nurse in surgery. All this would, however, apply only if Italy choose to abide by the Declaration of London. But, then, she does not. In that case the old law stands good, and according to that the general rule is that no person can be taken at sea from a neutral vessel under any circumstances. We wonder whether Italian ingenuity can find a way of escape even from this dilemma. She would very much like to apply the old law to the case of the

Carthage on the 16th January, and the new law of the unratified Declaration to the case of the *Manouba* on the 17th. But even then people who have to be examined in surgery and bandaging to test their merits in the peaceful pursuit of the healing art cannot be captured on the strength of "sure information" as men "embodied in the armed forces of the enemy."

English sympathies must be on the side of the Turks, for this outrage is very similar to the *Trent* affair, which in 1861 brought Great Britain to the verge of war with America. In October of that year a Northern warship intercepted at sea the British mail steamer *Trent*, bound from Havana to St. Thomas, and took off two Confederate Commissioners accredited to France, Messrs Mason and Stedell, who were among her passengers. They were taken to Boston and imprisoned in Fort Warren, but were released on 1st January, 1862, on the peremptory demand of the British Government, and were permitted to proceed on their mission. On this occasion the Washington Government expressly accepted the British demand as a just interpretation of international doctrine.

There are many points of interest involved in this case, such as the assertion of the French Foreign Office that it informed the Italian Embassy of the intended embarkation of the Turkish Red Crescent detachment, and the Embassy's denial, the facts about the undecipherability of the instructions from the French Foreign Office to the Embassy at Rome, and the cause thereof, the treatment meted out to the Captain of the *Manouba*, and the fact that the Japanese and Russians had travelled to join the armies of their respective countries through neutral countries during the Russo-Japanese War. It may be a matter of "profound surprise," as the *Figaro* expresses it, that a representative of France should have taken upon himself "so deplorable an initiative" as ordering from Rome the surrender of the Turkish Mission without consulting his Government, and indignation at the surrender of these Turks may wax hot in Paris. It may even be, as the *Times* correspondent says, that "it is a difficult position for Italy," and that "it is hard for her in presence of the Italian national feeling which the war has aroused to reverse the action of her naval officers." But the point that is of the utmost importance is that while diplomats scratched their bald pates for a "formula" which might save the "honour" of Italy (God save the mark!) and while the Hague Tribunal (Does it still exist?) investigated the justice of it all, the Turkish Mission had to remain in Italian captivity, and the brave sufferers from this wretched raid, who need the ministrations of the healing hand so badly in Tripoli, continued to suffer simply because the Captain of an Italian cruiser wore out his valour in the capture of a body of doctors and male nurses. As Sadi says,

تى قربان از عراق آورده شود مارکزیه مروه شود

While the antidote arrived from Quai d'Orsay and the Quirinal, or the Hague Tribunal, the victims of the Italian viper had to suffer un told torture, and some perhaps expired. This is the view that M. Jaurès, the Socialist leader of France, has taken in his party organ, the *Humanité*, and as the name of the paper suggests, this is neither a question of deep diplomacy nor of international law so much as of ordinary humanity. But who knows that when, in the words of the *Times*, "one of the belligerents is a State such as Turkey," this too may be "an effective agency for terminating the war." Verily in these days, Peace hath her "exigencies" no less strange than War!

This affair has had one more unfortunate effect. We are loth to seek comparisons between the action of the French in Tunis and of the British Agent in Egypt to the disparagement of British action. As it is, there is enough to worry the Mussulmans of India, and it would be highly undesirable to add to their existing worries. But comparisons are made by others, and they are read by a large number of Mussulmans in India as elsewhere. The *Papale Romano*, an Italian Ministerial journal, "instances the action of Lord Kitchener in requesting cargo at Alexandria intended for the Turks," and people have not such short memories as to have altogether forgotten that when the war broke out, the Egyptian Government was showing her sympathy for its suzerain and protecting its neutrality by permitting canals to be sold in the Soudan for the Italian Transport Corps. It would thus appear that the Italians expected to find in M. Poincaré another Lord Kitchener. Their comparisons have driven the *Times* to remind them that "inprudent activity on the part of cruisers might have the effect of raising awkward questions as to whether neutrals might in Egypt and elsewhere, without departure from their duties, create embarrassment to Italy in more ways than one." Does not this allude to the Hague Convention No. V., Article 7, according to which "a neutral power is not under any obligation to prevent the exportation or transit for one or the other of the belligerents of arms, ammunition or, in general, anything which may be serviceable to an army or a fleet," and to Article 6 which says that "the responsibility of a neutral State is not engaged by the fact that individuals separately cross the frontier in order to place themselves at the service of one of the belligerents."

The Italians wanted assurances from France that M. Duval's aeroplane would not eventually go to the Turks, but the French Government refused to give Italy any guarantees, although it took, for its own satisfaction, a formal undertaking from M. Duval not to give either his services or his aeroplane to the ~~Turks~~. All this presents a disagreeable contrast to the much-advertised activity of Lord Kitchener, and if Egyptian papers are not wilfully misrepresenting the new pharaoh's masterful energy—they have not been all suppressed yet, at any rate—then it is time that our Foreign Office reminded him of the existence of such things as International Law, and the Hague Convention, not to say common sense and common honesty.

The Future of Islam.

II.

We DEALT last week with "the hopes of the Moslems," and had reserved the discussion of "the fears of the Europeans" for another occasion. Before we close this chapter, however, we should like to refer in passing to the sneer of Professor Margoliouth that "it is not as an advocate of the higher morality that Islam has ever filled Europe with apprehension." He added "Hence the Syed's project may arouse curiosity, interest, or even sympathy in Europe, but it is not likely to occasion alarm." We do not know whether even curiosity is aroused by Islam in England, for England knows far less of Islam than Islamic countries know of Christianity. But it certainly gives rise to cheap snubs, and Sir Mortimer Durand's ridicule of Mr. Ameer Ali's reference to the democratic character of Islam is an instance in point. He related how on the conclusion of a mission to Afghanistan, the Amir, having assembled four hundred notables, put to them every point of the agreement, asking their opinion. All agreed, and Sir Mortimer concludes that it was a remarkable instance of democracy! If the opinion of the caste to which Sir Mortimer Durand belongs be taken to be the criterion of the fitness of things, democracy is anything but desirable. And if it is not desirable, and its absence can best be shown by the *Ja-Hisham* acquiescence of notables, our own Khan Bahadurs could amply vindicate the aristocratic, oligarchic or autocratic character of our Empire, whichever it may, after a searching enquiry, be found to be. But in any case we had better not talk of democracy when even with radically ruled England a word put in the mouth of royalty necessarily becomes irrevocable!

It is true that as an advocate of higher morality Islam is not likely to cause alarm to Europe. But that is not because Islam is, as the *Pioneer* tells us, "less exacting" and "starts from a lower level." Some of its first demands are, daily worship at least five times a day, and thirty days' fast every year, and if there is any honesty in modern Christians, they will perhaps tell us how seldom and even then how unwillingly they go to church even on Sundays, and how few relish, and that too how little, their Lenten repast. Another demand of Islam would be absolute asceticism, and the controversies over repeated Licensing Bills in England can tell us something about the rigour of this self-denying ordinance.

Nor is this all. The one "weak point" which Christian critics seem to discover in Islam is the relation of the sexes. But with reference to this it is best to quote Professor Margoliouth's own view. Speaking of the "elements of the Prophet's system, he writes:—

For the female sex it certainly acted very much, and there is no doubt that it is best to hush the voice of sentiment and treat the rules and innovations as an attempt to grapple with a hopeless problem. Far less in the sense that no community of any magnitude has ever found a blanket (to use Janus's image) that will cover the whole scene. The seclusion and veiling of women were, as Maitland well observed, a direct consequence of polygamy and the law of divorce. Polygamy is itself an attempt at solving a problem which Indo-Germanic nations solve by harbouring prostitution. In the latter, a small portion of the female population is wholly degraded, in the former the whole female population is partially degraded. If the introduction of the veil Muhammad curtailed women's liberty, he undoubtedly secured for them by laws the rights of inheriting and holding property which under the older system were precarious.

Not that we absolutely agree with this view. The normal condition in Islam is monogamy, and the permission to marry up to four wives, hedged round as it is with conditions remarkably stringent which—thanks to the illicit practices of Moslems themselves—Christian critics slur over, gives to the Code of Islam just that elasticity which is necessary for a body of laws universally binding on Moslems of all countries and climes and for all eternity. But while Islam permits—not commands—a limited number of wives, Christianity itself lays down no such restrictions, and for all that a Christian's creed dictates he may marry a million. Monogamy, we repeat, is the normal condition of the Moslem World, and polygamy which disregards the stringent conditions laid down in the Quran is as much a sin as the less obvious polygamy of many Christians. In such cases, too, let the teaching of Christ be the guide of all Christians, and let him first cast a stone at the openly polygamous Moslem that is without sin among the Christians.

As regards seclusion and the veil, far from being the direct consequence of polygamy and facility of divorce, they are practised in order to check polygamy and polyandry, both secret and open, and to lessen the temptation to abuse the Islamic law of divorce. The separation of the two sexes in the daily intercourse of life would prove too exacting a demand for a society which is habituated to the zest which the presence of forbidden fruit provides in its Eden, a society which, satiated with the milder excitement of *decollage*, and the short skirt with open lace-work stocking, *Directoire costume*, or the close-draping, clinging sheath, excites its jaded palate with *La Milo* and *Maud Allan* nudities and with Russian dances, or occasionally takes a turn itself with the "Cake Walk," the "Boston Dip" and the "Turkey Trot." But let that be. As for Islam, howsoever it may have curtailed the liberty of a woman's movements, it alone strove to give her economic freedom, which will, we trust, some day cut off her fetters in Europe and America, where she is still the slave of man-made laws and man-made conventions. And howsoever Christian Europe may sneer at the marriage and divorce laws of Islam, it is plain that it is not itself satisfied with the laws made by man that it substitutes for those of God's own making. The novels of Mr. Hubert Wales and Victoria Cross, as much as the proceedings of the Divorce Commission in England, indicate the growing revolt against irrational and all too rigid conventions of modern English society, while the plays of Mr. Alfred Sutro, the essays of "Rita," and the sermons of Father Bernard Vaughan will present the other side of the picture of woman's social freedom. The fact is that Christians for the most part no more "the faiths and morals hold that Milton held." In England the middle of the Seventeenth Century saw in Milton the fine flower of the Reformation as well as of the Renaissance and in Cromwell the Servant of God as well as the protector of British liberties. But the Restoration came all too soon, and the decline of morals was even more marked than the decline of literature and of liberty. The Revolution of 1688 restored British liberties, but more than a century was needed to revive letters, and, although a Protestant Revolution, it could not restore the morals of Puritan England. The only hopeful feature of the present generation is the decline in the Drink Bill of England, but so far as other aspects of morality are concerned—and we say this more in sorrow than in anger, more with a desire to vindicate morality than to vindictive—the countries of Europe do anything but support the view that the life of the civilized people of the West is a triumphant proof of the fact that it is saturated with Christianity and that their morality constitutes as magnificent a pean of thanksgiving as has ever been sounded in the world since the Day of Bethlehem. But there are signs which show that they are drifting into port, and if this continues, Islam is an advocate of higher morality, though it will not fill Europe with apprehension and dismay, would yet certainly serve to cleanse some of the moral sinks of Christendom. All that it seeks to arouse is "curiosity, interest and sympathy," but all that it seems to have aroused is political alarm, which is more natural to the victim than to the victimiser.

There now remain "the fears of Europeans" to consider before we express our own opinion on the subject of Islam's future. In this connection it is best to remember that Pan-Islamism is not the only bogey that frightens or is supposed to frighten Europe. The success of sturdy little Japan and the awakening of the sleeping giant in China have caused more than a passing flutter in the dolevoles of Europe, and whenever the case of a negro or kaffir outrage occurs or a Jack Johnson mercilessly knocks about a Jeffries or is about to custigate a Bombardier Wells, the tremors of Imperialism become tremendous. We are familiar with the Yellow Peril and the Black Peril, but if we paid the same attention to the unexpressed apprehensions of Asia and Africa that we pay to the *بیش از مرگ* (mourning before death) of Europe and America, there would seem to be more reality in the White Peril than in either of the other two.

But it is with Pan-Islamism or the Revolt of Islam that we are at this moment concerned. Before we examine it, let us summarise the facts of Islam's temporal history. Islam commenced with Arabia and conquered North Africa and some other portions of Asia in the seventh century. Spain was won, in the eighth, and, so to speak, after scouting early in the eighth century, Moslems invaded the sub-continent of India in the tenth and eleventh, and conquered it finally in the twelfth. The wave of Islamic conquest lapped the shores of Europe as well, for in the same year that Muhammad Qasim invaded Sind, Tariq won the battle of Guadalete, and within five years Spain was conquered. Such was the daring of Moslem conquerors that had America been discovered at the time, the banner of Islam would have been planted there as well. "Iqbal" refers to one of the most picturesque incidents of history in his palpitating verse.

دھت تو دھن میں درجہ اے جو چوری کے
بھر ظلمات میں درجہ اے کھوڑے کے

17th February.

(What of the desert, when we left not even the flood, and plunged our chargers in the Atlantic Ocean.) Soon after the conquest of Spain a Moslem force was led into France through the pass of Roncesvalles, and according to European historians themselves, were it not for the check at Tours in 732, France and Germany would have fallen into the hands of Moslem conquerors. The Eastern Empire of Byzantium had already felt the prowess of Islam in the seventh century in Arabia Felix, and in the succeeding centuries Islam was rapidly mounting up the rungs of the ladder to Europe from Syria, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor. In the seventh century itself, besides the victories of the first four Caliphs,

Armenia had become at first tributary to the Saracens and then part of their territory, the Roman army was defeated at Tripoli, Sicily was attacked, and Constantinople itself was besieged by the Saracen fleet for four years. After the eighth century, the Eastern Empire was forced to purchase peace with a heavy tribute, but Crete was won for a time soon after, and then the conquest of Sicily and Moslem interference in Southern Italy began. Few now remember that Rome herself was threatened in the middle of the ninth century, and even the Mussalmans have to be reminded, in that beautiful line of "Iqbal".

و سک تو منزل تیں میں اوس کاروان کی گرد مون
that Sicily was for two whole centuries an integral part of Islam's world-embracing Empire.

The conquest of as large a slice of Europe as Spain was reserved for another branch of Moslem conquerors, whose heel then kinsmen weakened the Empire of Islam in Asia while they added to it fresh territories in Europe. The Seljuk Turks took up the work of the Saracens, and when Alp Arsalan defeated the Byzantines in 1071 and captured the Roman Emperor, Romanus IV, Europe was seriously threatened in the East and a prophetic ear would have caught the sound of the clattering hoofs of Turkish chargers in the city of Constantine. The successor of Hildebrand organised a Crusade, and Christian nations assembled at Clermont shouted forth the resolve of Christianity to rid the world of Islam, and in the cry of "Deus Vult," announced the only Jihad, in the European sense of the word, that has yet been waged in the world. Jerusalem was captured before the eleventh century had closed and Godfrey of Bouillon made its king. A second Crusade was organised half a century later, but it lacked the flush of enthusiasm and ended in a fiasco. Forty years after, Saladin captured Jerusalem, and after a vigorous struggle, repulsed the forces of Christianity in the third Crusade and enlarged the boundaries of his Empire. But profit and loss were both going up, for if the Turks conquered Armenia and Georgia in the eleventh century, repulsed Europe from Asia in the twelfth and laid the foundation of the Ottoman Empire in the thirteenth, the Moors in Spain slowly declined after the death of Almanzor in 1002, and the Christian chiefs of Navarre and Leon, Castile and Arragon kept up a struggle against them, leaving them only the kingdom of Granada by the middle of the thirteenth century.

The house of Osman prospered and progressed, and the conquest of Constantinople would have come half a century earlier were it not for Timur's capture of the great Bayazid and his death in captivity. Christian chiefs had combined at Manisa in 1309, at Kossova in 1389 and at Nicopolis in 1396, but had in all cases been defeated. The interregnum of a decade between Bayazid's capture and death and Mohamed I's reuniting of the Turkish power gave East in Christendom only a breathing space, and in the crushing defeat at Varna in 1444, and again at Kossova under the Hungarian leader, Hunyadi, in 1448, Turkish prowess was fully proved. At last in 1453 Mohamed II. reversed the action of the Moslem conqueror of Spain, and with greater success, for although the latter's charge did not gallop across the Atlantic to the shores of America, the galleys of Mohamed the Conqueror sailed on land from the Bosphorus to the Golden Horn, and helped him to realize the prophecy that New Rome would yet be subdued by the Moslem. Thus Islam provided itself with an empire in Europe in the East to compensate it for the loss of that in the West, half a century later. For in 1492 Granada fell, and Ferdinand "the Catholic," who had commenced his reign with setting up the Inquisition at Seville in 1481, celebrated the success of Christian arms by the wholesale expulsion of Jews in 1493. The Moors who had been assured of perfect toleration learnt six years later what to expect when the power to enforce such stipulations is gone, and their persecution which commenced in Ferdinand's reign continued into the reign of his grandson and successor, the Emperor Charles V., who finally expelled them in 1524 from a land which they had ruled for eight hundred years. But the power of Islam had not gone, and the naval triumphs of Khair-ud-din Pasha, known as Barbarossa, who had even attacked Nice in 1543, compelled Charles V. to acknowledge the strength of Turkey, and a year later, make to her, with Ferdinand of Austria, overtures of peace. Ferdinand became a vassal paying tribute, and Charles V. himself subsequently entered into a treaty. The old Caliphates of Baghdad, Cordova and Cairo had passed away, but the Turks and the Moghals were in the zenith of their power. Selim the Gentle, and Suleiman the Magnificent in Turkey, and Bahadur,

Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan in India, maintained the temporal strength of Islam in an age which contained some of the world's greatest statesmen and rulers. And these Moslem kings could hold their own against the best in Christendom.

But there is nothing more difficult to keep up than an equipoise in political power, and if a nation or race cannot advance, it must go back. Byron sums up the history of all nations in describing that of Rome.

"First conquest, and then glory ; when that fails,
"Wealth, vice, corruption, barbarism at last ;
"And history with all her volumes vast
"Is but one page."

Glory failed Islam after all these conquests, and the decline of Mussalmans through the stages of wealth, vice and corruption, was bringing them to semi-barbarism. It is curious that the revival should have been attempted about the same time both in Turkey and in India. The Kiuprili, father and son, strove mightily as the Grand Viziers in Turkey, while Aurangzeb, who named himself Mohayy ud-din, "the Reviver of the Faith", tried to arrest the decay of the Moghals in India. But in the decade of Qara Mustafa's degenerate Grand Vizierate, the Turks suffered defeats at the hands of Sobieski at Knoczim in 1673 and at Lemberg in 1675, and the second siege of Vienna in 1683 was not merely inconclusive like the first under Suleiman the Magnificent, who merely retired disappointed from its walls in 1529, but clearly marked the commencement of the epoch of Turkey's decline. A little before this, a Turkish minister had answered some warnings by saying, "God be praised, such is the strength of Islam, that the union of Russians and Poles matters not to us. Our Empire has increased in might since its origin, nor have all the Christian kings that have leagued against us been able to pluck a hair from our beard. With God's grace it shall ever be so, and our Empire shall endure to the day of judgment." Ahmad Kiuprili himself had told the Polish Ambassador that "If the solution of differences is referred to that keen and decisive judge, called 'The Sword,' the issue of the strife must be pronounced by the God who hath poised upon nothing Heaven and Earth and by whose aid Islam has for one thousand years triumphed over its foes." But his father, Mohamed Kiuprili, had intercepted some time before this a letter of the Greek Patriarch to the Voivode of Wallachia in which the Patriarch said, "The power of Islam is drawing to an end. The Christian faith will soon be supreme. All their lands will speedily be in the possession of the Christians, and the Lords of the Cross and the Church-bell will be the Lords of the Empire." The prophecy of the Greek Patriarch has only been partially fulfilled in the three intervening centuries, but the Islamic Kingdoms stand to-day on the brink of a greater precipice than the one which yawned for Turkey towards the end of the 17th century, when Ahmad Kiuprili met the danger with a solemn faith in divine aid for the Mussalmans.

Morocco, the extreme western representative of Islam, is feared to sink to the position of a European dependency. Tripoli, the last section of the Moslem Empire in Africa—if we reject the suzerainty of Turkey over Egypt as a useless fiction—was expected by Italy to follow the same fate. In Asia, too, Persia has been in imminent danger—though we hope it has now past away—of partition and annexation, and is still in some danger of becoming a European dependency. Turkey, which was to have been sent back "bag and baggage to Baghdad" by Mr. Gladstone, may possibly lose even Asia Minor to Germany, which seeks "a place in the sun", and, if Mr. Hogarth's prognostications be true, Arabia itself is not immune from falling into the hands of Christendom. And in Europe anything may happen when the snows melt and the spring flowers bloom. Is it strange then that uneasiness should prevail throughout the Islamic World. But it is not the Mussalmans that have begun to cast the horoscope of Islam. A daily paper of Natal has written two leading articles on the subject and in one of these it says :

Europe is at last definitely retaliating on Asia for the alarm into which the Muhammadian arms threw the west from the seventh to the end of the seventeenth century . . . All this should make it clear how monotonous a change it is that is represented by these dooms that are now making the commencement of the second decade of the twentieth century. After clearing the Moors from her soil in the south-west at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Europe is now finally rooting out the power of Islam from Northern Africa ; and having checked the march of the Turks at the end of the seventeenth century, and steadily weakened the Muhammadian grip on South-Eastern Europe ever since, she is now battering and disintegrating one branch of Muhammadianism, in Persia, in the Middle East, and thereby threatening the Turkish Empire itself with isolation and final dissolution. The West has not only beaten back the ancient attack of the East, but is carrying a counter attack into the enemy's quarters. Most assuredly, the world-import of these events in Morocco, Tripoli, and Persia deserves more than a passing attention, at this period of consideration and looking-around, provided by these Christmas and New Year holidays.

In India, the *Pioneer* writes in the same strain.

At all points the independent dominion of the Muslim is hemmed in and threatened. The future seems dark for its continuance in any part of the world.

That being the case, we can consider Pan-Islamism only as a force for purposes of defence, not of dominion.

CORRESPONDENCE



His Highness Sir Aga Khan.

To THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE"

SIR.—I have read the criticism of H.H. Sir Aga Khan's "pretensions" as it has been headed in the *Sind Gazette* of the 17th January. The editors of newspapers are privileged to criticise the proceedings and actions of people for the benefit of the public and had the criticism been of that kind I should not have taken the trouble of writing this letter. Every criticism has its proper limitations, but the Editor of the *Sind Gazette* appears to have descended to personalities and used unmerited invectives against H.H. Sir Aga Khan and the Sind Muhammadan Association which presented the address. He remarked: "The insidious undercurrent of thought discernible behind this expression of a pious sentiment gives colour to the impression which has been steadily growing among the more statesmanlike of the Muhammadan leaders that the Aga Khan is not entirely a true representative of Islamic opinion." The text of the adulatory address of the Sind Muhammadan Association suggests that local Muhammadans have no suspicion as to the state of the Moslem mind elsewhere in this regard. But from Cairo to Bukhara every Muhammadan city can point to religious leaders who in Moslem estimation are greater and more distinguished, and we may add more revered than he. The Aga Khan in fact seems to be presuming without sufficient authority to proclaim a lead in religious politics such as few Muhammadans of the dominant classes exhibit any readiness to follow. The expression "insidious undercurrent of thought . . . the text of the adulatory address of the Sind Muhammadan Association" are most mischievous and objectionable and show that the Editor has not used these words for the benefit of those who read his paper.

I may unhesitatingly say that H.H. Sir Aga Khan never presumed to proclaim a lead in religious politics as the undercurrent of the Editor's thought would suggest, it is impossible that the religious leaders of different communities knowing the religious principles of the Panjabhi Khoja community that is to say, the Ismaili Khojas who are the followers of H.H. Sir Aga Khan, would allow their followers to recognize Sir Aga Khan as their religious leader, nor any Mussalman whose principles differ from those of the Ismailia sect can accept the preaching, principles and precepts followed by the Ismaili Khoja community. He says "from Cairo to Bukhara every Muhammadan city can point out its religious leaders who in Moslem estimation are greater and more distinguished and we may add more revered than he." That there may be many such leaders and may be known in the wide region of the world he mentions, I do not pretend to deny. But it would have been much better and more graceful if he had shown any leaders who would come up to the standard of eminence which H.H. Sir Aga Khan has achieved, in the world, of which we have any knowledge. We are immediately concerned with our own needs and difficulties and in these needs and difficulties we find no other Muhammadan leader to come forward and help us as Sir Aga Khan has been doing without any distinction of the different sects and creeds in India. I do not understand what his object is in saying that "until His Highness makes a clearer avowal of his aims and advances stronger proof that those aims are in no way detrimental to the strength and integrity of Islamic hopes he cannot properly be said without qualification to be either the leader or the exponent of any Muhammadan thought except that of the Khojas." The educational backwardness of Mussalmans generally in India and specially in Sind is too well known to protect them from the reproach which His Highness bestowed upon them. Every Mussalman will tell this that such reproach or rather advice as H.H. conveyed in his speech to the Mussalmans was most welcome, as his intention was for our benefit. According to our religious principles we are bound to

accept and respect any good advice which may be conveyed to any Mussalman by any leader of any community, whether Hindu or Christian, as the Commandment is "Appreciate whatever good advice is conveyed to you and do not mind who the leader or person is who conveys it." Appreciate and follow it even if it be written upon a wall." After all Sir Aga Khan is a Mussalman and belongs to a noble family of Syeds whom we are bound to revere and respect whatever may be their individual beliefs and actions.

The Editor observes "why he should urge under colour of promoting inter-racial amity, a fusion of nationalities such as every unrestful non-Muhammadan politician is for ever preaching into Muhammadan ears." I can see that he insinuates that H.H.'s object in impressing upon the minds of Sind Muhammadans the necessity of forming the Moslem League and giving the people that political education which will ultimately be a source of uniting Hindus and Muhammadans into a single nation was that Mussalmans should make a common cause with Hindus in order to harass and weaken the authority of the British Government as some Hindu anarchists have been doing. Such an insinuation is unworthy of the thought of a journalist of his reputation. He appears evidently to be ignorant of the true scope and object of the Moslem League. The idea of forming the Moslem League originated with Nawab Khwaja Sir Salimullah of Dacca and the League was formed for the first time at Dacca in December 1906 at the time the Educational Conference was held there. It was a counter-measure* against the Congress and its sole object was to weaken its force and warn Mussalmans not to join and take part at any of its meetings. This was done when it became clear that the extremist party in the Congress preached anarchism and sedition. I do not believe and may say positively that Sir Aga Khan's object in recommending the formation of a Moslem League in Sind was even to the smallest degree or in any way sinister as he seems to imagine and no one who knows Sir Aga Khan would draw such a conclusion from his speech. The League already exists in Sind. It was formed by a meeting of the Bombay Moslem League held at Poona in the end of March last year and the Hon. Mir Allahbukhsh Khan and the Hon. Mr. G. M. Bhurgi were nominated Vice Presidents with instructions to appoint committees and nominate members. I may safely say that his object clearly was that the Mussalmans should unite with Hindus in order to save themselves from the troubles and inconveniences to which they are subjected, the Hindus being more powerful and invested with all the authority to wield over them. The advice certainly did not mean at all that Mussalmans should also join with seditious Congresswallahs and extremists. There is nothing wrong if Mussalmans unite with law-abiding and peace loving Hindus and fill up and close the breach which has been widening between the two communities. The recent visit of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor to Delhi and Calcutta has clearly demonstrated and proclaimed that the wild and grossly exaggerated accounts of rapid growth of sedition and anarchism in India are purely a myth and we should not be alarmed by such false accounts.

As regards the text of the "adulatory" address, I am proud to say that the praise bestowed by the Sind Muhammadans upon His Highness was not adulatory. It contained expressions of praise and eulogy, which according to our Oriental style were quite allowable and free of unmerited and undeserved adulation. Sir Aga Khan deserves even our adulation, as he is a most worthy son of our, and we recognise in him the greatest and most distinguished Moslem leader of the day, and whether the Editor of the *Sind Gazette* appreciates our praise of him or not, it makes not the least difference in our mind and estimation.

Yours faithfully,

S. SIVIK ALI,
KHATIRPUR MIRS, | President, Sind Muhammadan Association.

Fish vs. Fowl.

To THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR.—With reference to Nawab Serajul Islam's letter in the *Statesman* of 15th February, while I have much sympathy with the views of the Nawab Sahib, I feel he has attributed to His Highness the Aga Khan thoughts which could never have entered the mind of so courteous and liberal-minded a leader. He compares the rivalry between the proposed Universities at Aligarh and Dacca to a race between a bird and a fish; but he could no more have thought of comparing the people of Eastern Bengal to a fish than he could have likened the Aligarh people to a fowl. With due deference to the Nawab, however, we who live in a land uncommonly fond of fish, should like to know why he implies that a fish is any worse than a fowl!

MAHI MARATAR.

* NOTE.—The writer's statement about the genesis and purpose of the League is not accurate. There is no reason why it should be hostile to the Congress or vice versa. In fact there is every reason why there should be a friendly understanding between the two bodies.—ED., *Comrade*.

The Comrade.

17th February.

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

Persian official advisers report that trade routes in the south are receiving the unremitting attention of Government. The organisation of the gendarmerie and other measures which are being taken are expected to produce the best effect.

Four of the assailants of Consul Smart have been captured and will be imprisoned until the remainder are caught when all will be tried.

The Persian Consul General at Calcutta has received official communication from Teheran to the effect that the Government troops reached Kermanshah on the 8th February and fought with the rebels, defeated them and occupied their strongholds Salar ud Dowleh, Sirdar Muazzzer and the rest of the rebels fled.

Reuter understands that it is practically decided that only £200,000 and not £400,000 will be advanced to Persia by England and Russia. This is regarded as sufficient for immediate purposes. The question of a more substantial loan will probably be discussed afterwards.

A message to the *Daily Telegraph* from St. Petersburg states that in addition to advances to Persia of £100,000 each from the British and Russian Governments, arrangements have been agreed upon for a loan of five or six million sterling to be provided by an Anglo French syndicate on behalf of Great Britain and Russia.

There is every reason to believe that the ex-Shah will shortly leave for Europe.

Referring to Persia in his speech in the House of Commons on the 14th instant Mr. Asquith said that the Government's policy in Persia was unchanged. It aimed at a stable native Government and the preservation of the understanding with Russia, which it is believed, was essential for such Government for our interests and those of the world. A not inconsiderable number of Russian troops had already been withdrawn. The Government was given to understand that the withdrawal of the whole was not only contemplated but was in process of being carried out. Mr. Asquith said that of the proposed loan, Russia was providing £100,000, the Government of India £50,000, and the Home Government £50,000. That loan was absolutely essential for the effective administration and maintenance of order. He believed it would be necessary hereafter to supplement it by a much larger measure of financial aid.

Lord Crewe in his speech in the House of Lords on the 15th instant said with regard to the southern roads that the Government was strongly opposed to direct intervention in Persian affairs. From the Indian point of view, anything like direct interference was thoroughly objectionable. They had no desire to send Indian troops to Persia. That was not the purpose for which the Indian army exists and the difficulties confronting our forces there were always likely to be severe. In such circumstances we must always bear in mind the peculiar position Persia held in regard to the Muhammadan community in India. That alone made us adverse to undue interference. The Troops now in Persia, added Lord Crewe, were only there to strengthen the Consular Guards.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, January 19.

ANDRASSIAN, an Armenian Persian subject, the principal member of the Armenian community at Tabriz, will be court-martialed to-morrow on the ground of complicity in the recent fighting. A number of petitions have been addressed to the Russian Minister, and the Armenian Archbishop of Isphahan has implored the British Minister to exercise his good offices. The British Consul is interesting himself to secure that Andrassian may be allowed to call witnesses.

Teheran, January 21.

Petros Andrassian, the leader of the Armenian community, was hanged yesterday at Tabriz by order of the Russian Court-martial.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Washington, January 22.

The last chapters in the story of the collapse of the Persian experiment in American-administered finance are, so far as the American public is concerned, losing nothing in the telling. The assertion is made to-day in telegrams from Teheran that a plot has been discovered to kill one of the American officials, so as to draw the United States Government into the controversy. Mr. Cairns in

a telegram to the *World* made the same statement a short time ago, and in a telegram to Mr. Sulzer, Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, implored Mr. Sulzer to persuade the State Department to use its good offices with the Persian Government to ensure for himself and his colleagues an immediate release from Persian service and a substantial pecuniary recompense. Mr. Shuster, too, has furnished the *World* from Vienna with a revised edition of his views upon the politics of the Middle East. His statement contains no real addition to his previous expressions of opinion, but as composed not in the heat of the political fray at Teheran but after apparently a restful journey, it is perhaps worthy of partial reproduction. After saying that he lost 35 pounds in weight during his strenuous stay in Persia, but has gained 15 pounds since leaving, he continued—

The Persian condition is one of absolute anarchy and robbery. The country is in the control of seven Persian officials, who are devoid of character and honesty, and who are despised by their own people, who know that their seizing of the reins of government is illegal and unconstitutional. Their continuance in power is only made possible by the support of the Russian and British Government. All hopes of Persia's self-government at present seem futile. If it had been left to itself, without interference from interested European nations, it might have recovered its prosperity, with its finances placed upon a sound basis and with a proper form of Constitutional Government firmly established.

England made a costly mistake in not holding Russia strictly to the terms of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, which would then have checked Russia's action and might have prevented the serious trouble which is probable in the future. Far from being upon a more solid basis of friendship Britain and Russia are now face to face on opposite sides of a disorganized territory.

And Muhammadans are still further aroused against the Christian nations.

Neither Mr. Cairns's telegrams nor Mr. Shuster's interview, nor to-day's Teheran telegrams have so far evoked any comment in the Press. In November, when Mr. Shuster began his campaign in the newspapers, I reported current American opinion. It was, broadly speaking, that Persia was being badly treated, and this may still be considered to stand. It is well understood that the American official attitude is one of complete neutrality. Were one of the Americans to be maltreated in any way, the State Department would presumably take the steps usual in any such case where an American citizen is concerned. The American Minister at Teheran was instructed last week to do what he could unofficially to help Mr. Shuster's subordinates.

Washington, January 23.

In the course of an interview with the Paris correspondent of the Associated Press, Mr. Shuster said—

Persia's salvation rests with England, and England alone, for only England can check the encroachments of Russia. Only the awakening of the public conscience in England can give to ancient Persia a vestige of respectable self-government.

In a slightly different communication to a representative of the *World*, Mr. Shuster talked of Russian dishonesty and British cowardice.

We have received from Mr. Shuster, who is still in Paris, the following telegram—

I am reported in your Washington despatch of 23rd January as using the expression "British cowardice." I have never thought of, much less employed, any such expression.

While welcoming Mr. Shuster's denial, we would point out that our Washington Correspondent quoted the obnoxious expression from an interview published in the *New York World*. The inaccuracy, therefore, is not ours.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, January 25.

Slightly over 1,000 Russians have now reached Kusban, or Kabushan, to the north-west of Meshed, and 1,000 have arrived at Meshed with 21 guns. The detachments which were recently withdrawn from Kazvin to Resht are gradually returning to Kazvin. I understand that it is proposed for the present to maintain a minimum of 2,000 Russian troops at Kazvin.

Samad Khan, who is now all-powerful at Tabriz, is in communication with the ex-Shah's agents at Zenjan, Resht, and Mazandaran, with a view to effecting a concentration of their forces at Miyaneh, between Tabriz and Kazvin. The Russian Foreign Office would appear to be entirely hostile to such a project, but unfortunately the Russian Consulates, especially at Resht, seem subject to adverse influences. It is stated here, however, that the two Governments are likely to come to an arrangement shortly with Persia for the final removal of the ex-Shah from the scene.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Mr. Ameer Ali presided at the farewell reception in honour of the Red Crescent Corps which has been engaged for six months. Further funds are solicited for hospital work and the relief of famine-stricken women and orphans. The British Red Crescent party, consisting of four doctors and three dressers, left Marseilles for Tripoli on the 16th instant. The British and Italian Governments have been informed.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 10th —Colonel Nizri Bey of Turkish revolution fame has been arrested at El-Arish while attempting to proceed to Cyrenaica disguised as an Arab and has been sent back to Constantinople.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 13th —The Italians at Derna, on Saturday night, repulsed there violent attacks. There was desperate fighting with heavy loss. The Italian casualties were 3 killed and 22 wounded. The Turks abandoned 60 dead.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 13th —The Sultan is about to confer upon King George the Order of Hamadan Ali Osman, the highest Turkish decoration.

Reuter wires from London on the 15th —The authorities at Malta have released three Arabs who were being conveyed in chains from Sicily to Tripoli for trial on board the steamer *Istia* which called at Malta.

A mass meeting of the Muhammadans of Madras was held on the 16th instant to protest against the proposed blockade by Italy of ports of Jeddah and Yembo which practically form the gates of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Shams ul Ulama Moulvi Hajji Obeidullah Shahib, Chief Kazi Madras, presided.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT)

Tripoli, January 18 (delayed by Censor)

AT NOON to day the Turks attacked in force the Italian at Gargaresch. Sustained fighting continued for five hours, the Turks being driven off at sunset.

Rome, January 19

There was further fighting all day yesterday in the vicinity of Tripoli, the Italians advancing towards Gargaresch meeting with determined resistance from a mixed force of Turks and Arabs, which was repulsed with loss. It is believed that the Italians had 50 casualties. The action is described in the following telegram from Tripoli:

The staff having decided to construct two forts each to contain two companies of infantry, to protect the Gargaresch quarries from which the stone required for the harbour works at Tripoli will be taken, at 7 o'clock yesterday morning a small mixed column under Colonel Amari was moved out from Fort B to begin the necessary works. The cavalry reached the outskirts of the Gargaresch Oasis about 9 o'clock and was fired upon by groups of Arabs and Turks hidden in the oasis. The cavalry, after clearing their front, moved off to the left, unmasking the advancing Grenadier battalion, which took a position a kilometre to the west supported by a battalion of the 52nd Regiment and having the rest of the force in reserve around the tower of Gargaresch.

The covering troops having been thus placed the Engineers began work on the two redoubts to be built. In the meantime the enemy, who had withdrawn under the Italian fire, returned towards 12.30 in remarkable strength and opened a determined attack upon the Grenadiers from the Fonduk-el-Takar and at the same time began an enveloping movement on our right towards the sea. Our artillery, having taken up a position on a height about 500 metres from Gargaresch, opened fire on the attacking and enveloping columns of the enemy, while the Grenadiers and the 52nd Infantry formed up at the western extremity of the oasis to await the assault. Our position extended from the tower of Gargaresch to the western side of the oasis along the rising ground at a height of 20 metres above the level of the sea. The enemy delivered several successive attacks upon this position from the south-west, but all were repulsed by the fire of our infantry and artillery.

Before half-past 3 o'clock the Arabs and Turks were in full retreat towards the Fonduk-el-Takar, our guns continuing to punish them severely as they fled. Two more battalions were brought up and General Faro took command, but as the enemy had abandoned

all offensive action, the fighting gradually ceased, and towards 5 o'clock only a few Arabs continued firing at long range but without effect. From the disordered retreat of the enemy it was evident that they had suffered severe losses, whereas the Italian casualties were slight. Towards nightfall the noise of firing ceased altogether. (Reuter.)

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, January 21.

News comes from Benghazi of an attack made on the night of the 17th by a body of some 400 Arabs on a blockhouse near that port. The small garrison of the blockhouse succeeded in keeping off the enemy, who finally retired, leaving 29 dead on the ground. The enemy's total loss is, however, said to be very much heavier, since they were exposed during the attack to a raking artillery fire from two neighbouring redoubts.

Gargaresch has been occupied and the fortification works are being proceeded with.

The newspapers this evening contain long and sensational accounts of the bombardment and destruction of Zuara by Italian ships on the morning of the 19th instant. The bombardment began at 7 in the morning and continued until the town was a heap of ruins. It would appear that some ineffectual attempt was made by riflemen on the shore to return the fire, but their shots could not reach the ships. A correspondent of the *Giornale d'Italia* says —

By evening Zuara wore the aspect of a town visited by an earthquake. It seemed a tomb. No smoke showed that any life remained in its houses. This proves that the confidence placed by the country in its Navy is well merited by the valour of the men to whom our ships are entrusted.

Rome, January 21.

The following pronouncement was made to all the Embassies and Legations here by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to night —

In view of the state of war existing between Italy and Turkey, the Royal Government, acting in conformity with the rules of international law, declares that on and after 22nd January the Ottoman shore of the Red Sea extending from Ras Isa to the north of Hodeida to Ras Goulafer (Ghaleefah?) to the south, that is to say the coast between 15° 01' N. lat. and 14° 30' N. lat., will be kept in a state of effective blockade by the naval forces of the kingdom. Neutral ships will be accorded a period — to be fixed by the commander of the blockading force — wherein freely to leave the blockaded places. Vessels attempting to evade the blockading will be proceeded against in conformity with the rules of international war and the treaties in force with neutral Powers. (Reuter.)

Constantinople, January 22

The Turkish submarine cable between Suakin and Hodeida has been interrupted. It is believed that it has been cut by Italian warships, and fears are expressed that it will be impossible to effect repairs as long as the war lasts. (Reuter.)

(FROM THE "DAILY NEWS" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, January 19

The Chamber has been dissolved. The Sultan's Throne was read in both houses to day. It set forth that the Sultan declared the dissolution of the Chamber on the condition that new elections are held and the new Chamber assembles within three months.

Cries were raised in the Chamber of "Long live the nation," "Long live the Sultan." One of the Opposition deputies shouted "We have provoked a dissolution but we have maintained the constitution."

The Government has addressed a circular to the local authorities ordering them to make immediate preparations for the elections — Exchange.

Berlin, January 25.

Negotiations have been opened by the Turkish Embassy here with the German Admiralty with a view of securing the services of a highly placed officer in the German Navy. The object is that he should devote his attention to the further organization of the Ottoman Navy.

It is stated here that Rear-Admiral Hugh Pigot Williams, who has acted as Naval Adviser to the Turkish Government since 1910 and who has been at London on leave of absence, is not likely to return. In any case, it is pointed out his term of service will terminate in July. — Exchange.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Vicuna, January 23.

It is expedient to record a suggestion put forward this morning by the Anti-Aehrenthalian and pro-German Christian Socialist *Reichspost* as to the possible conditions of peace between Italy and Turkey. Italy, says the *Reichspost*, must offer other than pecuniary compensation to Turkey, and, as Italy cannot be expected to revoke the annexation of Tripoli and Cyrenaica, the greater part of her East African possession might be offered to Turkey in exchange. Italy would not lose much nor Turkey gain much beyond a formal satisfaction that would, however, afford her the possibility of making an honourable peace.

The family resemblance between this suggestion and the propaganda of sundry inspired German writers last year for the acquisition of Eritrea and the East African possessions of Italy by Germany is too strong not to be noticed. The appearance of the suggestion so soon after Herr von Kiderlen-Wachter's visit to Rome is also remarkable. For some months prior to the Italian expedition to Tripoli the German Foreign Office was credited with cherishing a plan for the creation of such German interests in Tripoli and Cyrenaica as to form a title to territorial "compensations" whenever Italian claims to Tripoli should be realized. The promptness of Italian action precluded, however, the creation of another Agadir in the South-Eastern Mediterranean. The suggestion that Italy should now favour Turkey with "compensations" must inevitably raise the question whether Turkey would be more than the depositary of Italian East African possessions. The question is, however, academic, since there is not the slightest probability that Italy would lend herself to so humiliating a comedy.

News from Turkish Sources.

(FROM THE "JEUNE TURC")

[Specially Translated for the "Comrade."]

January 20

The Italian Journals never admit any fact in connection with the War in Tripoli till the details have been furnished by some independent papers. It seems certain now that they received a sufficiently serious check at Khoms, have had 500 casualties on their side. The concentration of troops continues at Naples, Syracuse and Catane. It appears that 50,000 more men will have to be sent to Tripoli in accordance with the requirements of the situation there.

January 21

It would appear from a telegram received in London from Tripoli the day before yesterday that the attacks of the Turco-Arab troops on Derna continue and are delivered one after another. According to the latest news coming from Rome to London, these attacks have now become more serious.

January 22.

A telegram from Vienna says that in spite of official denials from Rome, it is certain that General Caneva will be replaced by General Franconi.

January 23.

The French Ambassador presented himself at the Sublime Porte and had an interview with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in connection with the arrest of the 29 members of the Red Crescent Mission who were going to Tripoli via Tunis. M. Bompard, after having received the assurances of Assem Bey that the members were not going to form part of the Army, informed the latter that the French Government had decided to exert itself to secure from the Italian Government the immediate release of the members arrested from the French boat along with their equipment and the money which belonged to the Red Crescent Mission.

January 24.

The Minister for War has sent us the following *communiqué* — "A telegram received from Enver Bey, dated the 10th December 1911, announces the fact that 2,000 Italian reservists mutinied at Derna and have been repatriated."

On 5th January a column of the enemy composed of three arms came near Qaq-Qareni (Gagash) with the intention of occupying Zanzar. A force composed of Regulars and Arab combatants attacked the Italian column. A violent battle lasting three hours and a half took place, as a result of which the enemy was forced to evacuate one after the other two lines of defence which they were occupying. Towards the evening, protected by darkness, and under the cover of reinforcement which had been sent from Tripoli, the Italian column abandoned its last line of defence and withdrew to the tranches which they had dug round the town of Tripoli. The enemy's forces which consisted of a regiment of infantry, one battery of artillery and one squadron of cavalry, had 150 killed. We captured many men together with a large quantity of arms and ammunition and lost on our side 15 killed and some wounded.

ON the 15th December last, the Italians coming towards Derna with the intention of advancing in a southerly direction, with seven battalions of infantry and eight pieces of mountain battery, reappeared in three columns. An encounter took place six kilometres to the south of Derna in which our regulars and Arab Volunteers took part. The enemy beat a retreat, but the attacks of the Ottoman army changed the retreat into a flight. The chase continued till the evening when the Italians took refuge in the entrenchments, which have been made by them round the town, having abandoned 200 fusils, two mitrailleuses, 25 cases of projectiles of mountain batteries, two pieces of cannon, ten camels and a great deal of munitions. The Italian losses were 200 killed, including one Colonel, two Captains, many officers of lesser rank and non-commissioned officers. The number of their wounded has not yet been ascertained, but it is very great. Our losses were 15 killed and 25 wounded. From the declarations of the prisoners it would appear that the Italian soldiers do not desire war any further. The morale of our troops is excellent. The Commander at Benghazi announces that in a few days another tribe will join our forces.

A telegram received from Enver Bey announces the fact that 690 francs found on the persons of the Italian soldiers killed in the fight near Derna have been sent by post to the Italian Minister of War to be remitted to their families. On the other hand, the Italians pride themselves on having taken possession of the money belonging to the Red Crescent Mission which was intended to purchase necessities and supply the other needs of our wounded. This is proof enough of our great humanity. The fact is characteristic and would go a long way in forming public opinion as regards the conduct of the Italian Government and that of Ottoman soldiers.

January 25.

The Paris *Humanité* publishes the interview of Jean Longuet with a Turkish personage of importance relating to the difficulties of the Italian situation in Tripoli of which they occupy but a twentieth part. The Italians are experiencing great and serious financial embarrassment. They attempted to raise 300 million francs in France, but the French refused to advance the money.

French Neutrality.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, January 23.

THE Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Raymond Poincaré, received an ovation in the Chamber of Deputies today, when, in reply to questions by Admiral Biennaisé (Paris), M. Guernier (Saint Malo), and M. Laroche (Sarthe), he informed the Chamber of the steps that had been taken by the French Government to secure reparation for the Italian seizure of French mail boats.

The points upon which the House desired information were the circumstances of the arrest of the Tunis bound mail steamers *Carthage* and *Mahoula* on the high seas by Italian destroyers on the 16th and 17th instant, the reasons for the detention of these vessels by the Italian authorities at Cagliari, and, above all, the origin and nature of the representations as a result of which the commander of the *Mahoula* was induced to surrender a party of 29 accredited members of the Turkish Red Crescent Society bound for Tripoli and Tunis. M. Guernier and Laroche drew particular attention to the stipulations of the Hague Convention with regard to mail steamers, which, as they pointed out, were fortified in the case of France and Italy by the Franco-Italian Convention of 1873, entitling the mail-boats of the two countries to the same treatment as that accorded to vessels of war. All the speakers were agreed that a serious affront to the French national honour had taken place, and Admiral Biennaisé declared that France would, if necessary, have to "see this business through."

M. Poincaré, who had previously announced that he would return a joint reply to the questions raised by the three speakers, immediately went to the tribune and, amid tense silence, stated the French case. At noon on the 15th instant the regular Tunis mail steamer *Carthage* of the Compagnie Transatlantique, left Marseilles for Tunis. The steamer carried an aeroplane consigned by the owner, Duval, in his own name, to Tunis. On the 16th instant, on the high seas, 17 miles off Sardinia, the steamer encountered an Italian destroyer, which fired a blank shot and signalled to her to stop and sent a naval officer on board to search the ship. An Italian officer demanded that the aeroplane should be landed at Cagliari, the nearest Italian port, or destroyed on the spot. The French commander refused to comply, and the *Carthage* was ordered to proceed under escort to Cagliari, where the demand that the aeroplane should be landed was renewed. The French commander again refused, and his ship was placed under arrest.

Already during the evening of the 16th the French Government had been apprised by the French Vice-Consul at Cagliari of the seizure of the *Carthage* at sea, and the same night the French

Charge d'Affaires in Rome was instructed to take steps to secure the immediate release of the vessel. The Italian Government replied that it had received definite information to the effect that the aeroplane shipped in the *Carthage* was intended for the Turkish forces in Tripoli, but that the ship would be allowed to proceed if the machine were put ashore at Cagliari. Continuing his statement M. Poincaré explained, amid loud cheers, that he had declined to accede to this demand or to the further Italian suggestion that the French Government should give an undertaking that the authorities in Tunis should keep the aeroplane under surveillance, and see that it did not reach the Turks. At this point M. Duval, senior, father of the owner of the machine, came to the Quai d'Orsay of his own accord and informed the Foreign Office that his son had entered for competitions at various aviation meetings in Tunis, Egypt, and Greece, that the aeroplane was not intended for any belligerent Power, and that reliance could be placed on his assurances. The French Charge d'Affaires in Rome was instructed to communicate this voluntary declaration to the Italian Government, which accepted it and ordered the *Carthage* to be released.

The Prime Minister interrupted his narrative in order to explain the view taken by international law as regards the treatment of aeroplanes as contraband. After premising that the French Government could not accept the Italian contentions on the subject M. Poincaré reviewed the difficulties of the question. The Hague Conference of 1907 had not settled the conditional aspect of the contraband character of aeroplanes. The Declaration of London which had not been generally ratified had been more explicit, including aeroplanes as conditional contraband, which might be made absolute if special notice were given by the belligerent. But Italy, who had adhered to this Declaration, had not included aeroplanes in her list of absolute contraband issued at the beginning of last October. This being the case, the French Government contended that aeroplanes might lawfully be conveyed from one neutral port to another neutral port. The *Carthage*, moreover, was a mail boat Italy had, therefore, committed an error to the detriment both of French rights and of French interests. The late Foreign Minister, M. de Selves, had already made the French position perfectly clear in a communication to the Italian Government, and the French point of view had remained unchanged.

There was, unhappily, a second affair, the case of the *Manouba*. On the 5th instant M. de Selves, who was still Foreign Minister at that date, was officially informed by the Turkish Embassy in Paris, that a second Turkish Red Crescent Mission was being fitted out for Tripoli, and the French Government was requested to grant the usual facilities for the members of the party, a complete list of whose names was duly submitted. On the 12th instant the Turkish Government was informed by M. de Selves that facilities would be granted, and the French authorities in Tunis were notified of the Turkish Mission's impending arrival. At the same time the French Government stipulated that the character of the mission should not be vitiated by the inclusion of any persons who were not members of the Turkish Red Crescent Society. The French Government had, therefore, taken every precaution. Unfortunately, that Government had not been informed of the exact date upon which, or of the particular boat on which the mission intended to sail from Marseilles. This omission was regrettable, since it had been impossible to communicate with the French Charge d'Affaires in Rome, who would thus have been in possession of all the facts of the case. On the 16th instant the Turkish mission sailed from Marseilles in the *Manouba* bound for Tunis. On the following day the Italian Ambassador, Signor Tittom, called at the Foreign Office to oppose the passage across the Tunisian frontier into Tripoli of the 29 Turks in a group who were on board the *Manouba*, and who, as the Italian Government had reason to believe, were Turkish officers. M. Poincaré, as Foreign Minister, demurred to the Italian stipulation, and replied that every precaution had been taken by the French Government beforehand, but that the Tunisian authorities would be instructed to make doubly sure of the professional character of the members of the mission on their arrival. Instructions in this sense were immediately sent to Tunis. The French assurances ought to have sufficed to preserve the *Manouba* from seizure and even from search. Unhappily, before Signor Tittom's account of his conversation at the Quai d'Orsay could reach his Government an Italian warship had taken the deploitable initiative of arresting the *Manouba* and conducting her to Cagliari. The Vice Consul at that port was immediately instructed that the members of the Turkish mission were not to be surrendered. The French Foreign Office message, however, reached Cagliari in an indecipherable condition and had to be returned to Paris. In the meantime the Italian Government informed the French Charge d'Affaires in Rome that there were 29 Turkish officers on board the *Manouba* and that they would have to be landed before the vessel could be allowed to proceed.

The Italian Government relied upon Article 47 of the Declaration of London by virtue of which individual members of the

armed forces of the enemy found on board a neutral vessel may be made prisoners of war, even though there be no ground for capture of the vessel. The Chargé d'Affaires, who did not know that the Turkish passengers in the *Manouba* were members of the Red Crescent Mission, reflected that grave difficulties might arise over an incident of this kind, and consequently instructed the French Vice Consul at Cagliari to assent to the surrender of the Turkish passengers. The Chargé d'Affaires took this action upon the strength of the Italian assurances that the Turks were officers.

At this point the Prime Minister, with marked deliberation, recalled the principle that neither in international nor in common law could fraudulent intent (*trahit*) be imputed without proof. M. Poincaré repeated that it was the French Government's duty to inquire into the character of the members of the Turkish mission and that every precaution with regard to the mission had been taken. Representations in this sense were made to the Italian Government, accompanied by an expression of hope that incidents of this kind would not recur. Satisfactory assurances had been obtained from the Italian Government, and a pledge that operations such as the exercise of the right of search necessitated by the war in which Italy was engaged would be conducted with the consideration which one friendly nation was entitled to expect from another. The Italian Government had further undertaken to notify the French authorities of any shipments in French ports which in the Italian view might be open to suspicion.

The Prime Minister concluded his statement by declaring that provided that the captured Turkish passengers were given up by Italy, these assurances might be regarded as an earnest of an early and satisfactory settlement of the recent incidents, which ought not to be allowed to disturb friendly relations between two Powers united by so many common memories and by a great common civilization. The relations of France and Italy rested upon rare affinities and upon the identity of a large number of their respective interests. If necessary, resort might be had to the Franco-Italian Arbitration Agreements of 1903 and 1908. In any case he added, a passing cloud could not darken the horizon.

In order to bring out clearly the Prime Minister's attitude with regard to eventual negotiations I append the text of an essential passage of his speech as given by the official Parliamentary report. After referring to the acaut Italian assurances as an earnest of an early settlement of the incidents, M. Poincaré continued . . .

"I have no doubt that after the Turkish passengers have been given up (loud and continued cheers) a settlement may be reached directly in the course of friendly conversations. If by chance any disputed points should remain in suspense, the Arbitration Agreement of 1903 between France and Italy, which was renewed in 1908, would afford a natural means of settling outstanding differences in an amicable spirit. (Loud cheers.)"

M. Poincaré returned to his seat amid loud and continued cheers from every part of the House, including a number of Socialist benches.

The oldest frequenters of the Chamber say that never in their experience has a French Foreign Minister been so cordially cheered by the whole House after making a statement on an international difficulty.

The seizure of the French mail boats raises points in international law which particularly interest the British Empire, since the vessels were not proceeding to a belligerent port or to a port of a foreign neutral, but were sailing between two French ports. In the case of the *Carthage*, even if the aeroplane on board had been absolute contraband of war, which it certainly was not failing any Italian declaration to that effect at the beginning of the war, it had not left French territory, but was on board a French vessel and was admittedly being conveyed to a French port. Even the presumption, that an article of absolute contraband would ultimately leave French territory for that of Italy's enemy would not justify Italian action or even Italian representations, since The Hague Convention No. V, Article 7, lays it down that "a neutral Power is not under any obligation to prevent the exportation or transit for one or the other of the belligerents of arms, ammunition, or in general anything which may be serviceable to an army or a fleet."

As regards the Turks on board the *Manouba*, Article 47 of the Declaration of London certainly says that "any individual embodied in the armed forces of the enemy who is found on board a neutral merchant vessel may be made a prisoner of war, even though there be no ground for the capture of the vessel." It is evident, however, that, even if the Turkish Red Crescent party were ultimately proved to include possible belligerents, the case of a vessel plying between two French ports on its regular service is one which requires special consideration, and may have to be dealt with in general terms in any future revision of international law. There appears to be nothing in the text of the Declaration of London which would secure immunity, for example, for a neutral British merchantman proceeding from one British port to another and carrying nationals of a belligerent Power which naval forces of the other belligerent should

17th February.

sought to capture. The situation in such circumstances would manifestly become intolerable.

Constantinople, January 22.

The Porte has protested to the French Government and other Powers against the arrest of the Red Crescent Mission proceeding to Tripoli on board the *Manouba* by Italian warships. The Porte has received information leading to the hope that France will insist on their liberation and repatriation. The surrender of the men to the Italian authorities has created a painful impression in Turkish official circles — *Kreuter*.

Geneva, January 22.

M. Gustave Ador, the President of the International Red Cross Committee, has received from the Red Crescent Society in Constantinople a formal protest against the arrest of the Members of the Red Crescent Mission on board the *Manouba*. The protest was forwarded to the Italian Red Cross Society this evening — *Kreuter*.

Rome, January 23.

The *Popolo Romano* recognizes the friendly tone of the declarations made by M. Poincaré in the French Chamber, which, it says, cannot fail to produce a good effect on public opinion in Italy. It contests, however, the justice of some of his statements. According to the Ministerial journal, a neutral Power is under an obligation to prevent the transit of arms and munitions of war, and it instances the action of Lord Kitchener in sequestering cargo at Alexandria intended for the Turks, and that of the French Government itself in arresting the Russian ship *Odessa* at Sfax. The *Popolo Romano* disregards the assurances received by the French Government that the passengers on board the *Manouba* belonged to the Red Crescent. If they are recognized by the authorities at Cagliari as really belonging to the medical profession there can be no doubt of their release.

Paris, January 25.

According to some accounts, the result of the Italian examination of the Turkish captives at Cagliari is that three were found to be doctors, 22 ambulance or hospital attendants, and the remaining five administrative officers of the Red Crescent Society. Other accounts, however, state that some of the party, probably the "administrative officers of the Red Crescent," are regarded as possible combatants, and that the eventual treatment of these suspected persons forms one of the difficulties in the negotiations that are being assiduously pursued between the French Ambassador, M. Barrère, and the Italian Foreign Minister in Rome.

There is the larger question, however, of the French demand that all the prisoners should be restored to the protection of the French flag before any arrangements are made for arbitration on the *Carthage* and *Manouba* incidents. French public opinion, in accordance with the declared attitude of the Government, insists upon the unconditional return of the Turks to France. The Italian Government seems to want certain preliminary assurances as to what France will do with any of the prisoners whom on delivery she may find to be combatants. The solution that Italy herself should simply liberate the captives seems to be regarded as very unsatisfactory from the French point of view. It ought to be added, however, that reticence regarding the negotiations is observed in Paris, with a view, doubtless, to facilitating some arrangement which would be in accordance with the dignity of both Powers and would leave no sting behind.

According to information received from Rome by the *L'Uomo* the situation is unchanged, and after an hour's conversation this morning M. Barrère and the Marquis di San Giuliano "had not found a formula for the settlement of the incident to the satisfaction of the public opinion of both countries."

So far as can be made out, two alternatives are offered by Italy — either that France, in the event of the restoration of the captives to her protection, should give assurances as to the destination of any of them whom she may find to be combatants, or that Italy should herself liberate them all without distinction. Neither proposal would be satisfactory to France.

A protest against the detention of the Red Crescent Mission has been addressed from Tunis to Rifaat Pasha, Turkish Ambassador in Paris, by Dr Kerim Sabati, a member of the Red Crescent Society now on duty in Tripoli. He says that it was he who telegraphed to Constantinople for reinforcements for the ambulance staff, and that the detention of the mission is causing serious prejudice to the work of the ambulance corps, which is conducted in the field for the benefit of Turks and Italians alike.

It is noted that a German Red Cross Mission arrived this morning without let or hindrance on board the German steamboat *Ferd* at Goletta. The German Consul presented the mission at the French Residency-General in Tunis, and it will proceed at once in the *Ferd* to Sibans, near the Tripolitan frontier, which it will cross at Bengardane and then be taken in charge by a Turkish escort.

Turkish Party Politics.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT).

Constantinople, January 22.

An Imperial令旨 appointing Hadji Adil Bey, ex Vali of Adrianople and Secretary-General of the Central Committee of Union and Progress, to be Minister of the Interior, was issued to-day. The new Minister has had considerable administrative experience, especially in the Customs Administration, and is believed to be of a more moderate and conciliatory disposition than some of his colleagues in the Committee. Talat Bey is believed to have been offered the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs, and the Press hints at the approaching nomination of Djavid Bey as Minister of Public Works.

January 23.

Prince Said Halim of Egypt, son of Halim Pasha, uncle of the Khedive Ismail, has been appointed President of the Council of State. The appointment, which is presumably a reward for services rendered to the Government in inducing a number of Senators to acquiesce in the dissolution of Parliament, by a reversion to a practice abandoned during the last two years, carries Cabinet rank with it.

The Minister of Marine has resigned and no successor has been appointed. Ayub Sabri Bey, an ex-officer and a prominent member of the Committee of Union and Progress since its formation, has been appointed Secretary to the General Organization in place of Hadji Adel Bey.

January 24.

Ahmed Riza Bey, the Speaker of the Turkish Parliament, has been appointed a Senator. He was called to the Speakership by the vote of the Committee Party out of recognition for the integrity and strength of purpose shown by him on behalf of the Constitutional cause, and naturally lacked Parliamentary experience. At first he made several mistakes, both within and without the Chamber, which were criticized more severely than they perhaps deserved. Accusations of partisanship, however, have been much less frequent during the last two Sessions, when he often showed considerable force of character not uncombined with fairness.

Falat Bey has accepted the portfolio of Posts and Telegraphs.

January 25.

The Grand Vizier is suffering from a mild form of chickenpox which will compel him to keep his room for some days longer.

January 26.

Said Pasha is still confined to his house, and some anxiety has been caused by recent symptoms of more serious trouble than the original bronchial catarrh. Assam Bey has been temporarily entrusted with the signature of State documents on his behalf.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT).

Sofia, January 26.

According to a telegram from Salonika the court-martial at Iskub, which is sitting with closed doors, has already condemned to death eight Bulgarians, two Jews, three gypsies and six Turks. Another court-martial is sitting at Velts. The Turkish authorities state that a conflict occurred on the 17th instant in the district of Kiatovo between a force of 200 Gendarmes and a Bulgarian band numbering 10 men. Four Bulgarians, including the chief of the band, and four Gendarmes were killed. Preparations are being made at Uskub for the arrival of fresh troops.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND COLLECTIONS OF INDIA.

Name of place	Name of per- son in charge of the fund	THE WORKS IN PROGRESS.			PROGRESS UP TO DATE.		Remarks
		Amount Collec- ted	Amount forwarded to Turkey	To whom forwarded and through what Agency.	Amount Collec- ted	Amount Forwarded	
Karachi	Sohail Abdush H. R. C.	1,520 6	3,579 0 0	The President "Se- cile du Croissant Rouge Ottomane" by a demand draft on the Deutsche Bank, Constantinople.	5,121 6	5,044 15 0	Week ending 2nd February 1912

اول صیغہ سال نو



جس طرح "سنہ ۱۹۱۲ء" ۵ دین جمیں اپنے جدیدہ راتاٹ کے پلات کا اضافہ کرتا ہے اس طرح "صارا ضمیمہ باہم ماء فرودی" اس حکایت لومبن صارے نن موسیقی کی نیا یا اور عاددار روزگروں ترقی کے لیوں میں ایک برا ذہیرہ ہازہ تریں رکارے کا مدیدہ ٹائیفیں گراموفون کرتا ہے۔ اسکا ہر رکارہ منشعب خوش الحاضر گوئیوں کے چیہہ، جوہہ، اور دلچسپ گالوں سے لبریز ہے جسکی خوبی منہ میں پر موقوف ہے جو تعریف میں اور نہیں موسیقی جلد خرید فرمائے اور اس قیمتی موقع کو ماہیہ کے لد بھجئے۔ مورت و مرد کا لے والی حسب ذہل میں: حضور جام (امہوری)۔ یہ مشہور و معروف کا لے والی از ارباب نہاد مر ہائینس سرکار واللہ ریاست راصہور ہے۔ اس کے کا لے سوائے کہنی میں اس کے اور نہیں نہیں دستیاب ہو سکتے۔ سرود کی نزاکت تو کیب - آواز میں خداداد غیرین اور کہک اسکے کا لے کے خام و صفت میں۔ علاوہ بیرون مہدوستان کے تمام نامی گرامیں گوئیوں کے مہدوستانی - مولی - چہنی - غلیخ اور دوسرے دوسرے راک اور راگنیوں کے دلکش اور عام پسند ریکارڈ کا ایک برا ذہیرہ۔ از میں اچہن بھٹی - امیرجان پالی بھٹی - کالی ہان دھلی - ہالکی پانی ال آباد - ملکہ جان آگرہ - ممتاز جان دھلی - سینتائیفی ۱۰ سی ٹکنی - زین جان جھمر - زمرا پانی آگرہ - محمد حسین نگینہ - پھارے ساہب کلکتہ دینارے امام الدین وغیرہ وغیرہ جسکو صندھ میں خاص کر مولی تھوار اور ماہ چین کے لئے تیار کئے گئے اور ایسے موقع پر ہر ایک موسیقی سے خائق کے ہان ان ریکارڈ کا ہوتا ضروری سمجھئی کیونکہ جس راک دلکش کے لئے آپ محل فرار دیکھ سکرے (روپہ کا ہار اتفاہا کرنے کے وہ سب ذہیرہ میں فرام ہے۔ ماء فرودی میں فرام ہے۔ چنکی مفضل فیروز سب صارے تمام باضا بطا ایجنتوں کے ہان کے دستیاب موسیقی ہے۔

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Applications for Admission into the Bengal Veterinary College for the Session 1912-13 will be received in March next. The Candidate should be present at the College with necessary certificates in original required by the College Regulations at 11 A.M on 15th April next for selection.

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8-3-12.

The Comrade

17th February.

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They only live who dare!

—Morris.

Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 8. Annas 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, February 24, 1912.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1.

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assist Count Wolff-Metternich, the German Ambassador, in further negotiations, while the King and the Kaiser exchange visits. The paper adds that a British squadron will call at the German ports in the course of the year

The *Frankfurter Zeitung* states that negotiations between London and Berlin continue to be carried on and Dr von Bethmann-Hollweg, Imperial Chancellor, is personally conducting them from Germany.

Lord Haldane, speaking at Leeds, said he had cause to be thankful for his cosmopolitan University education. When he went to Berlin, he said, he met men of high standing. That training had enabled him to enter into conversations of a highly miscellaneous character and to see things through German spectacles and realize how matters struck them.

Sir Edward Grey, speaking at Manchester, said the year had begun auspiciously. The King's visit to India was a conspicuous example of what a sovereign could render to the Empire, showing, as it did, his sense of public duty and his keen interest in the prosperity of the countries and in the welfare of the people at home and over seas.

Sir Edward Grey pointed out that the language used by Mr Asquith recently, in connection with Lord Haldane's visit to Germany, was reciprocated in the same tone in Berlin.

In the speeches of Mr. Asquith and Dr von Bethmann-Hollweg there was considerable reticence and reserve. He must also observe the same restraint but this did not imply any lack of cordiality. He trusted that something would be achieved which would remain permanent and which would dispel some of the mists of suspicion and distrust due to unfounded rumours. England and Germany, he said, were great industrial nations and in the interest of their peoples there must be peace. He had no fear of any permanent estrangement of the public opinions of the two countries, provided the truth got a fair chance.

Mr. Asquith, he said, had disposed of one great untruth—that we last year meditated an unprovoked attack on Germany. There was never the least foundation for such a suspicion. There was nothing in the movements of our ships, there was nothing in anything we did to warrant the belief that we ever thought of being ourselves the first to break the peace, or encouraging or provoking anyone else to break it, and if the mephitic vapours generated by such rumours had been dissipated, he trusted there would be no further occasion for suspicion or distrust or diplomatic tension.

Sir Edward Grey, speaking at Manchester said we had special relationships and friendships with certain Powers which we mean to preserve but therein there was nothing being contemplated to an unprovoked aggressive policy towards other Powers. Our naval strength was essential and no other nation ought to be offended if we have a margin of strength against any probable combination likely to be brought against us.

The Government is trustee for the people that the power to defend itself is properly preserved. Our people's interest is peace. We also have to see expressed in our policy the wish of the people that we should not be aggressive ourselves.

Referring to the serious situation in regard to the coal dispute, he said the probability of a universal coal strike is a most serious

The *Teutsche Rundschau* states that Baron Von Stumpf of the German Foreign Office will probably proceed to London to

24th February.

question in the minds of everybody in this country. If the strike proceeds to worst consequences no one can say how much of national prosperity may be recovered.

Reuter wires from Berlin on the 16th. In the Reichstag to-day—Herr Ledebour, Socialist, said the Socialists wanted a policy of peace and friendship. He thought Kiauchau should be restored to the Chinese Republic. He further attacked the Agreement between England and "barbaric" Russia for plundering Persia.

Herr von Kiderlen-Wachter, replying, made a strong protest against an unprecedent attack on a friendly nation. He proceeded to defend the Government's Moroccan policy and asserted that it was never intended that Germany should gain a foothold in Morocco.

Reform of the Lords.

In the House of Commons on the 19th Mr. F. E. Smith in moving the opposition amendment to the address recalled various Ministerial pledges and pronouncements on the subject of the Reform of the Lords, including the statement by Mr. Asquith that it would brook no delay. Finally, he quoted Mr. Asquith's declaration that it was an obligation of honour that reform should be carried out within the lifetime of the present Parliament, if time permitted. Mr. Smith said it was necessary to revise our ethical categories. There were, he said, honourable men and dishonorable men, and honourable men if time permitted. No more flagrant slushing had ever been attempted by a responsible Minister.

Sir J. A. Simon said Mr. Smith was arguing on the unfounded assumption that when the Lords were reconstituted on liberal lines, the difficulty of carrying Home Rule would be increased. The electors at the last election were fully aware that Home Rule would follow the passing of the Parliament Bill.

Sir J. A. Simon asked Mr. Bonar Law if it was intended to repeal the Parliament Act when the Unionists were returned to power. Mr. Bonar Law replied "We shall not repeal the Act except simultaneously with the reform of the Second Chamber."

Mr. Montagu maintained that it was the natural and logical order that Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment and plural voting be taken before the reform of the Lords.

The debate was adjourned.

In a letter to the press replying to Mr. Bonar Law's charges of corruption the Master of Elthamden denies that public money is being spent on the Liberal Insurance propaganda.

Speaking in the House of Commons, tonight Mr. Austen Chamberlain denied the moral competence of Parliament to deal with great measures while the Constitution was mutilated and deranged. He asked what moral sanction the laws thus passed would have.

Mr. Asquith replying said that the only definite statement made regarding the time of the Reform of the Lords was that it was proposed to carry it out during the present Parliament. He absolutely adhered to that. Everybody knew that the first use made of the Parliament Act would be to carry Home Rule. In his view Parliament was more competent morally and constitutionally to deal with great measures of Reform than it had ever been in the lifetime of any member. Mr. Asquith went on to say that the proper time to reconstitute the Second Chamber was not before but after Ireland had been given freedom to deal with its own affairs on lines which in the main principles might be followed with regard to the other parts of the kingdom. It was wiser and more expedient in every way to delay specific proposals till those lines had been decided. Replying to an interjection, Mr. Asquith said he did not mean that reconstitution should be delayed till the other parts of the kingdom had been dealt with. Continuing he said that with those lines settled they would be in a far better position to deal with the distribution of local and Imperial business, composition of the Second Chamber and the relative functions of the two chambers in the evergrowing responsibilities of the Empire. There was therefore no task more solemn or more responsible to which legislation could address itself.

Mr. Bonar Law wound up the debate in the House of Commons. His speech was loudly cheered, his supporters intimating that the speech would give Mr. Asquith ample opportunity of defending the Government regarding the charges of corruption. They declare that the absence of any reference to Tariff Reform from the amendment did not mean that the Opposition were weakening on that subject. They point out that the Unionists would not have chosen him as their leader unless they had known that Tariff Reform would be pressed without the smallest hesitation.

On a division, Mr. Smith's amendment to the address was rejected by 324 votes to 241.

Indians in the Transvaal.

In the House of Lords on the 19th Lord Ampthill raised a debate on the question of Indians in the Transvaal. He asked regarding the allegations that the Portuguese at Mozambique forcibly detained Indians while the Union Government permits were being examined with the likelihood of their deportation to India in consequence of the expiry of Delagoa Bay permits, whether minors were not allowed to accompany their parents and whether the Government had communicated with the Union on the subject. Lord Ampthill said the Indian question was more than ever of enormous public importance.

Lord Emmott said the Colonial Office had no official information but if representations were made, Mr. Harcourt would consult Lord Gladstone in the matter.

Lord Ampthill replied that he was surprised that the Government had no papers on the subject. It was pitifully disappointing that the matter should be allowed to remain where it stood. It was idle to say that they could not interfere with a self-governing Colony. He pointed out that all the good derived from the momentous Durbar celebrations was being undone by the bitterness and resentment arising from this question.

Lord Emmott said he believed that the relations of the communities in South Africa had improved and would continue to improve. He promised that papers should be laid on the table relating to the working of the Gold Law and Townships Amendment Act. He emphasised that the Union Ministers did honestly try to meet the Government on important points.

Lord Selborne thought that the complexity and difficulty of the question were not realised in Great Britain and in India. He earnestly desired a settlement for the sake of South Africa quite as much as for India. He did not desire to underrate the strength of the Indian case, but it was necessary to understand the South African side. It was a question of comparative systems of Eastern and Western civilization. He explained the seriousness of the Indian competition and considered that if immigration were unrestricted the European trader would disappear from South Africa.

Lord Selbourne proceeded to draw a picture of English tradesmen in town after town being replaced by Chinamen and the same in Bond Street and Regent Street, and asked if English opinion would then remain as impartial and neutral as now or if land in India were all passing into the hands of Europeans surely the Indian Government and the public in India would legislate to prevent it. It was not a sound basis to say that all the King's subjects had the same rights in all parts of the Empire. It was a truer basis that the special interest of each part should have the first consideration. Surely everyone would agree that in India, what was foremost was the welfare of the people of India, and South Africans asked that the interests of South Africa should have the first consideration. They desired to restrict future immigration while treating the domiciled Indian fairly.

Lord Selborne went on to sketch the history of the trouble. He showed that South Africans became frightened at the extent of the immigration and therefore introduced legislation. He affirmed that he realised to the fullest the position of Indians and he wished the House to understand that the action of the Transvaal was not gratuitous but was based on great anxiety. There were many reasonable and honourable Indians on the one hand and the Union Government on the other to make a settlement wholly possible, and it would be as disastrous to South Africa if the question remained unsettled as it would to India. (Cheers.)

Lord Crewe said he hoped that he put the position clearly at the Imperial Conference and he thought Lord Ampthill was a little pessimistic in thinking that the conversations at the Conference had no result. He testified to the goodwill of the Union Ministers but was afraid that goodwill was not universal in South Africa, as there had been a good deal of prejudice and jealousy beyond what was justified by trade competition. He deprecated the treatment of educated Indians and said there had been too much loose talk on the question of colour.

Lord Crewe pointed out that there was growing opinion in India against immigration and consequently any attempt to flood South Africa would not be countenanced. His lordship admitted that the action of various Governments had not been taken without provocation. The problem of the passage of Indians through Mozambique was particularly difficult. He asked for specific instances of unfair treatment as it was impossible for Lord Gladstone to go to the Union Ministry with vague complaints. Lord Crewe concluded by saying that undoubtedly any suspicion of public injustice or contemptuous treatment would arouse in India strong indignation. He desired to see the cause of the difficulty cleared away. The matter was then dropped.

Government with regard to the alleged passage of contraband of war across the frontiers of Egypt and Tunis. How many of these were based on stray pages torn from the notebooks of foreign correspondents by veiled Egyptian or Tunisian ladies?

News from Turkish Sources.

(FROM THE "TANIN.")

[Specially Translated for the "Comrade."]

OFFICIAL details regarding the engagement near Derna, reported a few days ago by Agence Stefani have been received. The following has been supplied to us by the Ministry of War:

Summary of a report of the Commandant at Benghazi —

On the 15th of December (O.S.) the Italians in Derna came out with seven regiments of Infantry and eight mountain guns with other complements and tried to make an advance in the south from three directions. They were, however, at once engaged by the Ottoman soldiers and Arab mujahids at about 6 kilometres to the south of Derna. They began to retreat, and in consequence of the charge of Osmanli mujahids, the retreat was soon converted into a rout.

As a result of a hot pursuit, extending up to the evening, we captured a considerable amount of stores and ammunition, including two mitrailleuses, two hundred rifles and twenty boxes of mountain gun ammunition and two mountain guns.

They retired behind the fortifications erected by them round Derna.

The loss of the enemy exceeded two hundred, including one major, one captain and a number of officers and petty officers. The number of their wounded is much greater, the exact number could not be ascertained. Our loss comprised 15 shahced and 25 wounded.

From the statements of the prisoners it appears that the Italian soldiers do not want to fight. The prisoners are averse to being sent back and are therefore kept at Headquarters.

Whereas the spirit of the Arab volunteers as well as the soldiers continues to be excellent, a new tribe is expected to join us in a few days.

The following is the Arab manifesto issued in reply to the Italian proclamations. It was considered and unanimously adopted in a large conference composed of all the Sheikhs, leaders and notables of the various Arab tribes, which was held immediately after the receipt of General Caneva's proclamation which was dropped in the Arab camp by an Italian aeroplane.—

We read that proclamation of yours, which you gave to your armament that they may drop it in our camp in the presence of our brothers the Turks. We have experienced no difficulty in finding out the object of your proclamation which is simply this that we should throw down our arms and become your loyal and willing subjects. It is a patent fact that the contents of this proclamation are absolutely false and based on misrepresentation. We wish to contradict your impudent assertions in detail. You seem to imagine that the Turks killed and destroyed our ancestors. As far as we can remember, not a single occurrence of the kind has ever happened, that could even partially bear out your false imputation. We have never yet had to complain of any other people having wantonly invaded our country. You are the first to have stained this peaceful and contented land of the Arabs with blood.

You seem to think that the innocent and peace loving inhabitants whom you massacred at "Messa" were guilty of having made an assault on your troops. The fact is that you took the initiative in killing our innocent people, our children and our women. You not only killed them, but savagely mutilated and hacked them limb by limb. You cut off their noses, ears, hands, feet, eyes, mouths and tongues and threw them about in the public thoroughfares. Thus you gave us an opportunity of acquainting ourselves with your country, your nation, your religion, its civilisation and moral standards. If we had not seen these savage deeds with our own eyes surely we would not have hesitated to believe in your professions.

You tell us that the Italian Government recognises our rights and supports our pre-eminent position. Has the most suitable method of doing this been found in bombarding the mosques just when the people are discharging their religious duties inside them and when the shells burst in their midst? When you wanted to bombard "Nahiba," the minarets and towers of our mosques were in particular made the target of your guns. Is this what is meant by paying legitimate respect to our religious feelings? What proof is there of the allegation that the Turks always keep the Arabs in front of the battle-line, and themselves behind? We the Arabs and the Turks are both the children of the soil of

Tripoli. There is no difference and distinction whatever between us. We are like two branches of a single tree which cannot be disunited. The Turks are our instructors and teachers and we appreciate and admire them from the bottom of our hearts. We consider their lives to be more precious than ours, and it is for this reason that we want to constitute ourselves as a sort of shield to them. It is a sufficient proof of their ability and superiority that we gained a decisive victory over you in the "Der Qura" engagement which was the result of the training we had received at their hands. You had a full regiment in the field, while we had not more than 500 men. If it were not for the fact that we obeyed the orders of our Turkish Commanders and stopped from pursuit in obedience to the directions of our officers we would have taken your entire regiment prisoners. Is not this soil our motherland? Is this worthy of your Government which itself belongs to the People of the Book, that it should endeavour, by means of various misrepresentations, machinations and deceptions, by means of savage acts of pillage and slaughter, to injure and exasperate those who are fighting in defence of their dear motherland? We declare emphatically that we will not abstain from shedding our blood for the sake of these sandy tracts as long as a single individual from amongst us is alive. We have given these solemn and binding injunctions to our children that they may walk in our footsteps and be prepared to defend their country. We advise you simply in your own interest and out of our good will towards you that you should leave our country to us and should not in pursuit of some imaginary glory be the cause of spilling streams of your own blood in a land which is, so to speak, intoxicated with the spirit of valour and self-respect. The bloodshed that you have suffered so far ought to be enough.

The Battle of Gargaresh.

(FROM THE "TANIN.")

[Specially Translated for the "Comrade."]

WE HAD the pleasure of publishing in yesterday's issue well authenticated news of the success of our arms in a recent battle in Qarq-Qaresh (Gargaresh) near Tripoli.

Yesterday in the early hours of the morning, too late to be inserted in our yesterday's issue, we received a telegram giving details of the fight from our Special Correspondent Ahmed Shareef Bey. At almost the same time the Ministry of War received official information which completely confirmed our correspondent's telegram and which has already been published by us.

The following is our correspondent's cable —On Thursday, the 18th January 1912, news having been brought to the Headquarters that the enemy had come out of its defences round the town and was advancing with a very large force composed of all arms (of cavalry, infantry and artillery, with the probable intention of capturing Zanzur. (The Italian reports made out that the advance was made to construct new defences *Tanin*). A force was at once organised and sent to check the advance of the enemy and other necessary steps were taken. The enemy had come with a brigade including their two crack regiments recently arrived from Italy, supplemented by two batteries of artillery and a number of mitrailleuses.

Our forces much inferior in numbers to the enemy's met them near Qarq-Qaresh, and immediately without the least hesitation delivered a vigorous charge. The charge began at about noon and continued without interruption for 3½ hours.

The Italians were twice beaten back each time rallying on a point to offer resistance. In spite of assistance arriving to them in the shape of two fresh batteries of artillery and a regiment of infantry from their base at Tripoli they could not make a stand and retreated for the third time to a point further back. But as a result of an attack of fresh energy and vigour made after sunset combined with a flanking movement of our right against the enemy's left, the enemy's power of resistance was broken and from its third point too it was driven back to the strong defences erected by it in the oasis round the town of Tripoli. The dead left by the Italians on the field of battle numbered more than 150 including ten officers. The number of wounded is proportionately greater. They left behind much munitions of war and arms among which was also found a large quantity of wire entanglements which they use in the construction of their defences.

In this venture the enemy has thoroughly learnt what a conflict with Ottomans in the open, away from the protection of their fleet means.

SHAREEF.

(FROM A "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Tripoli, January 20.

THE encounter which took place near Gargaresh the day before yesterday presents some points of special interest, not so much in regard to the actual incidents of the combat as to the circumstances which led up to it and the events which followed. The main

Incidents of the fight will have been in the hands of the public long before this letter can reach England, but a short recapitulation of the events of the day is necessary in order to clear the way for comment.

It had long been obvious that the oasis of Gargaresh ought to be occupied by the Italians, and since the beginning of the year the necessity for occupation had been strengthened by two events—a nocturnal raid on the oasis under the very nose of the Italian Fort B and the decision to proceed at once with the work of constructing the new harbour of Tripoli. The stone for the masonry of the port lay ready to hand in the quarries of Gargaresh and it became imperative to secure the position.

With this object a column was sent out on the morning of the 18th, a stronger column than would have been considered necessary ten days ago, before the reports of the enemy's concentration at Soani beni Aden had been confirmed and the world of Tripoli had been startled by the news of lawless depredations committed upon peaceful Arab citizens living almost under the walls of the city. The column consisted of the 52nd Regiment (three battalions), one battalion of Grenadiers, a battery of mountain guns and two field guns and two squadrons of the Guidi cavalry (in all about 3,000 men). There was a certain amount of critical discussion as to the excessive strength of the force despatched to cover the work of fortifying the position, but events proved that the dispositions of the authorities were based upon information more trustworthy than that which was available for their critics. And in any case, when prudence cost nothing and troops are in actual need of exercise and change, it is hardly fair to condemn the employment of many where few would probably have been sufficient.

The advancing column commanded by Colonel Amari of the 52nd reached the edge of the oasis about 9 A.M. and were received with a sharp fire from the palms, but after a brisk exchange of shots the Arabs occupying the oasis (about 200 in number) were driven out to the west and the work of fortifying the position was begun. Sniping continued for a time, but the bulk of the enemy retreated southwards towards Bir-el-Tocar and a uniformed patrol which had been visible on the rising ground to the left of Fort B disappeared in the same direction. The work progressed apace and most of the spectators rode home to lunch, thinking that the interest was over for the day.

But shortly after midday a force of about 2,000 Turks and Arabs appeared from the south, moving with great rapidity. They advanced with the utmost boldness and a number of cavalry endeavoured to turn the right flank of the Italian protecting line and to cut in between them and the sea. To prevent this manoeuvre the Grenadiers were swung round, with their right resting on the shore, while all the troops fell back a little on the oasis and the forts and the Italian guns fired rapidly and accurately upon the advancing line. The Turks and Arabs advanced in extended order with the utmost resolution and before 3 o'clock they were engaging the whole Italian line very closely. A number of them got within a hundred yards of the Italian position and the right-hand battalion of the 52nd was obliged to fall back a little way in order to keep in close touch with the Grenadiers.

The fighting was very hot for about an hour, but the Italian fire was much too accurate, and the Arab fire, as usual, was too high. About 4 o'clock the enemy began to retreat, slowly and sullenly, and shortly afterwards Major-General Fara (late Colonel of the 11th Bersaglieri) was sent out from Tripoli to take command. His very name has an inspiring influence upon all the troops here, and the news of his arrival had a quite obvious effect upon the soldiers engaged. By sunset the Turks and Arabs were in full retreat and the Italians were left in undisputed occupation of the position they had come to fortify. General Fara disposed his troops for the night and the soldiers began to dig their trenches preparatory to the arrival of a much-needed meal.

Night fell and the order came from Tripoli that the troops were to retire within the Italian lines. It was obeyed with the greatest reluctance on the part of the troops, the half-dug trenches and the wire entanglements were left, and a disheartened body of men returned to the town, bringing with them 20 dead and about 50 wounded.

That is the plain story of the facts, but all next day the town and the trenches were buzzing with questions. Every one was mystified. The enemy had been soundly drubbed, as was only to be expected. Yet the Italian troops had been ordered to retire without completing the work they had set out to do, and they had not been allowed to encamp upon the ground they had won and held, a position, moreover, naturally strong, of moral and strategical advantage to its possessors.

The reason for the retirement, which was ordered by General Frugoni, would seem to be, briefly, as follows. News had come in that the attack of the 18th was only a feint to draw the Italians out of the town, perhaps to lead them on to Zanzur, and that an attack in much greater force was designed. It was decided that the occupation of Gargaresh by General Fara's troops would mask the

fire of the guns from Forts Sultanieh, B and C, and that in any case it would be better not to allow them to be out of immediate touch with the supreme command.

Apparently the information was wrong. Probably the Turco-Arab forces had suffered much more severely than they expected, so that the heart had been taken out of them. In any case a reconnaissance of the Lancers, carried out on the afternoon of the 19th, found no trace of hostile movement within a wide radius to the west of Tripoli. Many bodies were found and many arms which had been abandoned in the enemy's hurried flight, but of a living foe, no vestige or sign. In consequence of this reconnaissance Gargaresh was occupied to-day by a strong force under General de Chaurand, consisting of the 82nd and 84th Regiments, one battery field artillery and one battery mountain guns, six squadrons of cavalry and a battalion of sappers. The cavalry, infantry and artillery took position to the west and south of Gargaresh, and the sappers began the construction of three redoubts, which will secure the oasis and quarries from further molestation, and will, further, dominate the approaches to Zanzur, the westernmost redoubt being 2km. to the west of the oasis.

By this occupation the moral effect which it was feared would result from the retirement on the evening of the 18th will no doubt be cancelled. That is, so far as the Arabs are concerned. But the men who fought on Thursday have naturally felt disheartened, and it remains an open question whether the reasons which influenced General Frugoni should have outweighed the clear moral reasons for remaining on the spot. The oasis of Gargaresh is in such close touch with Tripoli that there was no possible fear of isolation. The troops on the spot were perfectly capable of defending themselves against any possible attack, the more so as they could be supported by naval guns which would have enabled the batteries to concentrate their fire upon the terrain to the south of the oasis. One is forced to the conclusion that prudence may be overdone, and that a greater measure of self-confidence would be more fruitful of early result. Fortunately the mistake, which would seem to have been due to over-caution, has been quickly repaired, but the criticism stands.

A Juridical Protest.

UNDER the auspices of the Peace Society, 124 leading jurists and publicists throughout the world have signed, on purely juridical and legal grounds, a protest against the Italian attack on Tripoli, which the signatories consider inconsistent with national good faith, and calculated to throw discredit on treaties and on the beneficent progress of arrangements for the peaceful settlement of disputes. The protest expresses high appreciation of the great work of Italians for International Law and regrets that it should be counteracted by the recent action of the Italian Government. Among the names attached are those of Lords Avebury, Courtney and Werdale, Sir John Macdonell, Sir J. Gorst, Professors Westlake and Goudy; eight members and associates (Austrian, Dutch, French, German and Spanish) of the Institute of International Law; ten Judges, ex-Judges and ex-law officers (including four from the United States), 38 Professors of International Law and 61 others representing all shades of opinion and schools of political thought, and nearly all the countries of Europe, as well as Egypt, the United States, Canada and Australia.

Turkish Party Politics.

(FROM "THE TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

CONSTANTINOPLE, January 26.

THE rumour that the headquarters of the Committee of Union and Progress are to be transferred to Constantinople is premature. The measure has been discussed, but no decision had been taken, though several of the chiefs of the organization have arrived and will remain here during the electoral campaign.

CONSTANTINOPLE, January 25.

CONCURRENTLY with the improvement in Said Pasha's health, the rumours of further Ministerial changes have begun to die down, although the *Zanis* continues to demand the appointment of a complete Young Turk Cabinet, containing not only Talat Bey and Djavid Bey, but "all the leading members of the Committee." The resignation of the Minister of Marine and the withdrawal of his resignation are alike unexplained, but it is believed in some quarters that his action was connected with the question of the Cabinet changes.

Considerable comment has been caused by an exchange of visits between the Bulgarian Minister and the Ecumenical Patriarch, and by a visit paid to the latter by Talat Bey and Halil Bey. The former is interpreted as a proof of the friendly relations now existing between the Greeks and Bulgars and their respective Churches; the latter as an indication that the Committee is anxious to obtain the support, or at least the neutrality, of the Greeks in the coming elections.

that we were guilty of breach of propriety or of something unconstitutional in advising His Majesty to make the announcement had not entered the mind of the Indian people as a whole or of those who either in British India or the Native States were entitled to speak as their representatives. The debate was then adjourned.

Lord Minto, speaking for the first time since his return from India, resumed the debate on the Durbar announcements and said that he hoped that the King's visit would stamp the relations of the British and Indian peoples with an everlasting friendship. Lord Minto said he had often discussed the possibility of the removal of the capital to Delhi. It was impossible to disregard the advantages of the removal of the enlarged Council from the littoral surroundings of Calcutta. The interests of Calcutta, however, could not be ignored. Throughout the meagre correspondence submitted, there was little trace of the true appreciation of the grave issues affected with regard to the reorganisation of Bengal. The way the repeated declarations to the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal had been disowning was not conducive to the reputation of British administration in India. The reorganisation was only a sop to a political faction as a compensation for the removal of the capital.

Lord Harris said he was in India when the announcement was made and for some time after. He did not find anybody who shared Lord Curzon's "terrible apprehensions." Judging by the results, the action taken might be described as a stroke of genius.

Lord Macdonnell, dealing with the charge of secrecy, said any other procedure would have been inappropriate. His Majesty's announcement changing the current of thought of an entire people from discontent to loyalty was as happy an event as any in India's history.

Lord Ampthill deprecated the present discussion and said he admired the courage of those responsible for the new policy. The people of India had cheerfully assented to the changes. He declared. Let them share India's acquiescence and hope for their enduring success.

Lord Morley said many were surprised and some were shocked at Lord Curzon bringing up the story of a remark alleged to have been made by an Indian decorated at Delhi. The story was absolutely unfounded. The debate had not helped Lord Curzon, all the speakers, except Lord Minto, having approved the Government's policy. There was no advantage in consulting ex-Viceroy and ex-Governors on a matter not depending on history but on an actual situation. Referring to the partition, His Lordship said that though he and Lord Minto considered it between them, there was never an atom of dissent. He had been blamed for not reversing the partition immediately, but it was all important to do nothing which would lead the people of India to suppose that there was going to be any great reversal of policy. Further, it would have been wrong and rash to reverse something, the effects of which there had been no opportunity to judge. "That would, if you like, have been a concession to clamour. The charge of inconsistency in our abstaining from a reversal of the partition then and modifying the partition now is completely unwarranted."

Lord Morley warmly defended the constitutionality of the procedure. As regards finance, Lord Morley said he had spent half his time remonstrating against the difference between the estimates in India and eventual expenditure. They would be very jealous of expenditure now but it was unnecessary to repeat what Lord Crewe had said.

Lord Curzon explained that he told the story for which he had been rebuked on high authority after receiving permission to use it in the House of Lords with the assurance that it was absolutely true.

Lord Crewe said that Lord Morley had denied it because it had been telegraphed to India in this form that the personage who was actually invested had made the observation at that time. He was sure that was not the story Lord Curzon had meant to tell. In that form it would mean a most offensive insult inflicted by this Indian gentleman on the Order conferred by His Majesty. If such a story were believed in India it would be most unfortunate. It would be a grievous injury to the very loyal gentleman it was obviously pointed at although the latter at Delhi was very ill and was never invested with the decoration.

Lord Curzon said he regretted he had ever told the story.

Lord Lansdowne said it was indisputable that the methods by which the changes had been carried out were entirely unusual. It was indisputable that the changes represented a triumph for a persistent and dangerous agitation. "But now that our protest has been made we will do nothing to interfere with the success of the new policy, and none will be better pleased if our apprehensions prove groundless. None hopes more sincerely that the bright page of history His Majesty has inscribed on the annals of our Empire will be followed by an unbroken record of prosperity, contentment and good government." Lord Crewe, referring to Lord Curzon's and Lord Lansdowne's criticisms of paragraph 3 of the Government of India's despatch, said the paragraph referred simply to the general tendency towards decentralisation in matters of a provincial kind. It was not consonant with fact to believe that the Government or the Government of India contemplated anything in the nature of a federal system of Government.

TETE À TETE



A SENSATION was caused when it was published some time ago that the Chief of Hoti-Mardan, one of the richest and most influential men of the N.W. F Province, was charged, along with

King, his chauffeur, and Mrs. King, with abducting two girls, Elsie Swannell and Daisy Coutts, and committed to the Criminal Sessions of the Bombay High Court by the Presidency Magistrate of Bombay. It now appears that the Khan of Hoti-Mardan had authorized the other two accused to secure the services of a governess and a teacher to teach the children and put the ladies of the family in the ways of English society. From the published evidence it is clear that a Mrs Rogers, who had three children and a husband alive, had agreed to act as governess, but her terms were too high. Other women were considered and Mrs. Glendenning, who was over 50 and was a grandmother, and Mrs. Parsloe, who also had children and had a husband alive, were in the running for these posts. It seems that most of the trouble arose from the fact that the persons who actually reached Hoti-Mardan as the selected candidates were both young and unmarried, a fact about which the Chief says he protested at the station itself where he first saw them, the protest being confirmed in part at least by the prosecution. Miss Coutts, who had been hospital nurse, was a sister of Mrs Parsloe and was going as a substitute for her elder sister. Miss Swannell, who figures far more prominently in the evidence, had been a shop-girl at Whiteaway's and other places since 1905. These young ladies reached Hoti on the 25th September last and were met by the Khan at the station waiting room. Two days later the Khan is said to have had an interview with them at the bungalow where they were putting up, and three days after, they were, it is alleged, told to get ready to go to Rawalpindi, and went to a garden as the Chief was going to settle with them and send them off. After the interview with the Chief they were taken to the station and started for Rawalpindi. They were there at the I&K Bungalow for eleven days, and in consequence of communications made to the Bombay police, the police at Rawalpindi were communicated with, and the District Magistrate of Rawalpindi issued a warrant under which the girls were arrested and brought to Bombay. On their arrival in Bombay their statements were taken down by the police and forwarded to the Upper India police. Thereupon the District Magistrate of Peshawar issued a warrant for the arrest of the Chief of Hoti Mardan, and under this he was arrested. The allegations which were interspersed in the Advocate-General's opening statement were that the Chief had made improper suggestions to the girls and had been unduly familiar with them on the two occasions when he had interviews with them. It appears from Miss Swannell's statement that they had been put up in a bungalow which was in the market; that there was only one bedroom for them both; that the rooms opened out on the verandah; and that when they were on the verandah a great crowd collected and stared at them. It was alleged by the prosecution that it was in such a place that the Chief made an attempt at familiarity which Miss Swannell resented. But it is also stated that it was a day after this interview that Miss Swannell wrote to the Sister Superior of the Foundlings' Home at Bombay—where she had been portress just before she left for Hoti Mardan, evidently at the recommendation of the Sister Superior—that "the Chief came here yesterday. He brought us a lot of fruits and sweets. He seems a very kind man, but—"; and that the Sister Superior replied that "the Chief must be an honourable man, so you need not be afraid," the Sister evidently not forming an adverse opinion from the dash after the "but." As regards the second interview, apart from the fact that the defence was prepared to prove that the garden and the Museum were open places, it is admitted that the girls had come to bid the Chief good-bye before leaving Hoti-Mardan the same evening. Apart from the suggestion

24th February.

that "the Khan was very kind, but on two occasions he was rather familiar with his hands," which Miss Swannell mentioned in her second letter to the Sister Superior on the 9th October, she never complained to any of her Bombay friends of the Chief's misbehaviour, and told His Lordship that "she would have stayed on had the Khan had a Begum or a Rani"—which he certainly has, although Mr. Farquhar, the Superintendent of the Rawalpindi Police, when telling the girls that they must go back to Bombay, said he had not. As regards the guilt of the accused, the charge of abduction which was so foolishly made against King and the Chief of Hoti-Mardan was withdrawn by the Advocate General in favour of one of abetment only, and they were accordingly discharged and acquitted. But as regards abetment also the charge was subsequently withdrawn, and the judgment of His Lordship itself is the best defence of the Chief. It says—

The two young ladies, Miss Swannell and Miss Curtis, were for eleven days at Rawalpindi; they made no complaint whatever to the police or to anybody. Even assuming that the third accused tried to take liberties with them, those were liberties they did not seem to resent, except by saying that they were not that sort of people. While they were there the police took no action whatever, no complaint was made to them. They on some information received by the police from Bombay, probably of an alarming nature, without any justification whatever, seem to issue a search-warrant, take possession of those girls and send them to Bombay in charge of the police. Miss Swannell's evidence is clear that if the Superintendent of Police, who executed the warrant, had not made a statement which is proved and is admitted to be incorrect, these girls never desired to go down to Bombay. They were perfectly at peace, and were living in content at Rawalpindi, when the police took possession of them, kept them in police custody, and sent them down to Bombay in police custody. I have heard with patience Miss Swannell's evidence for the last three days, and accepting every statement she has made to be true, the only impression that can be produced on one's mind is that there were certain acts of the third accused which she apprehended to be the acts of familiarity, but they were acts of the most trifling nature. It must be remembered that the third accused, when the two girls were at Hoti, could have taken advantage of them, but he, beyond being a few minutes with them, did not interfere with their liberty. Under these circumstances I can only say that the course adopted by the Advocate General is an exceedingly proper one, and is in keeping with the usual fairness with which he has conducted the Crown cases. I direct that all the accused be discharged, their discharge amounting to an acquittal. I have no hesitation in saying that the third accused, as well as the number 4 & 5, (No. 1 and 2) will bear the Comptroller's stamp on their character.

Had this been all, one would have only regretted that three innocent persons were wrongly accused of an offence of which the Judge, however, declared them to be not guilty. But this is not all, nor nearly so bad as the procedure that was adopted in this case. It appears that no one laid an information against the Khan, and that cognisance was taken after the girls had been brought to Bombay without their own desire and with the aid of an admittedly incorrect statement of the Superintendent of Police, in the wholly unjustifiable custody of the police, and on information sent from Bombay which, according to His Lordship, was probably of an alarming nature. The Chief's name was put down on the charge sheet although the girls had made no complaint against him at Rawalpindi. That, according to the Advocate General's own admission, was the position, and, as His Lordship said without undue severity, it was "a very unsatisfactory position." An old man of 70, for years a cripple, as three eminent medical gentlemen, like Major Gordon-Tucker, Colonel Colley, and Major Novis were prepared to testify, had been arrested under the most humiliating circumstances on a warrant issued by the District Magistrate of Peshawar without a shadow of justification, and thereby brought to a state of health when, on the evidence of Major Gordon-Tucker, which the Court accepted, "it was very probable that he might die in Court if he had any sudden shock or sudden excitement," and "it was unsafe to bring him to Court." His Lordship was compelled to say that "it seems to me that the third accused (the Khan) has been subjected to a great many indignities and the procedure followed there seems to me to be unanswerable."

THERE are not wanting those that suggest that it was the independence and manliness of this important and extremely rich Chief which actuated the local authorities to humble his pride and shower great indignities upon him. In the absence of accurate data we shall not discuss such suggestions at all. But it does occur to us that if even such a personage, whose social position is admittedly high, who has received a title from the Government and is an Honorary Magistrate, who rendered valuable services to Government in the wars of Malakand and Chitral on the border, assisting the Crown with troops, whose son has the unique distinction of holding a Commission in the Malwa Bhil Corps and had been sent by Government with the Dane Mission to Kabul; and whose wealth is on all accounts tremendous, cannot escape arrest on trumped-up charges based on no sworn information, and has to suffer great indignities, narrowly escaping the fate of a criminal and that too because in Bombay he had a High Court to do him justice, and an eminent Counsel like Mr. Inverarity to plead his cause, what chance is there for a less fortunate, a bumbler and a poorer person who has only a limited number of legal practitioners in

the Province to choose his Counsel from, and whose fate is in the lap of the same District Magistrate of Peshawar who ordered his cruel arrest? The Hon Mr. S. Sinha drew the attention of the Government of India last year to these disabilities, but without any success. The number of legal practitioners is still rigorously kept down by the Judicial Commissioner—a policy the inception of which has now reached the Punjab Chief Court also—and even members of the Inns of Court in England duly called to the Bar have to take out licenses each year from the Judicial Commissioner on payment of a fee as if they were members of a criminal tribe let out on parole. As if this was not enough, the Jirgah system is there, under which, we believe, an accused against whom the Magistrate cannot find enough evidence to sustain a prosecution is thrown to the lions of the Jirgah, who can—and generally do—consign him to perdition without giving him the benefit of defence through a pleader. We shall be told that the Jirgah is better than a jury composed of twelve of the accused's peers, and that it is composed of good men and true who have no likelihood of doing him injustice. But this would be believed only by those who do not know the Afghan and his petty jealousies and internecine quarrels. As for the Jirgah's independence, it could not be better than Sir Mortimer Durand's "democracy" in the land of the Amir, where all the notables consulted about the agreement with the British unanimously approved of the Amir's decision. At a time when the whole of the Moslem world is feeling the tremor of sympathy for Turkey and Persia, and, just across the border, the Amir and his people are among the foremost to share the anxieties of their co-religionists, the North-Western Frontier Province alone is undemonstrative and has made no response. It is busy with raising funds for an Islamia College at Peshawar. For our part, we think that if this College is properly managed, on Moslem lines and by Mussalmans themselves, it would prove in the end far more beneficial to Islam than a few thousands now sent for the chief of Turkish and Persian sufferers. But this matter must be judged according to the psychology of the frontier, and nothing could prove more forcibly the subservience of the Pathans than the absence of any meetings held at Peshawar to protest against Italian and Russian aggression and the utter neglect of the martyrs of Tripoli and Tabriz in contrast with unusual activity in the cause of English education. Judged only as symptoms, these facts disclose a state of affairs that is not without its dangers. Discontent is acute, but as even the few outlets for its coming to the surface have been rigorously closed, it is only sinking deeper underground. This reminds us that while a flood of agitation swept over the land after the Partition of Bengal, and its revocation too has led to a heated controversy, nobody seems to mind in the least another and an earlier Partition carried out by Lord Curzon which is still unrevoked. One would have thought that when the Government of India was in a revoking mood, this Partition too should have been annulled. But, then, there was no agitation against it, for it was the very first consequence of this other Partition that the voice of criticism should be hushed. We refer to the separation of the North-Western Frontier Province from the Punjab, and to the regulations which govern the study, if also unlettered, men of Peshawar and its neighbourhood. Agitation of the familiar type there could be little among such people. But the laws which govern them, and still more the procedure, authorized and unauthorized, which has undisturbed sway in that region, preclude the possibility of frontier grievances providing food for thought at our breakfast tables. If any violence is heard of, it is generally attributed to the temper of the Pathan and the fanaticism characteristic of his faith. And thus we go on believing that all is for the best in the best possible of all frontiers, that God is in heaven, Sir George Roos-Keppe is on earth, and all is well with that part of the world. Things cannot be allowed to drift in this way, and although we think that the Punjab itself is far too bureaucratic, that its Judiciary has not, as judicial a temper as it should have, and is too dependent on the Executive, which is itself too autocratic, and possesses a police which needs considerable reform, we nevertheless believe that the time has come when it should be seriously considered whether it is not desirable to annul this Partition also and re-unite the frontier to the Punjab.

AHMED RIZA BEV, President of the Turkish Chamber of Deputies, has addressed to a correspondent in England **Still a Man!** a letter from which the following extracts, which, we are sure, will be read with interest, are translated:—"I have no wish to deny or to defend certain acts of injustice committed at places within the Ottoman Empire. There have been—not, as you say, massacres, but—regrettable acts, and there will continue to be such acts for some time yet, because (i) In certain parts of Asia, Arabia and Albania the population has been accustomed to live under a régime of special privileges and finds it difficult to familiarise itself with a régime of equality. This difficulty seems to be shared by Europeans, who shelter themselves behind the Capitulations and refuse to conform

to the laws of the country. . . . (ii) The necessary reforms, especially material reforms, have not been promptly carried out. The Government has been hindered for several reasons—first of all, because it has had neither money, nor time, nor tranquillity. For this lack of tranquillity official Europe is partly responsible, the affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina, of Rumelia, of Crete, and of the Tripolitaine (not to mention a thousand diplomatic worries) have cruelly hampered the Government. After all, we are not angels. Like you, we have qualities and defects. You say, Sir, that humanity has no geographic limits. True, but do not be content with enunciating the maxim—apply it to the past as well as to the present. Remember what England in the time of that great man Cromwell did to restore order and ensure progress. Ireland and Scotland swam in blood. Cromwell expelled from Parliament all the agitators who did not agree with his politics. . . . I know that the Committee of Union and Progress is not generally trusted in Europe, but is the object of calumnies and lying accusations. I know why, but that touches on actual politics, on which my position does not allow me to give an opinion. I shall soon reclaim my freedom and shall take an opportunity of speaking frankly on the subject. We hope the Balkan Committee and the Turcophobes will take note of this sober defence of a people to whom so little of angelic virtue is conceded, and yet from whom so much is expected for which even angels could not accept responsibility. The Turk is not an angel, but he has proved that he is still a man!

We learn that Mr Syed Ross Masud, the son of that great jurist, the late Mr. Justice Mahmud, and the grandson of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, has returned by this boat from England, where

he stayed for several years, and besides being called to the Bar, graduated with excellent honours from Oxford. Those times are now happily gone when the departure of a Moslem student to England was a sensational event and the general topic of conversation and even controversy. Nor does the return of graduates and barristers excite any comments in these days, unless perhaps the Return of the Prodigal is boasted by himself and his friends. But the Mussalmans of India, and specially the friends and Old Boys of Aligarh, regard the return of Syed Ross Masud very differently. Who that knew the Sage of Aligarh and saw his attachment to little Masud can view his successful return without emotion? It is never a wise thing to overload youth with sermons about "tremendous responsibilities," nor are we qualified to preach. But as friend and comrade, we welcome Syed Ross Masud in our midst, and cannot but express the very high hopes that not only we but all Mussalmans entertain of his future. More than anything else, Aligarh needs able, energetic and liberal minded workers, and although one may not recognise hereditary rights even in the case of Syed Ross Masud, all must realize his hereditary duties. And rights or no rights, while we shudder at the magnitude of his duties, we envy—though only as friend and comrade—his magnificent opportunities. "Will he rise to the height of these opportunities?" is the natural question, and *Nat'l* says, "Oh, yes he will."

وداع ، وصلی علیہ مارے
مزار بارے مزار بارے

The Cretans had acquired an uncanny notoriety for avoiding the use of truth, but since the fall of Italy A Gilbertian Theme.

on Tripoli, the Cretans have had to hide their heads in shame, for their record of seldom digressing into truth has been hopelessly beaten. A wag now classes her as being of five kinds, a white lie, a black lie, an ally, Italy and Tripoli, and who can now deny that the mixture of the last two is far more exquisite than anything yet heard? The latest instance is the Italian account of their defeat at Qarg-Qares (pronounced by the Arabs and therefore spelt by Europeans as Gargaresh). In our issue of 27th January last we had published Reuter's telegram from Rome stating that "another fierce all-day battle was fought at Tripoli on the 19th instant. The Turks attacked the Italians, who were erecting two forts at Gargaresh. The Italians repulsed the Turks, but were themselves compelled to withdraw at nightfall, as their defences had not been completed. The Italian casualties numbered fifty, while those on the Turkish side are reported to have been heavy. Italians re-occupied Gargaresh. They found no traces of the enemy within a radius of five miles. This is regarded as confirming the seriousness of their losses. The enemy admit having had over 150 killed alone." When we read of the repulse of the Turks, coupled with the withdrawal of the Italians—on compulsion, and with 50 casualties—we knew even then that it was the customary euphemism for an Italian defeat. In our last issue, however, we were able to publish from the *Jeune Turc* of 24th January, specially translated for the *Comrade*, the Turkish version of the fight and its result. It relates to the battle of the 18th January,

though Reuter states that it took place on the 19th and the *Jeune Turc*, following the "Old Style" which is evidently 13 days behind the dates of the Calendar generally in use, gives the 5th of January as the date of the battle. To-day we reproduce from the *Tanin*, specially translated for the *Comrade*, a somewhat fuller account cabled by its correspondent in Tripoli, Ahmed Shareef Bey, and from the *Times* another account sent by a non-descript panegyrist of the Italians who has been writing under the label of "A Correspondent" from Tripoli. It would appear from a comparison of these accounts that while the Turks believed that the Italians had set out to capture Zanzur, the Italians themselves gave it out that they were constructing two forts at Qarg Qares, and their apologist in the *Times* now declares that they wanted nothing but stone from the Qarg Qares quarries for the masonry of the port of Tripoli. We are uncertain about the strength of the Italian force, but the account in the *Times* places the figure at 3,000 men. Now, we know that Italians have sent about 125,000 men to the Tripolitaine, and they could well spare even a larger force for covering their stone-cutters or fort builders whichever they were. But we also know that the soldiers are fed up with such hopeless fighting, and it is no joke to be able to induce a large number to venture out on such an errand. Everything points to Zanzur as their objective, but as Zanzur is still safe with the Turks, the expert is forced to invent a discussion about the "excessive strength of the force despatched to cover the work" in order to explain away the disproportion. For skilful lying commend us to this correspondent. He turns the damning fact of "excessive strength" to Italian advantage by praising the more "trustworthy" information of the authorities as opposed to that of their critics. Is not the following one of the most exquisite bits of war literature? "And in any case, when prudence costs nothing and troops are in actual need of exercise and change, it is hardly fair to condemn the employment of many where few would probably have been sufficient." We do not know who these critics were. They could not have been the Arabs and the Turks, for these desire nothing better than that more Italians should come out of their safe and snug retreats and leave a good deal of am munition and stores, be adequately killed and wounded, on the field of battle. What follows is no less enchanting. "The work progressed apace and most of the spectators rode home to lunch, thinking that the interest was over for the day." But we are at a loss to say whether they were disappointed at losing all the fun or glad that they saved their skins, for the next paragraph of this Gilbertian war correspondence goes to show that the Turks "advanced with the utmost boldness" and "with the utmost resolution," and that "the right-hand Battalion of the 52nd was obliged to fall back a little way *in order to keep in close touch with the Grenadiers*." We challenge anyone to improve on this charming euphemism for the ungainly fact that the Grenadiers were the first to bolt, and that shortly after the 52nd did likewise. But this is by no means the best that the writer has to offer. "At about 4 o'clock the enemy began to retreat, slowly and sullenly," and in the ordinary course we should have expected that the Italian column won a victory to which its superior strength entitled it. But, then, when did the course of true love, or an Italian success, run smooth? So, in spite of the retreat of the Arabs and the Turks, Major-General Fara (late Colonel of what we should now call the 1st Bersaglieri, the hero whose victorious fight from Bi Tobras a month ago could not have been forgotten) was sent out to take command of the Italian column himself. And the *Times* correspondent, with more justification perhaps than poor old Menenius had, says that General Fara's name is "a spell of much power." "His very name has an inspiring influence upon all the troops here and the news of his arrival had a quite obvious effect upon the soldiers engaged." We presume the "quite obvious effect" was the retreat, for confirming the report of the *Jeune Turc*. Ahmed Shareef Bey says that "the Italians were twice beaten back," that "in spite of assistance arriving to them in the shape of two fresh batteries of artillery and a regiment of infantry from their base at Tripoli, they could not make a stand and retreated for the third time to a point further back," and that "as a result of an attack of fresh energy and vigour made after sunset, combined with a flanking movement of our right against the enemy's left, the enemy's power of resistance was broken, and from its third point too it was driven back to the strong defences erected by it in the oasis round the town of Tripoli." But this is too true an account to commend itself to the *Times* correspondent, who is, however, this time satisfied merely with reversing the result. But such a big lie, if easy to bite, is not equally easy to chew, and the expert swallows it with another. "Night fell and the order came from Tripoli that the troops were to retire within the Italian lines. It was obeyed with the greatest reluctance on the part of the troops, the half-dug trenches and the wire entanglements were left, and a disheartened body of men returned to the town, bringing with them 10 dead and about 60 wounded." And yet this is called "the plain story of the facts," which, according to Ahmed Shareef Bey, happens to be nothing more than an Italian retreat under cover of the night, in which "they left behind much munitions of war and arms, among which was also found a large quantity of wire entanglements," and that "the dead left

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behind by the Italians on the field of battle numbered more than 150, including 10 officers." The *Times* correspondent's "reason for the retirement" is simply this, that the attack of the 18th was feared to be only a feint designed to lead them to Zanzur, and that "it would be better not to allow them to be out of immediate touch with the supreme command." This "over-caution" is "over-cautiously" criticised by the writer, and General Frugoni, who has evidently ousted the sanguinary yet not sanguine Ganeva, comes in for some mild remonstrance. Could anything be a more appropriate theme for a Gilbert and Sullivan opera than this war and its war literature, in which victories end in "retirement," and cowardice is called "over-caution," unwilling fighters being excused for lack of dash on the plea of not being allowed to be "out of touch with the supreme command"?

The *Times*' correspondent, whose account of the battle of Gurgresh we have discussed at some length, would have deserved some credit had he even possessed some originality in his lying.

Beware of Anticipation!

As it is, he is only an imitator of Mr. Belloc's exquisite account of the Battle of Hastings which was published in "The Odd Volume" for 1911, some months before this correspondent began to embellish the unadorned truth. We offer no apology for reproducing here an extract or two from Mr. Belloc's effort as a belated war correspondent. He wrote:—"In spite of the determination observable from a great distance upon the faces of the tall Saxon line, William, with characteristic lack of balance, opened the action by ordering a charge uphill with cavalry alone. It was a piece of tactics absurdly incongruous, and one which even he would never have attempted had he understood the foe that was before him, or the fate to which that foe had doomed his soldiers. The lesson dealt him was as immediate as it was severe. But even in the heat of this initial success Harold had the self-command to order a retirement upon the main position, and with troops such as his an order was equivalent to its execution. This blow would have sufficed for any commander less vain than William, but he seems to have lost all judgment in a fit of personal vanity and to have ordered a second charge which could not but prove as futile as the first... William's plan (if plan it may be called) was foredoomed to failure. But Harold had no intention to let the action bear no more fruit than a tactical victory upon this particular field... William with incredible folly was seen preparing to charge again! Another general would have awaited this second charge with all its accompaniment of useless butchery. Not so Harold... By a manoeuvre, as grand in its simplicity as it was bold and majestic in its daring, the Saxon centre which he commanded in person, deftly withdrew before the futile gallop of the 'Norman' cavalry, leaving, with that coolness which has ever distinguished our troops, the laggards to the late. At the same moment, and with marvellous precision the left and the right were withdrawn from the plateau rapidly and as though by magic, and the mounted weight of huddled, shouting knights upon whose mere impact William of Normandy seems seriously to have relied, was spent and wasted upon the now evacuated summit of the hill. What followed is famous in history... I thought it was now thick night, by no set road and with no cumbersome machinery of train and rearguard, the whole of the vast assembly masked itself behind the woodlands of the Weald. The Norman horsemen, bewildered and fatigued, gazed hopelessly upon the empty field, and wondered what such happenings might mean. There is perhaps no more difficult task set to soldiers than the quiet execution of such a manoeuvre after the heat of a brave action, and none have performed it more magnificently than the veteran troops of Harold. When (luckily) all the orders had been finally distributed and the retirement assured, an incident of tragic moment marred for the Saxon force, the full joy of victory. Just before the execution of this masterpiece of strategy, and as the autumn sun was sinking, Harold himself, the artist of the great day, fell. But we have no reason to believe that his loss retarded the retrograding movement in any degree. Men who create as Harold created have not their creations spoilt by death."

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"The shameful history of the close of the campaign is familiar to every schoolboy, and the military historian must be pardoned if he deals with a purely civilian blunder, however deplorable, in but a few brief words. Parliament interfered—as it always does—with what should have been a matter for the army alone, and William of Falaise was astonished to find himself accepted a few weeks later... by the politicians... He and England were equally astounded to discover that a broken and defeated invader could actually be received by the intrigues at Court and crowned King of England as the price of some secret bargain." We hope Mr. Belloc would forgive us for making such long extracts from his war correspondence, but we have no hope that the *Times*' correspondent would forgive him for anticipating his great achievement. As for ourselves, we wish Enver and Fethi Beys no more than the "defeat" of William of Falaise at Senlac and the title of Conqueror in subsequent history.

MANY of the most important facts that govern the Persian situation and present the problem in its true perspective have seen the light mainly through the indefatigable and disinterested labours of some of the members of the Persia Committee. What little sympathy has been aroused in England for the sufferings and misfortunes of Persia is due to the publication of those facts, and we are sure the Persians cannot be sufficiently grateful to the gentlemen who could not see unmoved the weak being trampled remorselessly under foot, and who had the courage to utter the truth and ask for justice. Their voice might well have become a cry in the wilderness, if it were not voice of truth. However reluctantly, they have at least been heard. Lord Lamington, the President of the Persia Committee, whose utterances on the Persian question have already created a great impression on account of their earnest, honest and manly note, has set out on a long and arduous journey through Persia to study the whole situation on the spot. We sincerely hope the visit will be fruitful of beneficent results. The knowledge that a traveller can gain of a foreign country is necessarily a matter of luck and opportunity. If those in a position to help him in getting at the facts and on the right track in his work of exploration do not withhold their help or put obstacles in his way, he may speedily grasp the true bearings of the problem and get the right impression. We hope both the Persian Government and the British Legation and Consular authorities will place the necessary facilities at the disposal of Lord Lamington in order that he may form a correct estimate of the condition and requirements of Persia. Sir Valentine Chirol during his travels through the country was very actively assisted by British Officials in every way and the ex-Governor of Bombay should not be refused the same help in his efforts to learn the truth. It is solely for the sake of truth and justice that Lord Lamington has undertaken the journey. This labour of love is creditable to him and no less creditable to the nation to which he belongs. We are sure his progress through Persia will be as pleasant and instructive as the Persian people, the Persian Government and the British Officials can make it. We hope he will be privileged to get a glimpse of the awful image of "Truth" through the courtesy of the gentlemen who guard the portals of its shrine. We are afraid the Persian Government cannot of its own free will unveil the "deity." It must first placate the keepers of its conscience.

We have expressed a hope in our last that the conditions of the Anglo-Russian loan to Persia would not be designed with a view to "infringe Persian sovereignty or limit her freedom of action."

We had dared, though in vain, to hope, but we had some misgivings, and had reason to be apprehensive in regard to the political potentialities of such financial transactions. In the practical application of the doctrine of Imperialism loans play the most important part and pave with unerring certainty the way to a Protectorate, open or disguised. But it is not exclusively in themselves that the importance of these transactions lies. They only too often represent the price that is cheerfully paid in gold for the acquisition of the eagerly desired political privileges, territorial interests and even sovereign rights. The all-important part of the bargain is the "conditions" that impart to the "loans" their true significance and character. "Conditions" are the real thing. They are imperishable, irrevocable. They settle round the life of the country with the inevitability of doom. The "loans" in the end turn out to be irredeemable because the "conditions" have got to be maintained. In view of this, it is not perhaps very difficult to understand why "loans" are so generously thrust on impudent governments which begin very soon to be mortally afraid of these lavish manifestations of "friendliness." It was a sure instinct of self-preservation that led the Persian Majlis on several occasions to refuse all foreign loans and try to raise the money in the country itself. Under the Persian Constitution no government can accept a foreign loan without the sanction of the Majlis. We do not know how, in view of this constitutional check, the Persian Government can lawfully negotiate a joint Anglo-Russian loan saddled with intolerable stipulations, when it has no authority to enter into any such transactions. But the Majlis itself has been summarily dismissed at the bidding of a superior and implacable force. That force is law unto itself and can brush aside all constitutional considerations and moral scruples. Persia has got to accept the loan with all the conditions that the lenders may choose to impose. Reuter has wired a brief summary of the Joint Note presented to the Persian Government by the Russian and British representatives at Teheran in which the conditions of the loan have been specified. To put the matter in a nutshell, Persia has been asked to renounce all claims to independent sovereignty and to accept a sort of veiled Protectorate exercised jointly by Russia and England. The first condition lays it down that Persia should undertake "to conform with the principles of the Anglo-Russian Agreement." But what is this Agreement and what are its principles? Hitherto this notorious but nebulous document has been known to mean nothing in particular and everything by turns.

To Sir Edward Grey and the *Times* it has all along meant a solemn pact with Russia to support her aggressive designs in the East. To Russia it has meant a complete deliverance from all restraints, moral or physical, in playing at her favourite game of crushing weak and struggling nationalities. To the Persians it has meant that they have lost all claims to be the masters of their fate and the guides of their future destiny. In the course of the last few months it has proved not a little inconvenient to its authors Sir Edward Grey has not even yet finished explaining away its most categorical and patent denials and assertions. In the face of its scandalous past and most controversial present, he would be a bold man indeed who would try to define the principles on which this dangerous instrument was forged. True, it vaguely assumes some special interests of England and Russia, and divides the country into definite spheres of these interests. But whatever these interests may be, they are directly and emphatically in conflict with the interests of the Persian people. The Shuster incident illustrates this as nothing else could do. Even his worst enemies have found it hard to deny that he is an able and honest man, that he was serving the Persian Government with zeal and devotion, and that his administration of the finances was beginning to bear good fruit. Yet he has been dismissed, because he served his masters only too well, and probably because his honest and devoted service somehow or other dealt some injury to "special interests." The *Times* has as usual stultified its conventional criticism of Mr. Shuster's action by cynically maintaining that he had made himself impossible by ignoring the existence of "special interests." It would thus be manifest that the interests of Persia are not exactly the interests of Russia and England. To ask Persia, therefore, to accept the principles of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, which was concluded to create and safeguard special Anglo-Russian interests, is to demand the surrender of her sovereignty and freedom and substitute the joint Anglo-Russian will for her own government established in conformity with the fundamental law of her Constitution. With the loan the joint Anglo-Russian Protectorate has virtually come to exist in its preliminary veiled stage. The remaining stages in the inevitable process of absorption will be traversed in due course. Was this the form of "stable" government about which Mr. Asquith so piously discoursed the other day? Was it for this purpose that Lord Morley and others laid the soothingunction to their troubled consciences and referred with evident satisfaction to a generous measure of financial help? As we go to press comes the news that the British Minister at Teheran, Sir George Barclay, exchanges places with the Minister at Bucharest. This means the reverse of a promotion and is not likely to be without a grave significance? Is he found out, or has he, too, found Sir Edward Gray impossible?

THE HON. SAHEBZADA AKBAR AHMED KHAN did a public service the other day when he asked in the United Provinces Legislature whether Government was aware that the colony of Berias, who

are members of a notorious criminal tribe

which had been established at Aligarh under the supervision of the Salvation Army, was proving a source of danger and insecurity not only to the residents of the civil station and neighbouring villages but even to travellers on public roads whether Government was also aware that the said colony which had been located in the vicinity of the Aligarh College, consisting both of men and women, constitutes a source of danger and annoyance in more ways than one and if Government would be pleased to consider the advisability of removing this said colony to some other place better suited for the purpose and free from such serious consequences as are experienced and apprehended from its present situation. But what was the reply? The Hon. Mr. Stuart said that "the Lieutenant-Governor ordered the establishment of a settlement at Aligarh for the reclamation of members of a criminal tribe. That settlement was placed by him under the supervision of the Salvation Army. It contains about 140 Berias, chiefly women and children. They are under the charge of a European officer of the Salvation Army and his wife. There are also two Indian assistants. The site is not far from the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, on land lent for the purpose by the Military authorities and subject to relinquishment should they at any time require it. The Lieutenant-Governor has made careful enquiries as to the behaviour of these Berias. The result shows that during the period that the settlement has been in existence only three charges of committing offences have been made against its residents. Two of these charges were not substantiated by evidence and no prosecution resulted. In the third charge a male Beria was convicted of petty theft. In addition three other Berias absented themselves one night from the settlement. They were subsequently found over to be of good behaviour. The Lieutenant-Governor is quite unable to accept the position that the occurrences just mentioned justify the settlement being described as a source of danger and annoyance to the community residing in its neighbourhood. He considers that the arrangements for the supervision and control of the Berias are perfectly satisfactory. The Lieutenant-

Governor is making a determined effort to improve the condition of the members of the criminal tribes in this province. He has deliberately chosen the agency which has shown itself to be the most satisfactory for the purpose, and this Council has, in considering a resolution on the subject, itself ratified this choice. He hopes eventually to obtain the co-operation of all unselfish people in his endeavours to reform these unfortunate persons. Considering the fact that the settlement has not been long in existence the results of its establishment are, in his opinion, very encouraging, and he does not propose to take any action on the lines desired by the hon. member." This reply, while keeping outwardly the forms of ordinary courtesy, has an undercurrent not only of autocracy, which one could easily associate with so forceful, energetic and able an administrator as Sir John Hewett, but also of prejudice, which is the last thing of which such an authority should even be suspected. We shall not discuss the defence of the Berias, beyond saying that these modern Ishmaelites have discovered in Sir John not only an ardent and sincere reformer but also a well-disposed and active advocate. Nor shall we deal with the fact that Sir John is himself the originator of the scheme and deliberately chose the agency himself. We have no quarrel with the agency, and, in fact, are to some extent among its admirers in spite of General Booth-Tucker's excursions into the realm of Indian politics. But if it is the Lieutenant-Governor who has himself selected the site, and that too deliberately, we are rather sorry for the Lieutenant-Governor and cannot admire the result of his deliberation. It is not a sufficient answer to say that the Berias are not such great villains as they are believed to be, through in fact Sir John's reforming zeal would not be easily intelligible if they were merely moderate sinners. It is a fact that they form a criminal tribe, and it is notorious that the Beria ladies do not always respect a somewhat neglected commandment of the Decalogue. We ask, is a site not a mile removed from a large residential College and from the seat of a residential University of the future, the most suitable for Sir John's experiment in the reform of Beria morals? It is notorious that the Moslem League had to shift its headquarters from Aligarh at the suggestion of Lord Minto himself. Yet, apparently a colony of criminals cannot, in the opinion of Sir John Hewett, be justly described even as a source of danger and annoyance. At this rate, the Moslem League has only to enlist itself as a criminal tribe to secure from the reforming zeal of Sir John Hewett a sanction for its location at Aligarh. We regret we have to speak in this strain, but frankly, we must either shut up shop in order to say nothing about gubernatorial experiments that possess every merit except common-sense, or must appeal to the higher authorities in the way we do to interfere in a matter which is so obviously ripe for intervention. What is most regrettable is that Sir John Hewett should have stepped into the arena of personal calumnies by insinuating that the Trustee and Syndic of the College in charge of its residential discipline was selfish in asking so innocently a most necessary question. Had the authorities of the College even begged the Local Government for preferential treatment in the matter of land acquisition as against the Berias, the request could be called selfish only by some strange perversion of ethical considerations. If Moslem education cannot have a favoured treatment even in Aligarh, we do not know where in this wide world Lord Crewe would find a place wherein to provide special facilities for the Moslems to compete on equal terms later on with other Indian communities? But Mr. Akbar Ahmad Khan asked for no favours, and we believe he has long ago ceased to expect any from the present Local Government. To us the reply appears to be far more tinged with self-love than the question with selfishness. Sir James Merton will, however, soon be in charge of the Province, and we may safely say that the College authorities will not be dealt with by him in such cases as selfish people not entitled to the same consideration as a criminal tribe.

IT IS ONLY WHEN SOCIAL EVILS ASSAILED MASSES OF PEOPLE AND SOAK THEM THROUGH AND THROUGH THAT ONE REALIZES HOW FEEBLE IS THE FORCE OF LAW EVEN IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, COMPARED WITH THE POWER OF RELIGION, IN CLEANSING SOCIETY OF EVILS OF THIS MAGNITUDE.

For instance, not all the Licensing Bills of England and Excise Laws of India have done for Temperance a tenth of what the Islamic prohibition of drink has accomplished, and similarly, not all the Purity Leagues and Salvation Armies of Europe have been able to combat immorality so successfully as the Islamic injunction that women should not disclose their attractions. We referred to this aspect of the matter when writing on the evils of horse-race betting in Western India and have occasion to do so again in connection with the craze of Cotton Figure Gambling. We had ourselves noted the growth of this evil in Calcutta and were collecting facts and figures, when our go-ahead contemporary, the *Empire*, did a great public service by publishing an extremely interesting description of the craze and facts connected therewith over the signature of "Gendarma." It appears that five sets of cotton figures are daily telegraphed from New York, which are added together and then divided by five. The last figure of the quotient, if a whole number, is recognized as the

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one for the day. If, however, there is a remainder, this is announced as the winning number. If the quotient ends in a zero, then ten is quoted as the figure for the day. It seems, and our own experience confirms it, that Bow Bazar Street is the favourite haunt of the gamblers, though more fashionable localities are not free from the evil, and perhaps the biggest deals take place in Burrabazar, a wealthy Marwari's estimate being that a crore of rupees change hands daily. As "Gendarme" writes: "Wealthy Jews, Armenians and Marwaris, Europeans in swagger suits, poverty-stricken Anglo-Indians, domestic servants of every description, Indians of all religions and mendicants by the wayside may be seen anxiously waiting for the day's figure to be announced, on the result of which many find themselves stranded and destitute. Similar scenes may be witnessed throughout the length and breadth of the city and its suburbs, and the evil which is spreading by leaps and bounds bids fair to swamp Calcutta ere long with an army of professional thieves, loafers and beggars." "Bystander", writing to the same journal, adds that "the craze has penetrated even to zenanas, the go-betweens being the women-servants. Children also are to be found slipping out from home to stake whatever money they have been able to beg, borrow, etc., and money given them for sweets at tiffin-time at school now goes the same way. One young urchin in Wellesley Street the other evening misappropriated for the purpose the three coppers given him to buy some oil, and after doing the deed calmly turned to youthful companions for advice as to the best tale to tell his "nani" for not taking home the oil!" It is said that the Police are powerless in the matter as this form of gaming does not come within the provisions of the Gambling Act. If this is law, then we have no hesitation in saying that it is a very stupid person. But "Bystander" has supplied some interesting data about the time when the figures are cabled from America, proving that it is impossible to guess the winning figure on the day on which bets are made from information about the market, and that being so, we should have thought that the Gambling Act covered the case. A test case could at least be instituted to test the extent of law's stupidity. We are glad that the Hon. Mr. Golam Hossein Cassim Ariff intends to ask a question on the subject in the Bengal Legislative Council next Monday, and gladder still that the Government of Bengal has taken into consideration an amendment of the law which will enable the Police to suppress this and other abuses of a like nature. But where so much of modern commercial activity is near allied to gambling, it could only be religious belief in the mischief of gambling that could effectively deal with an evil of such magnitude, and here again Islam has proved the firmness of its rational basis. European civilization is too much soaked with moral and commercial as well as with actual alcoholism to cure the disease, and Pharisees who thank the Lord that their own religious belief is more exacting and starts from a higher level, go after this comforting reflection to a Hall to fathom the mysteries of the *Kala Juggahs*, or to the Club to sample the latest brand of whiskey and have a few rubbers. Western civilization is on its trial in the East, and it will not be judged merely by teaching Japan to destroy European fleets, China to inaugurate a Republic, or India to baffle in Legislative Councils, but also by making the Oriental more abstemious, more honest, more self-reliant and more God-fearing.

EVERY fresh discussion in Parliament about the status of Indians in South Africa only serves to emphasise the Indians in South Africa. almost helpless nature of the fight that valiant champions like Lord Ampthill are still carrying on for the sake of justice and humanity and for the ultimate benefit of the Empire. Once or twice every year, when some one happens to call the attention of His Majesty's Government to the scandal and unrighteousness of the treatment meted out to His Majesty's Indian subjects in South Africa, confessions of helplessness and impotent regrets are skilfully mixed up with halting apologies, and one realises only then how even a problem of Imperial magnitude, big with fateful consequences, can be trifled with in the Mother of Parliaments and politely hustled out of hearing. It is, indeed, passing strange that the Colonial Office should not even be in constant touch with all that is happening to the Indians. We do not know for what cosmic purpose the Colonial Office exists if it can obtain no "official information" about a number of His Majesty's loyal Indian subjects, silently enduring humiliation in an integral part of the Empire and bearing all the hardships of a deliberately harsh and repressive legislation. With such an amazing confession of ignorance, it is rather amusing to hear Lord Eustace talking in the same breath in vague generalities about the general situation. It is almost irrelevant to say that "the relations of the communities in South Africa had improved and would continue to improve," when nothing has been done to relax the rigour and stringency of the laws that have been imposed upon the Indian settlers. Lord Selbourne had the courage of the partisan and disengaged on the difficulties of the situation from the South African standpoint. He considered the problems to be a question of divergent types of civilization. The restrictions imposed on Indian immigration were inspired by the instinct of self-preservation on the part of

the European who would otherwise be wiped out of existence. "It was not a sound basis to say," said Lord Selbourne, "that all the King's subjects had the same rights in all parts of the Empire. It was a truer basis that the special interests of each part should have the first consideration." This theory of Imperialism is not a new one. In fact it is the old doctrine of self-sufficiency in disguise. The only difficulty about it is that it cannot hold together an empire, if by empire we mean an association of self-governing states bound together by some mutual privileges and mutual obligations. However, let us for argument's sake accept Lord Selbourne's definition of the duties and privileges of the Imperial citizenship, and see if it could also be applied from the Indian's standpoint. If the South African patriot is absolutely within his rights in legislating on the basis of colour and race, and not only excluding Indians from the colonies but humiliating them in the most brutal fashion, then, surely, the Indian Government ought to be able to send all colonials out of India, be they traders, settlers or servants of the State. We hope the law of retaliation will do its work more quickly and surely than all the goodwill that may be invoked in the name of the Empire. But will the Empire survive a conflict of colour, a silent but grim strife of races fiercely asserting themselves, with their ugliest passions of pride, hate, and hunger roused to the utmost? It is for Lord Selbourne to answer. If the Empire is at all a thing worth preserving, mutual tolerance and comprehension must find a place in all schemes of Imperialism. Surely it will not be preserved through the glorification of the little Africanism that loves to skulk behind racial ditches and embankments raised by colour.

We HAVE much pleasure in announcing that His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has been pleased to become a patron of the Moslem Institute. His Honor has also been pleased to make a small grant to provide the Institute Hall with some conveniences and to purchase books for the Institute Library. An Institution of this character deserves every assistance. It is by influencing the students' ideas by sympathetic dealings and friendly persuasiveness rather than by suspecting them of sedition in season and out of season or making them loyal "by order" that success can be achieved.

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837 34 0
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837 2 0
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1043 3 7

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16,882 \$ 7

The Comrade.

The Future of Islam.

III

LAST week we endeavoured to refute the charge of Professor Margoliouth and the *Pioneer* that Islam is "less exacting" than Christianity and "starts from a lower level" and instanced the Islamic injunctions as regards prayers and fasting and the prohibition of the use of intoxicants and intercourse of men and women which would prove far too exacting for modern Christians. We could add to these many other instances, including the compulsory Poor Rate of Islam, the *Zakat*, and the prohibition of gambling. In England we have seen the difficulty of taxing the rich for the benefit of the poor, and the hysterics and bombast of the Western India Turf Club have spared us the labour of supplying instances within the experience of our readers which show how exacting is Islam's prohibition of gambling. We discussed the advice of those who propose its defecation to a mere transparency as well as of those who pretend to regard its schisms and sects as the signs of its spiritual strength, and then went on to deal with the temporal history of Islam, contrasting its rise in the past with the present condition of its decline. We quoted the views of European Christians on the nature of the present danger to the worldly power of Islam, and drew the obvious conclusion that under the existing circumstances we could consider Pan-Islamism only as a force for purposes of defence not of defiance.

But Professor Margoliouth ignores this distinction when he says—

It is the thought of an offensive and defensive alliance between 300 millions of Moslems against the European rulers of Asia and Africa which renders the phantasm alarming. And the alarmists are *so far* right that this is the end which the movement called Pan Islamism compassed and compasses. Whether the spirit which it summon from the vasty deep will come or not may be questionable, but it certainly summons them.

So far as the phantasm is aggressive, it is certainly, as the Right Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali said, "created by Europe to create a prejudice against Islam." But the Moslem historian was careful to add that "intelligent sympathy between Moslems in each other's trials and tribulations should appeal to all who have a spark of humanity." If that is Pan-Islamism and alarming, the spirits of mischief which it may summon from the vasty deep, whether they will come or not, would be the Franksteins created by Christian Europe itself. In India, as Mr. Ameer Ali has said, "no Moslem thinks of disloyalty under Great Britain," and when the fruits of victory had been cruelly snatched from the hands of Turkey after the unprovoked war foisted upon it by Greece, and there was a general stir in the restless elements on our North West Frontier, Mussalmen soldiers, including many Afghans, fought against their own co-religionists for king and country, and elicited from Lord Elgin the remark that "in the course of these unfortunate disturbances we have again seen what we have often seen before—the loyalty and gallantry of Muhammadan subjects and soldiers of the Queen." Even the *Pioneer* is forced to remark that,

In the past the most forcible at any part of the Turkish Empire set a wave of sympathetic unrest through all countries where the Moslem element was at all strong. The French have known the feeling in Algeria and the British in India and in their African possessions and both have been anxious as to the attitude of their Muhammadan subjects. To day the sympathetic tremor is felt, but neither in Algiers nor in India is it accompanied by the familiar signs of political unrest. Not disaffection,

No sane person who appreciates the extent or the responsibility would like to answer for the actions of the 300 million Mussalmans of the world in all conceivable and inconceivable contingencies. But so far as we know the Mussalmans of India we are prepared to say, as Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had said years ago, that the attitude of the Mussalmans of India towards their British Rulers would depend wholly and solely on the treatment meted out to them in this country. So long as their rulers give them the blessings of peace and provide them with opportunities of attaining spiritual salvation and temporal prosperity, as they have done in past and continue to do to-day, there is not the ghost of a chance of the Mussalmans of India being anything but a great asset of loyalty. After the Mutiny, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan at one time contemplated retirement to Egypt. But better reason prevailed, and he decided to share the fate and improve the condition of his co-religionists in India. The result of that choice is obvious to-day and he who runs may read it. We trust no one would contemplate retirement to Turkey to-day, for not only is the proper place of an Indian Mussalman in India itself, but in these more peaceful days the future is far more certain than it was fifty years ago, and we have no hesitation in saying that it is a hopeful and a progressive future. At one time it was the dream of Syed Ahmad Khan and Theodore Beck to make Aligarh the nursery of Islam's missionaries of progress who would raise their co-religionists in other lands also. Although Aligarh has not yet been able

to realize that dream, there is no reason why it should not do that in the future; and from the point of view of the rulers too it would be better if Aligarh sends out its missionaries to backward Moslem States than if Moslem India has to import Enver Beys to uplift the Mussalmans of India.

But there are passages in the leader of the *Pioneer* which cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged. It says—

Islam for centuries had only one aspect. It was a universal conquering religion which identified itself with political supremacy. The Moslem's creed taught him that he must either subdue a "hostile" land or quit it. By degrees Islam acquires in his mind another aspect. He begins to concern himself with the extension of its spiritual influence, and is satisfied if he obtains a just share of political influence in the state of which he is a citizen. As the idea of a Messianic Kingdom gradually faded away among Christian communities, so the educated Moslem sees that in the modern world the idea of a universal Islamic state is impossible of realization. He is learning to accept the principle of a constitutional and neutral polity, in which he finds his own place as a member with equal civil rights irrespective of religious belief. It is hard to discard the notion of a divine hierarchy, for this colours the whole body of Koranic doctrine. But the Moslem, like the Christian, is amenable in the long run to the hard facts of the society in which he lives, and he is assimilating, even faster than he imagines, the notion of the civilised creedless state, and of civil rights which do not depend on religious observances.

If by this the *Pioneer* means that the Mussalmans of to-day are departing from the original tenets of Islam, in the matter of peaceful obedience to their non Moslem rulers, it is wholly mistaken. Islam as a spiritual force was never dependent upon temporal dominion, except in the way of regarding worldly dominion as the handmaid of the Faith. And although Islam had for centuries been "a universal conquering religion" in most parts of the world, we cannot ignore the Titanic Empire of China, where there are no less than forty million Mussalmans who have obeyed and prospered under Chinese and Manchu rulers, and where Islam has not been the forced growth of a temporal power, but the vigorous banyan developing from a tiny seedling into a whole forest of sturdy growth. It must also be remembered that no land is "hostile" where perfect religious freedom is permitted to the true believer. Hali, the great Moslem poet of India, regarded temporal power only as a useful adjunct of the Islamic mission, and not as its essence, for he complained in his famous *Javadias*

اے کر چکی جب حق اپنا حکمران
می پہن لے اسلام کراوسکی حاجت
مگر جب اے فخر آدم کی امت *
میری آدمیت بیس سائیہ اوکھے رخصت
حکومت تھی گونا کے ال جہول تم پر
کے اورے اوسکے نکل آئے جوهر

(When temporal rule had done its work, Islam no longer had need of it. But sir, O followers of the pride of Adam, your humanity has also departed along with it. As if temporal power was but a covering, and that removed your reality is at last betrayed.) The same idea is expressed in another way by Iqbal, who says—

توحد کی امانت سبتوں صین پے معاڑے *
آسان نہیں مٹا دا دام اشان معاڑا

(The message of the unity of God is a trust locked up in our breasts. Hence it is not easy to obliterate our name and all traces of us.) In the days of Islamic rule the Faith followed the Flag much more naturally than the commerce of European countries follows their conquests to day. Mussalmans cannot be expected to despise such a powerful safeguard of their missionary rights, and neither their own fate nor that of the Jews can encourage them in the belief that the loss of temporal power would have no effect on the progress of Moslem missionary efforts.

The treatment of the Moors in Spain cannot be forgotten, nor does the constant clamour against Mormonism in England as well as in America give any assurance that the propagation of the Quran would not be tabooed as "the inculcation of doctrines subversive of morality." In fact, we need not go so far for the illustration of a very real danger. Does the *Pioneer* know how many Hindu States under the "protection" of the British Government place difficulties in the way of the Mussalmans desirous of performing their religious duties in peace? Does it know how many mosques have been wiped in the past and are still withheld from Moslem worshippers, and how many have been desecrated in recent times? We have with us several letters from correspondents writing from such states the publication of which is certain to be considered by a large section of the Hindu press as tending to "accentuate religious differences." The Muezzin is not permitted in several States to call the faithful to prayer, and similar custom, dating from the time of the Sikhs in the Punjab, is paramount even in portions of British India. As for the slaughter of cows for sacrificial purposes, no mention is needed. It is undreamt of in Hindu States, but in British India itself Mussalmans are not immune from worries, as the recent case of Meerut would show, where the sacrificed animal was interred in the ground

by order of the Magistrate, and many Mussalmans who had slaughtered it in good faith, even if not in accordance with custom, were harassed for long with a criminal prosecution. The "principle of a constitutional and neutral polity" is almost as difficult of realization as that of the equality of all States according to International Law or the policy of the Open Door in international trade. At a time when even the most powerful European States believe in an armed peace, and are trying to outpace each other in the race of armaments, and when Retaliation is declared to be the only serviceable weapon in combating protection, how delightfully appropriate to expect the Mussalmans "to renounce the world, the flesh and the devil" and concern themselves only with the thoughts of the world to come.

If Professor Margoliouth's own view was to prevail it is certain that Islam would get short shrift in this world. For referring to the persecutions of the Prophet before the Hijrah to Medina, he writes in his *Life*,

A measure which seems both natural and harmless was taken by the Meccans; the Moslems were kept out of the precincts of the Ka'bah. When they came there their devotions were rudely interrupted.

And although the other adviser of Islam, Sir Harry Johnston, says that "no civilized man or woman wishes to revive any idea of religious persecution or disability," and points out that "no European Power that has achieved predominance over a country essentially Muhammadan has, since the eighteenth century, persecuted Muhammadans by forbidding polygamy or compelling them to abandon any of their rites or ceremonies," what guarantee is there that, when once the fear of a Moslem in alliance for defensive purposes is wholly gone, Sir Harry Johnston's vague exception "in regard to such religions or religious tenets as by international opinion are voted to be indefensibly cruel and harmful to human development" would not be applied to religious tenets of the Mussalmans which fail to secure the approval of Europe's changing fashions. According to Sir Harry, "somehow or other Jews and Christians have found a way of evading the trammels of their religious beliefs where they, in process of time, grew to be inconvenient or out of harmony with the enlargement of man's outlook and the firmly based revelations of science." But Islam has never pretended to be equally *à la mode* and whatever may happen to "man's outlook" or the "revelations of science" which supplant each other with bewildering rapidity, Mussalmans must hold fast the rope of Allah, trust in His unchanging and steady outlook, and shape their conduct according to the revelations of their religion, which are far more firmly based on the rock of Eternal Reason. Christendom has permitted the defecation of Christianity to a pure transparency, and has evaded even the trammels of an antinomian creed already made facile by the teaching of St Paul. Many regard Mr Rudyard Kipling as embodying in his powerful verse the spirit of the Christendom of to-day. But it is a European and a Christian who calls him three parts Pagan and only one part Christian. When the Imperialism of Mr Kipling and the pan-Brutanism of Sir Harry rule the world as the sole arbiters of its destiny, what chance is there for the Quran, which, in the opinion of Sir Harry, "was, like the book of Mormon, a kind of parody of the Old Testament?" Would any toleration be then shown for a religion in which, according to this advocate of European morals, "lustful man was to find for thirteen centuries a warrant for polygamy and an excuse for uncontrolled sexuality?" Do we not see already, though yet dimly, the unthinkable future in the words of the writer when he talks of "the intolerable servile of the narrow mentality of Muhammad, an illiterate, uneducated, bandit mystic of the seventh century, A. C.?"

Prof. Margoliouth has done his worst in the vilest biography of the Prophet that has yet been written by a Christian to prove that in the character of the "bandit mystic" - a phrase confessedly based on the Professor's researches - mysticism was a secondary feature and brig andago the main purpose of his life. He writes that "one mode of acquiring a living is open to the very poorest, when there is impunity and that is robbery," and adds that when persecuted by the Meccas he migrated to Medina, "even then he expected to have to fall back on plundering their caravans." According to him, the battle of Badr was a bandit's raid, and at Medina the Prophet was "at the head of a robber community." In the words of Sir Harry Johnston, "the appetite growing with the eating," Muhammad "sought to transform the successes of a bandit into the foundation of a kingdom." This line of reasoning is, of course, based on the Professor's own interpretation of the character of the Prophet of Islam. We have already quoted his summary of Muhammad's career, in which he is stated to have "founded an empire with a religious and political capital," and to have given to his followers "a rallying-point in their common religion and therein discovered a bond more permanent than a dynasty." This is the view of Sir Mortimer Durand's "knowledgeable interpreter of Islam," and so let it be. But if a being whom a sixth of mankind regards as immaculate and a paragon of virtue and humanity, and of whom three hundred million people can say with assurance,

"Whatever record leap to light,
"He never shall be shamed,"

if such a being was a bandit and had put himself at the head of a robber community, then those who have inherited their predatory habits as well as mysticism from him shall not readily allow other and more cultured bandits to snatch away the booty. If the appetite grew with the eating thirteen hundred years ago, it has not grown so dull with the diminishing sustenance of the last two hundred years that it can now reconcile itself to the promise of complete starvation. If Mocca was then made the religious and political capital of Muhammad's empire, is it right to suppose that what the *Pioneer* promises so innocently would reconcile the Mussalmans to the sight of the Cross floating over the Sacred Stone? If the Prophet of Islam had given them a rallying-point in their common creed, are we to believe with that "friend" of the Mussalmans that "the unity of the Moslem world is a barefaced fiction"? If, in the faith of his followers Muhammad had discovered a bond more permanent than a dynasty, are we to understand that Professor Margoliouth is right, and an appeal to the Brotherhood of Islam is as futile as an appeal in cynical Europe to the Brotherhood of Man? To our mind Islam and Pan-Islamism are one and neither is aggressive and provoking. But even the proverbial worm turns, and those who calculate on the acquiescence of peaceful Mussalmans in every aggression on the part of Europe and Christendom seem to believe that human nature is one thing in a Christian and quite its contrary in a Moslem. So far as India is concerned, we have no faith in a conventional, passive loyalty, and shall ever work for an active devotion to a King that is the Sovereign Lord of seventy million Mussalmans of India no less than of the forty-five million Christians of Great Britain and Ireland. But only a perverse judgment would base loyalty on anything but a rational basis, and it is difficult to believe that the mentality of British statesmen has become so warped as to call up wantonly the spirits of mischief from the vasty deep. No doubt that clouds have darkened the horizon. But we are inerate optimists, and our unalterable belief that the Unity of God has yet to prevail throughout the universe, and that the Message of Islam is still only partially delivered, makes us certain of the silver lining to these dismal clouds.

This hope brings us to an aspect of the matter which seems to have been wholly ignored. Islam has never encouraged a lacerating distinction between this world and the next, or between things temporal and things spiritual. It is the prayer of Islam that the faithful may receive good in this world and good in the next, and just as every Moslem is, or, at least, can be, a missionary, so also Islam does not require Moslem kings to renounce the good things of the world, like the great Buddha, before they can become useful missionaries of Islam. According to the Moslem view, a strict adherence to the spiritual precepts of Islam would not only ensure to the pious salvation hereafter, but temporal power in this world also. Viewed in this light, the loss of temporal power would betray a want of religious piety, and conversely, the extension of Islam's spiritual influence is certain to bring it political predominance also. These aspects of Islamic belief have evidently escaped the notice of those of its friends and advisers who would encourage it in the continuance of schisms and give it the opiate of security for its spiritual influence. Who that has read the history of Turk-Persian struggles in the sixteenth and subsequent centuries can mistake the significance of the remark of Busbequius, Ferdinand's ambassador at the court of Suleiman the Magnificent, that "Tis only the Persian stands between us and ruin. The Turk would fain be upon us, but he keeps him back. This war with him affords us only a respite, not a deliverance." As for the soothing syrup of spirituality, it is a little strange that its dispensers should be those who call themselves the disciple of a Moslem who said that his was not the kingdom of this world.

To the Mussalmans we shall say that, in the words of Klaprohl and another Turkish Minister, the God who hath poised upon nothing Heaven and Earth and by Whose aid Islam has so long struggled not altogether unsuccessfully against its foes, will come to the assistance of the Mussalmans only if they will follow His dictates. Unconditional loyalty to a temporal sovereign accords ill with the hope of unconditional assistance from the source of all power, temporal no less than spiritual. One of the greatest truths of the Quran is that which the greatest leader of Indian Mussalmans prominently put before them throughout a long and arduous career. It is this: "God never changeth the state of a people unless they change it themselves." It is the old, old story of the camel and the confidence in God.

ار تو کل (الرُّكْنُ الْأَثْرُ بِهِ)

(Tie up the camel's knee and trust it to God.) Cromwell, too, who very nearly approached a pious Musselman in his ideals and actions, succeeded in attaining more than one "crowning grace" by making his Ironsides trust in God and keep their powder dry. It is this lesson that has to be taught to the Mussalmans plainly and frequently all the world over.

Lest we forget! Lest we forget!

The Lords on the Announcement.

WHEN the Government of India and the Secretary of State were planning the Delhi coup in absolute secrecy between them, the apperition of Lord Curzon, furious and indignant, must have many a time crossed their minds and caused them many an anxious moment of doubt and misgiving. They must have felt as if they would be guilty of a personal spite against the masterful proconsul by undoing that on which he had so deliberately and triumphantly set his seal. When immediately after the announcement at the Durbar, Lord Curzon expressed his surprise in the House of Lords in words of suppressed passion and defiance, and announced his resolve of initiating a full dress debate after the return of the King and Queen from India, the constitutional advisers of His Majesty must have felt a strange lifting of the load, though the threat of discussion must have kept them uneasy like the one awaiting a big surgical operation. The "fearful" debate has come and gone and the Secretary of State and the Government of India must have heaved their last sigh of relief. Lord Curzon spoke eloquently for one and three-quarter hours, and, as Lord Morley said, "he is always eloquent when he is indignant." He elaborated his points with his usual lucidity, skill and force of expression. Many of his important arguments have grown old enough by use and the new arguments that he advanced were unfortunately not very important. All the same his well-directed criticism delivered with a wealth of trenchant phrase and angry denunciation left not a shred of plausibility for Lord Crewe's apologies. The situation in itself was not without its ironies. A Radical Government that has talked itself hoarse with the popular formulas of democracy and constitutional rights has indulged in a supremely autocratic exercise of power under the wings of the Sovereign. A Tory statesman, himself an ex Viceroy of India, and an autocrat by temperament no less than by political faith, stands up to pronounce a damning indictment against the Radical Ministry for having flouted Parliament and violated the established constitutional usages of the land. The Secretary of State for India descends to a remarkably incoherent and fatuous pleading and can only urge opportunism in defence of his policy.

It is needless to repeat the arguments on which Lord Curzon's indictment was based. Even the most inveterate believer in the infallibility of governments can say nothing in defence of the abrupt and unconstitutional manner in which the Government of India has rushed through the measures on which it had set its heart in secret. It was fully conscious of the enormity of its bold project, and it could not trust itself to carry it through without using the prestige of Royalty on a solemn and momentous occasion. The secrecy was observed not so much for the sake of the ultimate dramatic effect as on account of the Government being nervously afraid of the tremendous opposition and hostility that the measures would have evoked if public opinion had been consulted. Lord Curzon pressed home this aspect of the matter with great directness and vigour. Everyone would agree with him in his pathetic observation that "if we had dared to do what you have done, you would have made the heavens ring with your denunciation." But having done what even the Tories have never dared to do, Lord Crewe can justify his radical autocracy by making fugitive and feeble references to Tory high-handedness in the past. The fact of the matter is that, setting aside the intrinsic merits of the changes, there can be no justification of the manner in which they have been carried out. The line of defence that the Secretary of State has taken up in regard to the grave constitutional issues involved has only served to emphasize the fact that His Majesty's advisers have very imperfectly grasped those issues in all their bearings. The one great fact that seems to have influenced them in the formulation of the far-reaching schemes, the full import of which they are only now beginning to apprehend, has been their determination to escape from their present influences and environments. One cannot help seeing the truth in Lord Curzon's gibe that a Liberal Government should be seeking to fly from their friends the Bengalees for whom they have done so much. Be this as it may, we are not sure if the Bengalees would let the Government go so easily. He is, as it were, the Nemesis of the British Rule, and will continue to dog the footsteps of those who are responsible for the government of the country. If we can believe a Bengalee periodical, the Bengalee invasion of Delhi has already been thought about and planned in detail; and who knows but that the Government of India may some day be driven from Delhi into the fastnesses of the Himalayas?

Lord Crewe in defending an indefensible position was driven to use arguments which are, to say the least of them, irrelevant. The despatches which a Society of Mutual Admiration had drawn up with a view to impress the world with the variety and scope of its power and the smooth omnipotence with which it could create a new earth, if not a new heaven, had conveniently glossed over many vital interests that had been severely shaken or injured. But no gloss could cover the naked audacity of the method when examined in the cold light of reason and constitutional usages. It is, therefore, not a little amusing to see Lord Crewe driven to ridiculous shifts in order to secure for the novel

practices of the Indian Government a modest measure of public sufferance. He says that "it is one of the merits of our scheme that it does not represent the triumph of any party or creed. Each party would have preferred some of the features removed if the rest were retained." These lines lay down a proposition that would delight the soul of a diplomat. According to this, an act or a measure should just balance the various interests affected, taking something here and conceding a little there, without the least reference to justice or its permanent and enduring effects on the life and progress of the people as a whole. Surely, no statesman responsible for the many-sided developments of a huge population in various stages of social and political evolution could approach the administration of other problems in the spirit of one concerned only with the needs and the triumph of the passing hour. Surely, it is no reason to deprive the public of its traditional right to express opinion on measures of vital importance because their disclosure at an early stage would lead to angry and passionate discussions "possibly leading to the application to some English newspapers of the more extreme rigours of the Press Act." No one can excuse himself of having neglected to do his duty on the plea that he was afraid it might lead some one else to break the law. Similarly there is no reason why "agitation among the Muhammadans" should be considered as something undesirable when something is done which admittedly militates against their interests. We utterly fail to see the justice or wisdom of the policy which plans something behind the back of the people, forces it down their throat on a peculiarly unique and sudden occasion and then glories in having maneuvered them successfully into a reluctant acquiescence in the accomplished fact without agitation because they have been led to believe it to be the will of their Sovereign. A champion hustler securing emergency votes for a party platform may well have prided himself on manoeuvres such as these.

It is no doubt a wise practice to keep the Sovereign outside the arena of party politics. It is therefore all the more necessary, especially in regard to Indian affairs, that nothing of a violently controversial nature should be sprung on the people through the mouth of the Sovereign. Lord Crewe was apparently very anxious to mark the occasion of the Durbar with something very huge and striking such as could keep it alive as a distinct landmark in the history of the country. Was it only through unconstitutional escapades and huge administrative gambling in areas and populations that that laudable object could be attained? Lord Macdonnell, whose Indian horizon is bounded by the pan Hindu tries of the Indian National Congress, can easily believe that "His Majesty's announcement changing the current of thought of an entire people from discontent to loyalty was as happy an event as any in India's history." If Lord Macdonnell's mind had been a little less afflicted with bias he could have easily realized that the announcement had enough in it to change the current of thought of about 70 millions of people from loyalty to discontent. Lord Minto had a truer grasp of the whole situation when he said that "throughout the mere correspondence submitted there was little trace of the true appreciation of the grave issues affected with regard to the re-organization of Bengal. The way the repeated declaration to the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal had been disowned was not conducive to the reputation of the British Administration in India. The reorganization was only a sop to a political faction as a recompense for the removal of the capital." The spectacle of a Secretary of State clutching at every possible straw and pressing into service all possible and impossible opinions and conjectures to justify what he cannot even explain is not very edifying. The message of loyal homage sent to His Majesty by the princes and people of India was an expression of joy and thankfulness for the immense benefit done to the country by the Royal visit. But to construe it in any way as approving the procedure or substance of the Durbar announcement is surely to read something into it which the authors of the message had never intended to mean.

As a matter of fact the Government of India had decided in secret conclave that the thing had to be done. They therefore did it in a way that could shield them most effectually from the vexations of a powerful and widespread agitation. Against the changes themselves we have nothing more to say. The substantial injury has fallen to the share of the Eastern Bengal Mussalmans. Lord Crewe has recognised that "the Muhammadans have shown remarkable self-restraint and a great many have refused to join in anything in the nature of an agitation hostile to the Government." Under the circumstance it is the duty of the Government to reward such loyalty and self-restraint in a befitting and handsome manner. Lord Crewe thinks that "the best way to convert the balance against the Mussalmans anywhere in India was to give them a chance of improving their position on equal terms with their Hindu fellow-subjects. This could be best done long by increasing their facilities for education." The Mussalmans ask for nothing more. Their only hope is that the Government will afford them the necessary equality of opportunity. Will the Government redeem the pledges so often made to the Mussalmans in the spirit of Lord Crewe's utterance? We are waiting for definite pronouncements in this behalf and we hope we shall not have long to wait.



The Council

By THE HON. MR. GUY.

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please
—In You Take It"

After the light repast of more than a month ago, Council met again on the 23rd. H. E. himself presided with customary grace and sat throughout the sitting, though Sir Guy's motion for the suspension of the rules to admit Dashing Boy's Resolution before Legislative Business had foreshadowed an early retirement from the turmoil of politics. Thus Sir Guy escaped the worry of deserting his own quiet nook by the side of his Secretary, which he secured long ago in spite of his seniority, for the doubtful joy and doubtless responsibility of the Presidential chair.

As the roving eye of the spectator went round the assembly gaps in personalities if not in places were visible. Death had laid a heavy hand on the fraternity of friendly wranglers for among the non-officials the Mir of Sind and the Sirdar of the Sikhs, and among the officials Sandow II were no more. They had departed to another Council, where questions were perhaps still more difficult to answer, where Acts and not Resolutions had any value and where surpluses and deficits mattered far more than the result of a gamble in rām, for the stake was a whole eternity of peace or of regrets.

H. E. opened the proceedings with the note of sadness, and referred to the inexorable character of the law of nature that had robbed India and the Government of India of Sandow II while the country still remembered the enthusiasm and joy evoked by the Royal visit to Calcutta. Little could the strength which battled so successfully against all possible inclination to petty jealousy and meanness avail him when he battled with Death. But the sting of defeat is gone when those who intimately know the victor victim could say of him,

"Statesman, yet friend to truth, of soul sincere,
In action faithful, and in honour clear,
Who broke no promise, served no private end."

Such a one is a Strong Man indeed, for he has the strength of Truth and Sincerity. The tribute of regret was also due to the Mir and the Sirdar, for each tried to do his duty by his country according to his lights, and death and doing one's best are levellers of all, of the official and the non-official, the strong and the weak.

At question time, at the summons of Bhupen Babu, Bootlur Saheb placed before the Council the *memento mori* of his own Department. Three Indians against 258 Europeans in the Indian Educational Service in the year of grace 1912, and one Indian appointed out of every 105 admitted into the Service during the last 16 years. This sad state of affairs has been revealed in official statements, speeches and replies only too often. Trust that Bhupen Babu's reminder would not act like grave-digging on the clovers in Hamlet, and "custom" would not make it in the Department "a property of easiness." As Hamlet said, "the hand of little employment bath the daintier sense," and perpetual reminders may take away from the official "the feeling of his business."

Bhupen Babu evidently of the same mind as S. of S. and very wroth because a doctor had disagreed. Inspite of the endless controversy raging about the announcement, Bhupen

Babu would have every Civil Surgeon in the land know that the boons are not controversial matter and that Royalty has not only made them irrevocable but also non-controversial. So, forgetting his own tearful optic, he would have every man-jack of them wink with both eyes as a sign of loyal jubilation. Wanted to know what operation, major or minor, Government were going to perform on the Seditious Surgeon who would permit no mention of the Royal Visit to cursed Calcutta in the Viceroyal welcome to darling Dacca Regie, the new Minister of the Interior, dolefully replied that,

It was a lark o' the *Herald of the Morn*
And no official nightingale that sang
Come Bhupen, loo!, what enviable streaks
Do lace Partition clouds in East Bengal
Nights' candles are burnt out, and jocund day
Stands tiptoe on the misty mountain tops,
Only half hid by Dacca's 'Varsity
Bear with us while we pack our household gods,
And from Job Charnock's fishing hamlet hie
To Delhi's charnel-house, and there exchange
Bengal's mosquitos with the Northern snakes.
The Englishman with ill-divining soul,
Cassandra-like croaks daily out of tune,
Straining harsh discords and unpleasing sharps
It sees us dead i' the bottom of a tomb
But we are winging for the Imperial Flight
We must be gone and live, not stay and die

Questions over, and Sir Guy having secured a warrant of precedence for Dashing Boy, the House was flooded over with printed eloquence. More than once Council not only smelt the midnight oil in Dashing Boy's orator, but also saw therein the stains of the printer's ink. "I will further down enter more fully into the facts connected with the increase," and "the italics are mine," betrayed him even more than the printed speech from which he read out. The accents were the accents of the orator, but the italics were entirely the printer's. Began by describing the various disguises of the Income Tax, and in asking for the raising of the minimum of taxable income, although he quoted Lord Curzon's hope of further remissions and reliefs, proudly proclaimed that he did not seek to justify his Resolution by any promise of Government. He took his stand upon a higher ground, the justice of the case. A veritable Kutub Minar of Dashing Boy's own construction to the Ochterlony Monument of such unstable things as Government's promises. But the very first argument from "the justice of the case" was a quotation from the Statesman that in India the Income Tax still remained in the crassest and least scientific form and essentially a poor man's tax. Wonder whether Pope, whom H. E. had quoted earlier in the morning, could have thought it possible for a journal to call itself the Statesman, when he wrote, "Statesman, yet friend to truth."

The Council rejoiced to hear that Dashing Boy did not intend to go into an elaborate discussion of the features of the Indian Tax which distinguish it from the English Income Tax. Colour was bad enough as an invidious distinction between Indian and English, but heaven help us if it comes to a comparison of figures and thereafter an elaborate discussion of features as well.

Discussing the rise in prices, said it was "all round." One would have thought that altitude alone was enough to make it formidable without throwing in rotundity into the bargain. Referring to the idea of Sir Guy that the rise was due to "world factors," added that "world factors" will not disappear from the Indian economic situation unless we are going to live in utter seclusion from the world, of which there was precious little chance." This visibly caused uneasiness in the ranks of the Government of India, and all wondered if Dashing Boy had learnt from some secret source that even the irrevocable word was to be revoked and the Imperial Flight finally abandoned.

When he came to explain that "the fact that wages of domestic labour has increased simultaneously with the recent enhancement in prices, only adds to the difficulties of the humble *bhadralok*," the Nawab of Jaunpur, who judges all things in the world from the standpoint of the Domestic Servants' Agency, wondered if C.I.E's, Nawabs and Khan Bahadur *log* were also included in the term *bhadralok*. Included or excluded, he keenly felt for those whose Home Department arrangements were upset by the Government of India's Finance or Education Department.

Regardless of the inhuman possibilities of the Government, talked of human probabilities, and said that the principles underlying the methods of assessment made it more *onerosus* to the respectable poor. All honour to the respectable poor, but English as she should be spoke makes more *onerous* demands on the speakers. Went on to give the Council the much needed information that one mark was equal to 1s. or As 12, and referred to the English practice of distinguishing between "earned" and "unearned" incomes, creating some anxiety in the mind of the Education Department as to the category under which the salaries of those must be classed who have nothing to do but to provide tenants for deserted secretariat, by creating conjectural Teaching and Residential Universities. Said that "the English practice will provide an inspiring example," and cheered the heart of the Administrative Orphan who had not heard a good word for his former chief since he had landed in India.

After a wealth of comparative wisdom, came to the question of questions, whether his suggestion of the abandonment of a revenue of 30 lakhs could be "received with equanimity." Never fear, Dashing Boy, it is sure to be received with perfect equanimity. For not one man in the Council would agree to the abandonment of 30 shells just now, much less 30 lakhs, and there is therefore no need of any excitement. Only a "lively faith," a faith that skips and jumps and turns somersaults in the mere *joie de vivre* would believe that 30 lakhs more or less don't matter much after all. In spite of constant opposition to every suggestion of the Mild Hindu for the extension of education took his oath that he yielded to none in his enthusiasm for mass education. But had a telling reply for all those whose opposition was anticipated, that the retention of 30 lakhs did not guarantee but a bras parting would be spent on schools and drains. In any case, had an alternative scheme for replenishing the coffers of Sir Guy by taking from him or his Secretary as well, along with others drawing more than Rs. 50,000 or 30,000 as pay, six pices per rupee instead of five. This suggestion was made possible by the courtesy of Orator (now Dr. Orator) Meston, on whose well-merited elevation to a *satrap* and to the suggested limit for a super-tax Dashing Boy was easily the first to congratulate him in the debate. In conclusion—yes, there was a conclusion at long last—trusted that "this loading" would prove far more productive in the end, and, at any rate, when 30 lakhs were once abandoned, he could trust Sir Guy, "with his ingenuity and superior knowledge" to "devise other and more satisfactory means of recompence"—if necessary!

جی ملک جو کس کے سامنے میری اور میری کو ملا اوپر کر
(Practice thy arts, and the blood of the two worlds be on my head)

When this oratorical effort was over, and Dashing Boy was relieved of the pent up passions of the fiscal reformer, Cheery Chintu, in his bright new knight's armour, rose to leave such knotty—or was it naughty?—concerns as changes in financial matters to a paternal and benign Government.

Sobrión, the Pantaloons, appeared no more as a sympathetic friend of raiders on the Government Treasury, but adopted a new sympathetic attitude. Congress and League were not against the lower limit, and if these Upper Thousand circles were indifferent to such matters, why need a Council of the Upper Ten worry about it? Anyhow the moment was inopportune.

Then rose the Khan Bahadur to declaim his maiden meditation. But his fancy loyally turned to thoughts of peace which the British Government had established, which converted its very generals out for a war in Aborland into clerks of the weather. The speech was encyclopaedic in its wide expanse, but the refrain of loyalty provided the nexus of relevancy. Talked in the familiar style of Lahore and League platforms of "thrills of delight," and it appeared that the speech, far from taxing his well-trained larynx, acted only as *Rakhi-i-Lagoom*.

Burly Raja rose to correct the geographical inexactitude of the Khan Bahadur and said that India was a Peninsula and not quite

a Continent. And thereafter fell uncontrollably into language not quite unlike that of another loyal nobleman who had mixed up ribbons with ropes. With Sobrión, the Pantaloons, and the Punjab Khan Bahadur, he considered the moment inopportune, explaining that there were other requirements such as "the outlay needed to create an Imperial Delhi" and "further, there was the Dacca University, while other things might crop up in these inordinate times."

The Mild Hindu also joined the opposition, but the habitual moderation of his opinions made him suggest that even if Sir Guy could not commit the offence of abandoning 30 lakhs, he may take a hand in abatement.

Madge gave convincing assurances that there was "a class of people in this country who were obliged to adopt a higher standard of living when their means were growing smaller year after year." Although he did not name the class, was there any doubt that this referred to people who lived à la Whiteaway, when their means suggested the mode of the Municipal Market? He could not support the Resolution as it could not relieve this class, but he hoped Sir Guy would become their William Whiteley, and, in the famous phrase of Sir Ali Baba, K.C.B., make them Commissioners or give 'em pensions

This was the last straw and Sir Guy could hear no more. Rose to reply, and disturbed the peaceful plans of the Undesirable Alien, who was just then drafting a cable to the pale Grey Liberal about the "stable" Government of Persia after the horse had been stolen. Sir Guy indicated the clear drift of Dashing Boy's fiscal policy as leading to bankruptcy. "Last year he attacked Cotton duties, this year he assails the Income Tax. If he had his way, revenues would apparently continually diminish, whilst the claims upon them, which he concurrently presses, would steadily increase. This he called a remarkably illogical attitude." But what could be more logical? If Sir Guy would not grant his claims, he must curtail Sir Guy's. As Glasgow's belated passenger said to the railway Guard, who would not let him jump into the moving train, and was therefore held down by the Glaswegian when himself jumping into the Brake Van, "If I munna', thou sanna'!"

Surprising how in Finance also, as in all else, "Judy O'Grady and the Colonel's lady are sisters under their skin." For here was Sir Guy approvingly quoting "the present British Chancellor of the Exchequer"—no other than Lloyd George—who called the Income Tax "the centic and sheet anchor of the British financial system." Wonder whether Sir Guy is getting into the Georgian mood as a good training for the forthcoming Budget. Lloyd George has said so many nasty things in his time, and it would be a sight for the gods to see Sir Guy coming out in true Limehouse fashion. We cannot speak for the language, but the thought seems to be running in the identical groove, for he told Dashing Boy that if asked again for a 1,500 rupee limit, he may be induced to see if he could not bring it down to 500. Like the weaver who prayed for a horse when his legs could carry him no further on the long and wearisome journey, and who for all his prayers got a young colt to carry on his back for the robbers whom he chanced to meet, Dashing Boy may well exclaim,

اے میری اولٹی کے سندھ والے ماں تبا نیجے کو ملا اوپر کر
(O thou that hearest by contraries, I had prayed for one below, but have got one above!) It would almost be a "boon"!

Dashing Boy dashed himself on the Council once more to the outer dismay of H. L. But he cleared the doubts of the President by claiming the right of reply. This unexpected check only acted like a hose that tipped an oil tank and played on a raging fire, and the next second, Dashing Boy, foaming at the mouth and looking a whole arsenal on the non-official members, blurted out the query, "What is the exact psychological moment for a reduction?" Cheery Chintu looked at Sobrión, Sobrión stared at the Khan Bahadur; the Khan Bahadur gazed at Burly Raja in blank amazement, and the gaze ricochetted from him to the Mild Hindu as a Martini bullet may ricochet off a rhino. The Mild Hindu sought an answer from the melancholy vacuity of Madge, and Madge turned to Sir Guy. But the Cerberus of Finance had been turned by some unkind fairy into a star-dreamer for the nonce, and was evidently tracing in his mind the movements of the Great Bear on the Government House frieze. So, like a boomerang, or the bread cast upon the waters, Dashing Boy's query came back to him, and echo answered, "Hwat?"

Balked in his search for the Psychological Moment, Dashing Boy, like a true Loyalist, dashed himself on the serried phalanx of the Congress and said that the Income Tax was left severely alone because it was known that this was the only Tax on the Feringhee. At this Madge became a little unhinged and shouted,

"My tables, my tables—meet it is I set it down," and forthwith passed a sponge over "all trivial bond records," "all saws of books" and other such stray marks on the slate of his memory.

Complimented the Khan Bahadur on securing the brush at his very first meet as the reward of being at the kill of a "popular measure," little knowing that the Khan Bahadur had successfully

settled many a popular measure before. After stating with delightful tautology and blissful ignorance that the incidence of land revenue does not fall on the rural population, but—unlike Cotton duties perhaps—is part of the cost of production, expressed a hope that wisdom may yet come to the Finance Department and his persuasive and prolonged eloquence from the unattainable height of the Kutub may not all be in vain. Sir Guy was now no longer busy star-gazing, and looking Dashing Boy steadily in the face, permitted a non-committal smile to hover about the pursed lips of High Finance.

The legislative business was small and uneventful, Regic making his *début* in Select Committees with the one sacred to lunacy.

Then came a reversion to Resolutions, and the Mild Hindu moved for papers about the Inchape Committee. Within a railway yard of him, sat the Railway Sleeper in a posture reminiscent of the *asana* of a *yogi*. The right foot was twisted peculiarly and reappeared under the left knee. The left hand rested on the waist with elbow thrown out, while the right held the chin philosophically. The Mild Hindu complained that he had no official news of the Inchape Committee. He had only read in the papers that Inchape was coming. Then the papers told him he had arrived. Later they informed him that he was holding a Conference. And finally he learnt from the same source that the Conference was over and that the report was to leave by the last mail. Now, that proves how useful are the papers! Once bitten, twice shy. The papers are not going to be sold again, as they were over the boons "Anticipation of events, intelligent or otherwise?" Why, good papers are like great men. They *create* events and circumstances. But Mild Hindu was not concerned with all this. He wanted, like Goethe on his deathbed, "more light." Why were there no press *communiques* or official *déments*? What was Inchape's position? What were the terms of reference? Was it a fact that he was going to report direct to the S. of S.? What was the position of the Government of India? Had any protest been made against such strange proceedings? To all of which another query might have been added. Was the Inchape Committee the Nemesis of the Announcement, hatched in the privacy of those incubators, the Despatch Boxes of Whitehall, breaking the shell only as "an accomplished fact"? The Mild Hindu talked of the "proper channel," forgetting that the new irrigation policy of the Government had altogether done away with proper channels, substituting for them the subsoil current of secrecy. After explaining the position of the President of the Conference and its reaction on the interests of the Railway Board and the Companies, expressed doubt about the unconscious bias of the senior partner of a commercial house having extensive dealings with Railway Companies, and feared that he may not prove an Inchape of Good Hope to the people. Referred to the tightening of the control of the Council and the Finance Department over the Railway Board and the consequent turn of the screw on the Companies and incidentally declared that the Railway Sleeper had ideal qualifications for the work of the Board. After all, the Railway Sleeper is the basis of all Railway lines, and this one returned the compliment by designing on the writing pad another bogey on the model of the Mild Hindu bogey of the Railways.

Mud Holkar explained his self-denying ordinance, of withdrawing his earlier questions in view of this resolution, and ran at express speed through tunnels and over bridges when he referred to "the extreme disappointment, indignation and alarm felt by all classes in this country because of the secrecy in which the proceedings of the Committee were shrouded."

Vital Thackery gave his massive support, but as he intends bringing forward a Resolution of his own on Railway Policy, and speeches with him are not plentiful, did not care to waste words on Mild Hindu's Resolution. In the course of his short speech, neatly cleared the five barred gate of the Railway Sleeper's Christian name and referred to him merrily as Sir Wynne Graham very naturally dissociated his own constituency from "the disappointment, indignation and alarm" about this instance of secrecy. After all Calcutta is no more the Capital of India. So, there may be as much secrecy now as the Government ever cared to have. Alter us the deluge.

لئے لئے دن کو تو یوں رات کو کہوں ہے خیر سوی
رہا کہا نہ جو وہی کا دعا دیتا ہوں رہا نہ کو

(If I had not been robbed in the day, could I have slept so soundly of nights? The fear of theft is gone, and I gratefully pray for the thief.)

The Administrative Orphan rose to "explain the matter in a very few words." Alas for the scarcity of current coin, and the choice of the psychological moment for a retrenchment of words. What Committee? Which Inquiry? Who's Inchape? Who talks of Terms of Reference? There were no such things. It was all an illusion; nothing but *maya*. Om, *mani padam*, Om! As for newspaper reports, who believes them? In fact, who reads them? He never did. He has more secret despatches to read than he can spare time for, and even official *déments* might let out the feline contents of administrative bags.

The Mild Hindu called for a division, and nearly died for joy to know that out of the three hundred and fifteen millions of India there were as many as nineteen that had been fed up with the sage of secrecy, and the broth of evasive replies.

Petty Larceny.

(By OUR SPECIAL KLEPTOMANIAC).

[MOTTO.—"Wit is your birthright, therefore steal it where-ever you find it."—*Rigmarole Vedu*.]

A SCHOOL INSPECTOR was trying to elicit from a very ignorant class the name of the capital of France. "Think, boys, what is the place to which so many of the rich and fashionable people go?" A pause, then one boy puts out his hand. "Please, Sir, Hell, Sir."

MRS. X (away from home). "John, did you leave out anything for the cat before you started?"

Mr. X. (who dislikes the beast). "Yes; I left a can of condensed milk on the table, with a can-opener beside it."

FIRST SOCIETY LADY "That pretty baby we've just passed is mine."

Second Society Lady: "How ever did you know?"

First Society Lady: "I recognized the nurse."

THE old friends had had three days together.

"You have a pretty place here," remarked the guest on the morning of his departure. "But it looks a bit bare yet."

"Oh, that's because the trees are so young," answered the host, comfortably. "I hope they'll have grown to a good size before you come again."

FIRST STRANGER (at Douglas). "Ah, sir, it seems a shame to see all this water going to waste."

Second Stranger "Jesso, jesso"

First Stranger "Are you a mechanical engineer, sir?"

Second Stranger "No, sir, I'm a milkman."

YOUNG HOPEFUL. "Father, what is a traitor in politics?"

Veteran Politician. "A traitor is a man who leaves our party and goes over to the other one."

Young Hopeful "Well, then, what is a man who leaves his party, and comes over to yours?"

Veteran Politician "A convert, my son."

A LOCAL doctor once sent his man with a box of pills to a patient and a hamper containing six live pullets to be left at the house of a friend. Unluckily the messenger bungled over his errand and took the hamper to the patient and the pills to his master's friend. Imagine the consternation of the patient on receiving along with the fowls the following prescription—

"Two of these to be swallowed every half-hour."

A UNFRIENDLY clergyman, while walking in a colonial mining district, came upon an old man turning a windlass which hauled up ore from the shaft. It was a very hot day, but the old man had thrown aside his hat, and the sun was streaming down upon his bare head.

"If you expose your head to the sun in that way," said the good parson, "your brain will be injured."

But the old man only looked weary at the speaker and shook his head. "I wouldn't be doing this all day long if I had any brains," he answered quietly.

IN A BOARD SCHOOL recently an inspector was examining a geography class of boys on Africa.

After he had put many questions he asked the following:

"What bird lives in Africa, and has wings, but cannot fly?"

This question seemed to puzzle the boys very much, and seeing them hesitate, the inspector said:

"Come! come! Cannot some of you tell me?"

At last a little boy put up his hand, and said—

"Please, sir, a dead'un."

Et Cetera.

A PRESS COMMUNIQUE is issued denying the rumour that, in view of the expected disorder in Glamorgan connected with the miners' strike, Russian troops have been despatched to the affected area with the full concurrence of Sir Edward Grey, and that France and Russia have signed a Convention jointly guaranteeing the integrity and independence of Great Britain.

We are enabled to state that there is no truth whatever in the rumour that Mr. P-t-r Sw-n would be made the Governor of Bombay on the retirement of Sir George Clarke, with Mr. Sh-rck as a Councillor, and that the Anglo-Indian community of Calcutta is to be given a teaching and residential University.

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

THE Karachi Chamber of Commerce has telegraphed to the Foreign Office, Calcutta, urging that a small escort of Indian troops should accompany each caravan leaving Buncr Abbas for the interior of South-Eastern Persia.

Reuter wires from Teheran on the 19th —The British and Russian Ministers presented a note yesterday evening containing a joint declaration of policy.

Sir John Lonsdale on the 19th asked whether Sir Edward Grey's attention had been drawn to the boycott of British firms in Persia. Mr. Acland replied that Government was taking all possible steps to remove the boycott in Shiraz. All other cases had been dealt with satisfactorily.

The Imperial Government intended to demand compensation for the attack on Consul Smart. Mr. Acland said it was understood that the Swedes in Persian service had elaborated a scheme for policing the Bushire-Ispahan Road. Mr. Acland added that the compensation demanded was £4,734 and gave details of the casualties consequent on the attack on Consul Smart and said that the total value of animals and property destroyed was about £900.

Reuter wires from Teheran on the 19th —The Anglo-Russian Note offers an advance of £200,000 at 7 per cent on condition that Persia undertakes to conform with the principles of the Anglo-Russian Agreement to dismiss Fidais and other irregulars immediately; the ex-Shah quits Persian territory, to organise a small and effective army and to arrange terms with the ex-Shah as previously suggested by both Powers. The Note makes no mention of withdrawal of the Russian troops.

In the House of Commons on the 20th Mr. Ponsonby moving an amendment to the Address complained that the Government had failed to take effective steps to preserve the integrity and independence of Persia in accordance with the Anglo-Russian Agreement. Consequently, he said, the Indian Empire and the interests of Great Britain were gravely menaced.

Sir Edward Grey replied on the line of his previous utterances on the subject of Persia, reiterating the charge that our strategic interests had been damaged since the entente with Russia. He emphasised that he had taken a strong line with regard to the ex-Shah, whom he said we would not recognise again. Sir Edward Grey stated that our share of the Anglo-Russian Loan of £200,000 would be used to restore the security of the southern roads. Mr. Ponsonby withdrew his amendment.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "MAIL" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Washington, January 26.

THE New York American prints prominently this morning a report of a conversation which its representative has had with Mr. Shuster in Paris. Mr. Shuster denies the report that he had been placed in Persia in the interest of a certain powerful American financial house. He could, he is reported to have said, have done anything he liked in Persia —

"I could have been absolute dictator had I said the word. Thirty-five of the bravest officers of the Guard not only swore allegiance to me but were ready and anxious to fight for me. They regarded me as the saviour of their country . . . My word came to be taken as law to such an extent that I had to be very careful about uttering any figurative expression that might be misconstrued. Law or justice did not exist. The force of power was the only law recognized and superior strength alone gave justice."

In the circumstances to have been in the slightest degree false to his trust would have been the act of a "low dog." Mr. Shuster then told how, in November, the Government proposed that he should hand over to any American he liked the Trans-Persian Railway enterprise, and how he refused to consider the proposal.

Until the United States shows strength and influence to protect American investors it will be useless, Mr. Shuster thinks, for American capital to try to overcome the obstacles of the dominating influence of Russia and England.

The ex-Treasurer-General assured the representative of the American that Monday's address before the Persian Committee would not be lacking in sensationalism.

Mr H F B. Lynch has received the following telegram from the Sardar Assad, dated Teheran the 24th instant —

I desire to give every assurance that myself and my family do not in the least think of acquiring the Regency or of establishing a Bakhtiari dynasty. We shall serve the responsible and Constitutional Government alone and no other regime. Rumours of dissent between the Regent and myself are without foundation, as are all other rumours which mischievous persons are spreading against myself and Cabinet. The Cabinet is most trustworthy, and deserves the fullest confidence, it is inspired with only patriotic feelings. You can fully assure the friends of Persia in this respect. (Signed) Ali Kuti Bakhtiari (SARDAR ASSAD)

Teheran, January 28.

M. Mornard has appointed Mr. Lecoffre to be collector of the revenues of the province of Fars and will probably also appoint Mr. Schindler elsewhere in the south. He has applied for leave to appoint a new Belgian Treasury staff.

Teheran is threatened with a serious deficiency of bread, as since Mr. Shuster's departure the Governor and his associates have revived the corn ring.

St. Petersburg, January 27.

A telegram from Tabriz states that six Fedais who took part in the attacks on Russian troops, have been executed — (Reuter)

St. Petersburg, January 28.

The reiterated rumours from Teheran alleging that Russia is increasing her troops in Persia and that Russian agents are covertly assisting the ex-Shah are baseless. I am enabled to state positively and categorically that not a single soldier has been added to the contingent of 9,000 which was in Persia three weeks ago, nor is there the slightest intention of increasing it. The force at Meshed consists of one battalion of Turkistan Rifles with one sotnia and six guns. Another battalion at Korhan, halfway between Meshed and Turkistan is guarding the communications. The Kazvin detachment has not been increased, nor will any troops be moved south.

Far from helping the ex-Shah, it may be taken as the firm and unalterable determination of the Russian Government that the presence of the Russian troops in Persia shall in no case contribute to his restoration. The Consul at Resht, who is said to be secretly assisting Mohammed Ali's adherents, recently disarmed the Governor of Ardebil and compelled him to return to Ardebil. The strictest injunctions have been telegraphed to the Russian Consular officers to do their utmost to prevent any combined action on the part of the ex-Shah's agents and partisans.

Teheran, January 30.

The Government organ, the *Itzab*, publishes a prominent inspired article foreshadowing approaching Anglo-Russian representations. It declares that the exceptional state of the country demands exceptional measures. The Government must rely on Anglo-Russian support in carrying out the heavy task before it. The Anglo-Russian Convention contains nothing inherently unusual to Persia, and if Sir Edward Grey's statements in December in the House of Commons, which the journal quotes, represent reality, Persia is entitled to expect Anglo-Russian help. Nevertheless, the Government was only induced to accept the Russian ultimatum in the hope of an early withdrawal of the Russian troops not only at Kazvin but elsewhere. Russia now appears disposed to say that she will withdraw only when the Central Government is sufficiently strong to maintain order, this is moving in a vicious circle. While the troops remain the Government can have no prestige and the restoration of order is hopeless. Although Russia designs the troops as a moral support for the Government, the effect is quite contrary, unless, therefore, the Government possessed guarantees for the withdrawal of the troops, the acceptance of the ultimatum was a profound mistake.

This significant article is interpreted as meaning that the Cabinet is ready to recognize the Anglo-Russian Convention, if the forthcoming negotiations promise a withdrawal of the troops. I understand that Russia has now finally formulated her views in London.

Mr. Shuster on Persia.

MR. W. MORGAN SHUSTER, the late Treasurer-General of Persia, was entertained at dinner at the Savoy Hotel on the night of the 29th January by the Persia Committee, when he gave a complete

statement of his experiences in that capacity during the last eight months.

Mr H T. B. Lynch, chairman of the committee, presided at the dinner, and amongst a company numbering about 240 ladies and gentlemen present were the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, Sir T. and Lady Barclay, Mr. C. Barlay, Sir M. M. Bhownagree, Professor E. G. Browne, Dr. Chapple, M.P., Mr and Mrs T. J. Cobden Sanderson, Mr. and Mrs. A. S. Dewar, Mr. A. Ponsonby, M.P., Mr J. S. Fletcher, M.P., Mr. H. S. Foster, Consul-General for Persia, Mr. A. B. Cunningham Grahame, Mr Stephen Gwynn, M.P., Mr P. Morrell, M.P., and Lady Ottoline Morrell, Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, M.P., Captain C. B. Stokes, Lieutenant Colonel G. C. Trench, Mr and Mrs. Fisher Unwin, and Mr F. Whelen, honorary secretary.

The Chairman gave the toast of "The King," which was followed by that of "The President of the United States," proposed by Sir T. Barclay.

The Chairman afterwards proposed "The Guest of the Evening," and said that in welcoming Mr Shuster the Persia Committee had been pursuing a course strictly in accordance with their past action. From the very first they had supported that gentleman in the extremely difficult and delicate task which was committed to his charge. He denied that Mr. Shuster had ever endeavoured to upset the Anglo-Russian Agreement, which, he said, was a purely commercial matter and had nothing to do with politics. The real reason of Mr. Shuster's dismissal had been given him by an Englishman in Persia, who was not a sympathizer with the Nationalist or Democratic Party in Persia, when he wrote him that Mr. Shuster's mission was doomed to failure because if Persia were made prosperous it would weaken Russian influence.

Mr Shuster, who was most warmly acclaimed on rising to reply, disclaimed having any irritation or rancour of any kind. His object in being there, apart from the pleasure of meeting that distinguished gathering, was to enable people in this country to form a better opinion as to the fairness and the wisdom of the political treatment administered to Persia by two powerful Governments which had special interests there. He would not deny that he had felt a certain resentment as to the manner and form in which his dismissal from the office of Treasurer-General was brought about, but he was not *posseur* enough to claim that he had been irreparably damaged by it, hence he claimed to speak with at least a degree of impartiality.

Mr. Shuster went on to describe the conditions under which the post of Treasurer General was tendered to him last December, and how he accepted it only in the belief that there was an opportunity to do a creditable piece of constructive financial work. On arrival he found the finances of the Persian Government in a chaotic state, and corruption and dishonesty of all kinds rampant throughout the administrative services. After spending two days in discussing the situation with people in all walks of life, and particularly with the leading members of the Majlis, he informed them that the situation was such that nothing but arbitrary and drastic control in fiscal matters would save it, and it was for the legislative body to state whether they were prepared to concede such power to a foreigner of whom they necessarily knew but little. The Majlis promptly decided that this was a necessary step and requested him to draft a simple basic financial law. This he did and the law was passed on 13th June by a practically unanimous vote.

The Russian Legation at once said that they needed no assistance from Persia in the matter of the Customs, the receipts from which were largely pledged to Russia. Other Legations joined in this opposition, with the exception of the British, Turkish, and, of course, the American Legations. The effect of this opposition was to delay for nearly two months the work of establishing a central Treasury system, and it was only when he stated that he would put before the Majlis a proposition to cancel the contracts of the Belgian Customs officials that the opposition collapsed and M. Mornand agreed to obey the law.

He went on to explain the difficulties which arose from his endeavours to employ the services of Major Stokes to assist him in organizing a Treasury *Gendarmerie*, which was the only means by which the internal taxes could be promptly and efficiently collected by the Central Government. It was at this point that he received new light on what the Russian and British Governments considered to be the far-reaching effect of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, although the British Foreign Office had only shortly before agreed to Major Stokes being employed for this work if he resigned his commission in the British Indian Army, a thing which he promptly did. Finding that the Russian opposition to Major Stokes was unalterable, he sought to reach an agreement whereby the Russian Government would consent to Major Stokes advising him in the formation of this *Gendarmerie* for so short a period as ten months, but after frequent discussions with the Russian Legation the St. Petersburg Government refused absolutely to withdraw their opposition. The next incident was the confiscation by him as Treasurer-General, under orders from the Persian Government, of

estates of Shua-es-Sultaneh, the brother of the ex-Shah. The Persian Government, having notified the Russian and British Legations that it intended to issue this order, and no objection having been made and assurances having been given that any and all rights of foreign subjects would be fully respected by Persia, he sent Civil officials with a few Treasury gendarmes to seize the different properties. It was then that the Russian Consul-General Pokhitonoff sent his two Vice-Consuls in full uniform and accompanied by 12 Russian Cossacks, fully armed, to arrest the Treasury officials who were in peaceable possession of the properties, and to conduct them to the Russian Consulate-General, where their lives were threatened and they were treated with the greatest indignity. He communicated to the Russian Legation his intention of resuming possession of the properties the next day, which he did with a force of 100 gendarmes. Mr Cairns, who was in command of the force, on his way to the house saw M. Pokhitonoff, and again warned him of what was going to be done, after a vain attempt to procure the peaceable withdrawal of the Cossacks. The Russian story that the property was seized while a conference was going on was a pure invention, as was the statement of the two Vice-Consuls that they had been received on the second day with insults from the Persian guards. The Russian Legation, indeed, sent to St. Petersburg reports of an exactly opposite nature.

The Persian Government next protested strongly against the affront put upon them by the Russian Consular Office, and the result was an ultimatum from the Russian Government demanding the immediate withdrawal of the Treasury gendarmes from the properties and an apology to be publicly tendered by the Persian Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Russian Legation. After considerable hesitation, and as a result of advice tendered by the British Foreign Office, the Persian Government complied with this humiliating demand. At the very moment of the apology the Russian Government was formulating another ultimatum, which was presented a few days later, and not only demanded the dismissal of himself as Treasurer-General, the right to veto foreign appointments, future and existing, to the Persian service, and the payment of a considerable indemnity, but added an omnibus clause, under which the Russian Government could claim anything from Persia for past, present, or future actions, and Persia must satisfactorily comply therewith under penalty of being held to have violated the ultimatum. The grounds, he understood, on which his dismissal was demanded were his appointment of a British official to Tabriz and his alleged circulation in Persia of a translation of his letter to the *Times*—both petty, and both untrue.

He could only say that after a careful review of these four incidents running over a period of several months he believed that one of two conclusions must be reached. Either that the Russian and British Governments, and particularly the former, in respect to the acts of its Consular officials in Persia, must have intended to pursue a policy calculated to destroy all hope of Persia's regeneration and up-building through the efforts of the people themselves, or those two Governments must have been continuously and grossly misinformed as to what was happening on the ground. Certainly no other hypothesis could reconcile the stand which they took towards the Constitutional Government of Persia with the actual facts of the case. (Cheers.)

He would say a word in his own defence that he had not thought to say because, after all, it did not make any difference whether he was right or wrong in the discussions in Persia. The particular charge against him personally, and one which might be true, was that he lacked a certain *keenness* in not recognizing that words did not mean what they said and that diplomatic agreements sometimes had a sub-clause not expressed on their face. (Laughter and cheers.) If that were true, he must feel innocent on the ground that the countries who expected him to read into their agreements meanings which did not exist in the words should have informed him of the secret code by which they translated them. (Cheers.) They did not do so. He was in constant touch with both of the Legations and attended the Ministers very highly, and from the time he arrived until the time he left he never had an unpleasant word of discussion with them. If he were indiscreet in finally giving publicity to facts which were happening there without the world or the people of the Governments which were doing them knowing it, to that also he pleaded guilty. He consulted the elected representatives of the Persian people upon whether they preferred to be slain in a dark alley or have the crime committed in the public square, and they said they preferred the public square. (Cheers.) He hoped what had been said that evening might foster interest in the future of a country whose people still yearned for an opportunity to become a third-rate Power in the world. Why a little prosperity on their part should be feared by Europe he could not understand. (Cheers.)

The Majlis refused three different times to accept the Russian ultimatum, and under such circumstances of pressure and danger to themselves, owing to the fact that the arrival of Russian troops was daily expected, that they gave evidence of a true national spirit in Persia. It is easy to allow patriotism to swell in our breasts on occasions of gladsome celebration when there is no danger involved in matters of thoroughgoing patriotic utterance, but when you have

a body of seventy Mahomedans acting under the threat almost of imprisonment and the gallows from a superior force, day by day subjected to these threats and intimidations, and yet refusing to cede their sovereignty—this, I think, will be taken as proof of national spirit. They know in general terms that we believe in the Ten Commandments. In their simple, child-like minds they cannot understand how a people believing in the Ten Commandments could treat them in the way in which they have been treated. They don't understand that international politics have not time for the Ten Commandments. We should be foolish to hope for an immediate change, but we have seen something like a carnival of injustice in the last few years all over the world. It has been an artificial carnival, because it has not been desired or brought about by the peoples concerned. Some of our diplomats seem to suffer from the desire to show how complicated they can make the language of diplomacy. I believe a change is coming, and that soon diplomacy will run as clear as a mountain stream.

He hoped that meeting was the augury of an interest on the part of the great British nation in the weakerised, war-cursed country of Persia; and this was something more than a hope, because he believed, however inelastic forms of government might be, that when the knowledge of an injustice was brought home to a great people, no matter what the circumstances or the cost might be, their voice would be given to right it. (Loud cheers.)

The toast of "Persia" was afterwards proposed by Mr Morrell, M.P., and responded to by Professor E. G. Browne.

Mr. Shuster on Persia.

No FAULT can be found with the tone of the speech which Mr. Shuster, the late Treasurer-General to the Government of Persia, made at the Savoy Hotel on Monday night. He spoke with moderation and restraint and with what was clearly a sincere desire to put his case fairly before the public. But, while his address makes his attitude intelligible, we cannot but think that at the same time it explains the circumstances of his dismissal. Mr. Shuster formed his own views as to the condition of Persia and the remedies which it demanded, and he seems to have expected that Great Britain and Russia would assent to the application of these remedies irrespective of their own interests and as a matter of course. That, it need hardly be said, was an expectation which no trained diplomatist or statesman would have formed, and an expectation which was in its nature incapable of fulfilment. When this rather elementary truth was borne in upon Mr. Shuster by the incidents which he describes he came to the remarkable conclusion that either the two Governments had intended to destroy all hope of the regeneration of Persia through the efforts of her people, or that they have been grossly and continuously misinformed. Nothing else, he thinks, could explain their attitude towards the Constitutional Government at Teheran. Mr. Shuster's speech contains, we must suppose, the best evidence which he possesses in support of this view. Can it be maintained with plausibility that the facts on which he relies make out his contention? Do they not rather, upon his own showing, lend colour to the suggestion that he was wanting, not merely in the *finesse* in which he argued, he was not deficient but also, in the broad common sense which enables a good business man to grasp the essential facts of a political situation? First amongst those facts in Persia is the possession by England and Russia of those special interests there which Mr. Shuster recognises that they have. How did he respect these interests? He made up his mind on the situation in two days. He demanded from the Mejhiss "arbitrary and drastic control in fiscal matters," and asked them whether they would grant it to a foreigner. They granted it to him in the terms of the law which he himself drew up. It never seems to have crossed his mind until he had gained it that the exercise by him of "arbitrary and drastic control" of finance might possibly prove inconvenient or undesirable to the Powers with "special interests."

No sooner did he attempt to exercise this control than the inevitable consequences followed. We do not need to contend that in the series of incidents that sprang up Mr. Shuster was always in the wrong, and that the two Governments and their local representatives of all kinds were invariably and entirely in the right. On the contrary, it seems to us evident that both the British and the Russian Governments showed want of judgment and indecision on more than one occasion during Mr. Shuster's term of office. This was particularly the case as regards the appointment of Major Stokes, to which the Foreign Office seems at first to have agreed, but which they afterwards rightly refused to sanction, in deference to the objections to it which Russia ultimately refused to waive. Nobody, it is quite true, with any eye for political facts, would have dreamt of proposing Major Stokes in the circumstances for this particular post, or of insisting upon the choice, when once Russia had intimated her objections to it. But this consideration does not excuse the British and Russian Governments for the vacillation which they both exhibited. After reading Mr. Shuster's own account of his relations with the Russian officials in Persia, nobody, we fancy, can be much surprised that his dismissal was one of the terms of the second Russian ultimatum. It is absolutely necessary that the

Treasurer-General should know how to work harmoniously with both the Powers who have special interests in Persia. It was plain that Mr. Shuster could not, or would not, so work with the Russians. Naturally the Russians insisted that he should go.

Mr. Shuster seems to blame this country for not having quarrelled with Russia in the interests of "Constitutional" Persia. We incline strongly to the belief that more, and not less, co-operation between the two Governments would prove to be the best defence of Persian rights and of Persian progress. We do not for a moment cherish the fond illusion that "the elected representatives of the Persian people," as Mr. Shuster grandiloquently but not very accurately calls the Mejhiss, are capable of regenerating Persia by their own efforts; within a measurable period. We do not discern any clear signs of constructive ability in their past acts— even in the readiness with which they handed over "arbitrary and drastic" control of the finances to Mr. Shuster on his demand. We do not, however, despair of their future and of Persia's future under wise guidance, and we are satisfied that their best chance of receiving such guidance rests upon the cordial co-operation of London and St. Petersburg. The situation in Persia could not have become so deplorable and so dangerous as it undeniably is had the two Powers been working together in the frank and intimate manner which we believe both peoples to desire. It is, incredible that the Stokes case and some, at least, of the other cases which figure in Mr. Shuster's indictment could have taken the course they did take, had both Governments, and the officials in Persia of both Governments, been working in close co-operation, or had they realized the state of public opinion and the effect which incidents of the kind are calculated to excise upon it. The demonstrations of friendship and of honour with which all classes, and all parties in Russia are now welcoming the British delegation seem to show that Russia realises how truly public opinion dominates the policy of this country. No arrangements to which it does not extend a firm and a cordial support can be effectual in the long run, while understandings which it approves are often of more real worth than the most precise of treaties. The Russians have too sure and too fine a political instinct not to discern the advantage of cultivating so potent a political force, and not to see how easily and how profitably this may be done by adapting the conduct of their officials in Persia a little more closely to British ideals of Persian rights and to British interpretations of the Anglo-Russian Agreement.

—*The Times*

To THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES"

Sir,—In today's leader you write, "Mr. Shuster formed his own views as to the condition of Persia and the remedies which it demanded, and he seems to have expected that Great Britain and Russia would assent to the application of these remedies irrespective of their own interests." And "It never seems to have crossed his mind that the exercise by him of 'arbitrary and drastic' control of finance might possibly prove inconvenient or undesirable to the Powers with 'special interests'."

Is there anywhere evidence of dissent by Great Britain from those remedies or the slightest suggestion that their application was in any manner or sense inconvenient or undesirable from the British point of view, does not every Britisher who has any knowledge in the matter believe that Mr. Shuster's plans would effectively have promoted the cause of regeneration, peace, and order to the advantage of Persia and Great Britain?

Is there anywhere proof or suggestion that Mr. Shuster's arrangements were in fact detrimental to any legitimate Russian interest? True, Russian officials or Belgian pro-Russian officials raised objections—obviously from ulterior motives; but there is not a shadow of evidence of any interference with Russia's "special interests" as disclosed to Great Britain and specified in the Convention of 1907—i.e., "for geographical and economic reasons the maintenance of peace and order," and the right to seek "concessions for railways, banks, telegraphs, roads, transport, insurance etc."

I hope I am not entirely "deficient in the broad common sense which enables a good business man to grasp the essential facts of a political situation," but I must confess my utter inability to understand why His Majesty's Government should supinely submit to the sacrifice of Persian and British honour and interest, when by the simple process of requiring compliance with a most precise agreement they could have protected all. If the price of friendship is that your friend may dishonour the bond of agreement, would it not be better policy to be a little less friendly, and considerably firmer in insisting upon indisputable rights?

Yours faithfully,

H. C. DIXON,

WHITWORTH HOUSE, PRINCESS STREET, MANCHESTER.

31st. January.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

In addition to the Order of Khandan-i-Al-Osman, the Sultan has conferred upon King George the Order of Nishan-i-Imtiaz, set in brilliants. The simultaneous bestowal of the two highest decorations is unprecedented.

The *Pioneer's* London correspondent wires on the 17th:—According to the *Daily Chronicle's* Constantinople correspondent the Turkish Foreign Minister has been informed that Lord Haldane, Sir Ernest Cassel and German statesmen discussed the Baghdad Railway during Lord Haldane's recent visit to Berlin and that a complete Anglo-German understanding in regard to the extension of the line to the Persian Gulf is expected shortly.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 18th.—A telegram from Cairo received here states that there have been several encounters recently between the Yemen Chiefs, Imain Yahya, whom Turkey recently recognized, and Imauel Dohiani. The former has been compelled to take refuge in the fortress of Sanaa, the magazine of which has been blown up, the casualties numbering a hundred.

The Aden correspondent of the *Times of India*, in a message dated 11th February, says:—

"According to advices received from Hodeida the Italian steamer *Calabria* and three or four other warships are still blockading Hodeida and Al Gabbana and Ras Al Kateeb which are a few miles from that port. The remaining ships of the squadron are cruising in the Red Sea and examining steamers or others going to Turkish ports."

"It is announced that the blockade will now be conducted from Hodeida lying in latitude 14 degrees 47 N., longitude 42 degrees 54 E. to Ras Isa, in latitude 15 degrees 13 N., longitude 42 degrees 38 E., and all communication by sea with Hodeida, Ras Al Kateeb, Al Gabbana and the neighbouring Turkish places is now practically interrupted."

"Trade between Turkish ports and Aden is at a standstill and merchants and traders who have trade relations with those parts are suffering."

In view of the telegram received by Aden merchants from Hodeida asking for the despatch of a steamer, the *Tuna*, belonging to Cowasjee Dinshaw and Brothers, has been chartered by certain European merchants here and was sent to Hodeida on Saturday with the permission of the Italian Consul here. The *Tuna* took the German Consul and was allowed to enter Hodeida after she was searched by Italian warships. She has now returned here with the German Consul on board but has brought no cargo or passengers.

The steamer *Woodcock* which left here on Saturday for the Turkish port for Lohia and Moka, with a cargo of flour and other articles, is reported to have been stopped by the Italian warships near Moka, and a quantity of flour and other cereals consigned by Aden merchants to Moka is said to have been seized and taken to the Italian port of Massawa.

Letters state that the Turkish authorities in the Yemen have ordered most of the Turkish troops in upper Yemen, which consists of about 20 battalions, to proceed to the coast. It is also reported that the Italian warships have bombarded Ras Al Kateeb firing over 50 shells, but no losses are reported.

At an informal meeting the Aga Khan made a vigorous appeal for funds for the Red Crescent Society inaugurated by Mr. Abu Ali in London. Rs. 4,500 was wanted, but Rs. 6,000 was subscribed on the spot.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 23rd—Amid wild and unanimous enthusiasm Signor Giolitti yesterday introduced in both Houses of Parliament the Bill ratifying the annexation of Tripoli.

Moslem Feeling.

At a public meeting of Muhammadans held at Madras on the 17th under the auspices of the Madras Presidency Moslem League, the following resolutions were passed:—

Muslims of Madras, in public meeting assembled, strongly denounce the intention of the Italian Government to blockade the ports of Jeddah and Yembo in the Red Sea which form the gateways of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina and other sacred places in Arabia, in the free access to which, at all times of the year, the entire Muhammadan population of the world are deeply interested. The threat to blockade these ports has caused considerable alarm to the

Muhammadan community, and, if allowed to be carried out, will lead to most deplorable result. This meeting, therefore, once more respectfully urges on the British Government the necessity of using its influence in preventing the creation of such an extremely dangerous situation.

The meeting further resolved that the boycott of all Italian goods and articles of merchandise be continued with greater vigour and thoroughness and approved of the despatch of a medical mission to the seat of war by the London League.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Tripoli, January 28.

ON SATURDAY night the Turks made a feint in the direction of Gargaresh and attacked Ain Zara at 7 o'clock on Sunday morning with 3,000 Regulars and Arabs. Fighting was vigorous until 10 A.M., when the Turco-Arab force was driven back.

Rome, January 29.

A message to the Stefani Agency from Tripoli of yesterday's date reports attacks made upon the Italian positions both at Gargaresh and Ain Zara, in the latter of which large forces of the enemy took part to the number of possibly 7,000. The attack on Gargaresh was easily repulsed and was probably only a feint to draw attention from the advance against Ain Zara. This advance was revealed by a chance shot at about 6 o'clock in the morning, and from that hour a furious fire was kept up against the Italian posts until some time after daybreak, when the bulk of the enemy retreated. It is supposed that the enemy suffered a heavy loss, the Italian casualties were two killed and eight wounded.

Rome, January 29.

On the day following the announcement of the arrest and release of the French steamer *Tavignano* the official Stefani Agency published the following explanation:—

"With regard to the incident of the sequestration of the *Tavignano*, it is well to remember that the correspondent of several English newspapers, Seppings Wright—a well known Turcophile, who is in the Turkish camp in the Tripolitaine—has related how a large quantity of supplies and ammunition arrives there from abroad by means of steamers which disembark their cargoes with great ease at Sfax, whence their contents are passed on in small sailing boats which disembark them, especially by night, on the coast of Tripoli. The steamer *Tavignano*, of the Compagnie Mixte, which carries such cargoes to various landing places along the coast, now stops at El Biban (where in fact it was sequestered), while at the beginning of the war it went as far as Suara. This is shown in a correspondence from Tunis published yesterday in the *Messaggero*, which confirms, as far as the *Tavignano* is concerned, what another correspondent in Tunis has lately written to the *Mattino* and the *Stampa*."

An official communication to the Press which justifies the action of a Government by evidence given in the unsupported statements of newspaper correspondents is in itself rather unusual. It is still more strange when one examines the character of the statements quoted. The *Messaggero's* correspondent in Tunis did on 24th January send a message to his newspaper which purported to contain fragments of Mr. Seppings Wright's correspondence; but the correspondent took care to head his communication with the following words:—

"A certain mysterious 'veiled lady' has been able to tear from the notebook of the Englishman Seppings Wright—correspondent of several English newspapers, the *Globe*, *Evening Standard*, *Daily Graphic* and others—some pages which I hasten to communicate to you, etc."

It is sufficiently evident that the *Messaggero* correspondent was anxious not to vouch for the genuine character of the document he furnished to his newspaper. He was quite right; the whole document reads like a rather silly hoax, and it is clear that the "veiled lady" must have practised upon his credulity. It is not necessary to quote it here. It does contain statements about the passage of contraband to the Turkish camp; but for the most part it is made up of reflections on the valour of the Italian troops, the panic caused by them among the Turks, and the usual comments of an Italian journalist—given in a form and in a language which is also curiously like that of the Italian journalist.

It is interesting to know upon what evidence the Stefani official agency bases its statements. Ever since the beginning of the war there have been constant complaints on the part of the Italians

China.

REUTER wires from Nanking on the 15th.—Sun-Yat-Sen and the members of the Republican Cabinet have tendered their resignation to the Republican National Assembly and strongly recommended the election of Yuan-Shi-Kai as the President of the Republic. The election of the new President has been fixed for to-day.

Reuter wires from Wei-Hai-Wei on the 16th:—The bloodshed continues outside the British leased territory. Probably 150

Revolutionaries have been killed. The British are striving to arrange a conference of delegates from the opposing parties. The British police are keeping the British territory peaceful.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 16th:—Yuan-Shi-Kai has been unanimously elected President of the Chinese Republic by the Nanking Republicans.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 19th.—A manifesto announces the adoption of the Western calendar. Yuan-Shi-Kai has notified the Powers of his election as President and requested recognition of the Republic.

China Reuter wires from Shanghai on the 21st.—Tangshayoyi has started for Peking to conduct Yuan-Shi-Kai to Nanking for instalment as president.

Afghanistan.

News has been received from Kabul that the Amir intends increasing the output of his rifle factory there. More workmen are to be engaged.

It is also reported that Afghan purchasing agents are being sent to India to buy mules for military transport service.

The number of Turks now serving in various capacities in the Afghan army is said to be forty. Some of these are commissioned officers but the majority are instructors in drill and musketry. A few have taken up civil employment.

According to reports from Kabul correspondence is now established between Turkish and Afghan Governments. Letters are being sent through Herat and Meshed.

Mr. Gokhale's Bill.

Another meeting of the Mussalmans of Lahore has been held at Habibiya Hall under the presidency of Dr. Sheikh Mahomed Iqbal, Bar-at-Law, Secretary, Mahomedan Educational Conference, Punjab, in support of Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill. The meeting approved of the general principle of compulsion in elementary education as harmonising with the spirit of Islamic teaching but considered the income limit of Rs. 10 for exemption from fees as too low. The meeting recommended Rs. 25 instead. It was also recommended that in view of the peculiar requirements of Mussalmans, provision be made for their religious instruction Urdu should be the sole medium of instruction and the controlling votes should be constituted so as to safeguard Moslem interests.

The Modern University.

HIS HIGHNESS the Aga Khan is again addressing provincial workers to hasten the realisation of the promised subscriptions to the Moslem University Fund. Over Rs. 26 lakhs has already been paid and about Rs. 13 lakhs still remains uncollected. With the realisation of Rs. 9 lakhs more the work of establishing the University will be taken in hand in right earnest. Further subscriptions are expected shortly. His Highness the Nawab of Cambay has contributed Rs. 20,000 to the University Fund.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk writing in the latest issue of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* fully approves of the Dacca University scheme which according to him will wholly satisfy the educational demands of Bengal Muhammadans. He is ready to welcome not only a separate Government University for Behar but also more than one Government University in every other province. He does not agree with those who find in the Dacca University a rival of the Aligarh movement. At the end of his article the Honorary Secretary of Aligarh College draws the attention of his Congresswallah co-religionists to the agitation which is being raised against the proposed Dacca University.

French Possessions in India.

REUTER wires from Paris on the 15th:—The Senate has passed the Foreign Estimates. M. Flandin, member for India, asked the Prime Minister to reassure the French Settlements in India which had been disquieted owing to the recent speech of M. Caillaus concerning a possible exchange of settlements. M. Poincaré replied that there was no question of cession of any French territory.

Madras Council.

The King-Emperor has approved the appointment of the Hon. Mr. P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, C.I.E., as ordinary Member of the Council of Fort St. George vice the Hon. Mr. V. Krishnaswamy Iyer, deceased.

The Lords on the Announcement.

Lord Curzon, after taking his seat as a British peer, called attention in the House of Lords on the 21st to the changes announced at the Delhi Durbar and moved that the papers be laid on the table in connection therewith. His lordship said that the decision taken with regard to the Government of India was the most important since the Crown had assumed the Government and raised great issues that must profoundly affect our rule in India for all time.

At the outset, he emphasised that the step was taken on the initiative of a Viceroy who had only been in India for a few months and a Secretary of State who had not enjoyed his position for a long period, without any reference to Lord Lansdowne or himself or any other ex-Viceroy whose combined knowledge of India and the responsibility of its Government covered nearly a quarter of a century. The Opposition refrained from raising a note of discord during the King's tour. Lord Curzon here made a warm eulogy of Their Majesties' connection with the tour and declared that nothing he proposed to say would affect in any way his profound recognition of the services His Majesty had rendered in India to India and the Empire, but it would not be right if in India the personal authority of the Sovereign were used to relieve the Ministers of responsibility and shut the mouths of public men. The Opposition's criticisms were directed not at the Sovereign but at the advice of Ministers on which, the King's announcements made it clear, he acted. The gravamen of their charge was that the Ministers had decided on a course involving the uprooting of the traditions of 150 years, the annihilation of a capital and the creation of a new one, the reversal of a great administrative act of their predecessors and the carving out of great provinces in secret, without consultation with those whom the Government usually consulted in India, without any intimation to representative bodies or persons without consultation with public opinion, and behind the back of Parliament. They had invested the procedure with a sacrosanct character by putting it into the King's mouth on an occasion when His Majesty gave as solemn pledge to the representatives of three hundred millions of his people. It was impossible to imagine a procedure more contrary to the established usage of the Constitution or less in accord with our democratic rights. The acceptance of its principle to establish autocracy was the less tolerable because the Ministers were sheltered behind the Sovereign. All previous great changes had been fully debated and sanctioned by Parliament. Lord Curzon quoted as an especial instance the "frenzied hostility of Liberals to giving to the Queen the title of Empress of India." He said the precedent was most dangerous because, established as it had been to serve the interests of one party, it might equally be used in the interests of another's again. If the policy placed in the mouth of the Sovereign were successful, continued Lord Curzon, credit would attach to the Government, if otherwise some blame would be bound to fall on the innocent shoulders of the Sovereign. Lord Curzon then declared "If we had dared to do what you have done you would have made the Heaven sing with your declamation."

His Lordship continued: "The reasons given in your despatch for dethroning Calcutta are vague and valueless." The railway facilities, he said, had overcome the difficulties of the position. He ridiculed the idea that the Council could only do its work properly in a central position, instancing the Congress at Washington in this connection. The presence of two Governments in the same city was not an objection. The friendly relations between them was of the greatest value. He challenged Lord Crewe to produce a single Lieutenant-Governor, past or present, to dispute this. In the simultaneous presence of the Imperial and Local Governments for seven months of the year at Simla, they were leaving the greater part of the anomaly untouched. Every argument with regard to Calcutta applied doubly to Simla.

Another doubtless real reason, said Lord Curzon, was the desire to withdraw the Government of India from its present environment. He was amazed that the Liberal Government should desire to escape from their Bengali friends for whom they had done so much. Lord Curzon did not believe that Calcutta would suffer, except temporarily. He dealt at length with the history of the Partition of Bengal and emphasised the Liberals' repeated declarations of its acceptance as a settled fact. He challenged the production of any evidence to support the Viceroy's assertion that it was responsible for the alleged growing estrangement between Muhammadans and Hindus. Lord Crewe himself in the House of Lords on November 2nd last, had said there was nothing in the general temper and demeanour of the people of India to give rise to anxiety. (Opposition cheers.) That was the day after he had signed the Despatch congratulating the Viceroy on the accuracy and fairness of his statements.

The position of Muhammadans in Eastern Bengal now was one of the saddest features of the situation. It was common knowledge in India that their leading nobleman when decorated at Delhi said, "The ribbon you hang round my neck is a halter with which I am to hang myself."

24th February.

Lord Crewe asked what authority he had for making the statement, whereupon Lord Curzon replied: "I can give you authority for it. You yielded to a fictitious agitation and bitterly offended Muhammadans and taught them to doubt the word of the British Raj."

Assam, Lord Curzon proceeded, had been treated as a petty pawn. The Province of Behar had been made up of odds and ends of Bengali leaving. He feared that with the removal of the Capital to Delhi, Government might be shut off from the main current of public life and would become more bureaucratic and less in sympathy with public opinion. The time spent in Calcutta in the very surge of the national life was of enormous value to Government. The change, he said, would diminish the prestige of the Government and the efficiency of the administration.

Turning to finance, His Lordship ridiculed the idea that Government buildings at Delhi would be erected within three years. "It won't be done in ten," he said. He instanced the Government offices at Dacca which had been building for six years and were not completed yet. He dealt in detail with the cost of the changes. He said he had consulted many authorities and one of them placed the cost at less than eight millions, the majority of them placed it at ten, and others, including himself, though not less than twelve millions. "You are losing millions of opium revenue. A few months ago the House of Lords was discussing the saving of a few thousand rupees by abolishing certain posts. Now you are almost sending a Commission to discuss the reduction of the Native Army with a view to economy. Money is wanted everywhere for Railways, for Education, for Public Works and Social Reforms. This is the moment you impose this great burden on the Indian tax-payer."

Referring to the picture drawn in paragraph 38 of the Government of India's Despatch of a federation of self-governing, quasi-independent States with the Governor-General-in-Council interfering only in case of misgovernment, Lord Curzon said "Extension and delegation of powers must continue but the policy of separate States contemplated by the Despatch could only lead to disruption and disaster. The Viceroy would then become a puppet and there would spring up different principalities. In the hour of danger, it was not by separate Provinces but by a strong central Government exercising efficient control over all India that trouble would be met. He wished he could have accepted the changes in silence, but those who had served in India had a sense of their duty to that country and to the cause of British rule in India. They would be of little use if on an occasion fraught with such consequences, they did not state fearlessly what they believed to be the truth." Lord Curzon spoke for an hour and three-quarters.

Lord Crewe then rose to reply on behalf of Government. He said it was not likely that any ex-Viceroy would at the start be in favour of the Government's proposals but some of them on closer examination had modified their objections. Lord Curzon's speech, however, the tone of which recalled that of a prosecuting counsel, had not a word in favour of any of the proposals and was full of exaggerations. Lord Crewe desired, first, to deny that the proposals were pressed on the Government of India from England. The whole policy had been worked out step by step between the two Governments as the series of problems were in some degree interdependent though distinct and separate. As regarded the procedure on the occasion of the assumption of the title of Empress by Queen-Victoria that was a different matter as it affected England equally with India.

Lord Crewe continued: "Lord Curzon's charge is that though we did not consult Parliament or the official bodies, we ought to have thrown our policy on the table for public discussion. It is true that Lord Curzon foreshadowed the Partition of Bengal at some meetings in Eastern Bengal where the change was likely to be acceptable but what would have been the result of our throwing our scheme on the table? We could foresee what parties would advance. It is one of the merits of our scheme that it does not represent the triumph of any party or creed. Each party would have preferred some of the features removed if the rest were retained. Suppose we had announced beforehand the policy we intended to follow, there would have been a lively, regrettable agitation among the English residents in Calcutta, possibly leading to the application to some English newspapers of the more extreme rigours of the Press Act. There would also have been an agitation among the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal, but the rest of the people would undoubtedly have supported us on the merits of the scheme as a whole." Lord Crewe said: "I do not think that the Opposition would have led to the disappearance of the Viceroy or myself, but it would have led to a deal of ill."

"As regards the charge of unconstitutionality in connection with the personal announcement by His Majesty, I think no distinction is possible between the announcement made on such an occasion with His Majesty's own lips, or made on his behalf by the Viceroy in his presence. Lord Curzon thinks that no announcement ought to be made by or on behalf of His Majesty, which might be capable of causing any difference of opinion in India. That is very near to saying that no announcement should be made at the Durbar at all. The answer to the objection that it was unwise to make the

announcement at the Durbar," said his Lordship, "was the general gratification caused throughout India by the fact that this important and solemn announcement was made on the most solemn occasion that had occurred in the recent history of India." Lord Crewe was convinced that there would have been bitter disappointment if the Durbar turned out to be merely an occasion for a spectacle of pageantry, however magnificent, and a feeling that no serious meaning was to be attached to Their Majesties' visit.

"Properly speaking," said Lord Crewe, "there is no capital of India. Calcutta has always been described as the capital but it has been losing its position in that respect gradually for some years. The fact that the Government is conducted for a short period in Calcutta and the rest of the year in Simla is a singular and remarkable arrangement, and it is indisputable that in the minds of many educated Indians the fact that the stay in the hills has become not merely hot weather migration but regular settlement does more to impress the notion that British rule is an alien rule than any other feature of our Government. Lord Crewe continued: 'The danger of isolation of the Government from the main current of public life is one that ought to be guarded against, though I think that Lord Curzon's fears are somewhat exaggerated. Delhi is not Simla. It is a great emporium and the most important railway junction in India, and in some respects the Indian Government and particularly the Department of Commerce will be in a better position to keep in close touch with Indian opinion.'

As regards the planning of New Delhi we shall have expert opinions before any definite step is taken. None of the proposals had more influenced him than the importance of breaking the association of the India Government with the Government of Bengal. He had had official opportunity of watching the work of many systems of Government in British India and he knew of no system anywhere so badly adapted to stand the stress of a difficult period as the relations existing between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal. As regards the cost, the Government of India would see that the work was carried out under the most careful supervision. The estimate did not profess to be exhaustive and he could only hope that it would not be largely exceeded. The arrangement that there was something in the constitution of Bengal which differentiated it from other parts of India might have had force in the old days, but the present arrangement was welcomed by Bengal itself.

With regard to Eastern Bengal, Lord Curzon had laid the colours on too thickly. Lord Crewe said he thought that the best way to convert the balance against Muhammadans anywhere in India was to give them the chance of improving their position in equal terms with their Hindu fellow-subjects. This could be best done by increasing their facilities for education, and it was most gratifying that Muhammadans were becoming alive to the advantages of education. Lord Crewe went on. "Regarding in particular the re-partition of Bengal, Muhammadans have shown remarkable self-restraint and a great many have refused to join in anything in the nature of an agitation hostile to Government. Their scheme must be considered as a whole. It will not be carried out in a spirit of hurry. Its consideration began more than a year ago and has been the subject of the closest thought and most free discussion. All through, their main question has been whether there were people whose interests and welfare were likely to be compromised." Lord Crewe said he honestly believed that Lord Curzon in thinking that such injuries outweighed any benefits of the change would find himself a member of a small minority in England and of an almost infinitesimal minority in India. He believed that the general reason contained in the despatches would be considered by public opinion in India as conclusively showing that the benefits of the change would be greater than any damage either in substance or sentiment to any class or community. Therefore he said without hesitation that in spite of the powerful and well-directed attacks of Lord Curzon, he remained entirely unrepentant, both concerning the general features of the scheme and the fact that the policy was announced by His Majesty at the Durbar.

After all the opinion of India was really what mattered. He recalled the remarkable message from India after His Majesty had left which was unique and unprecedented in one respect and that it represented the joint action of the Princes and those entitled to speak for the educated opinion of India. It was organised by some of the most powerful and most conservative of Indian Rulers and was authorised by some who were most representative amongst the advanced politicians of India. He did not think it had attracted the attention it should have done in England because it was naturally and properly sent through the Viceroy and was therefore supposed to be of an official character. Lord Crewe continued: "As a matter of fact it had nothing to do with the Viceroy, who was unaware of the intention of its writers until the whole matter was settled." Lord Crewe thought that one was entitled to take the message as expressing the general opinion of all classes in India that His Majesty's announcement was one of the great and most notable features of the Durbar and that the kind of criticism suggested by Lord Curzon and of others

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Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere!
They only live who dare!

—Morris

Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 9. Anna 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, March 2, 1912.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1.

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Republican authorities to pay the troops. A large loan will be contracted immediately. A Coalition Cabinet is formed.

It is understood in Tokio that Russia and Japan will participate in the loan to China.

BAGHDAD RAILWAY.

The Pioneer's London correspondent wires on the 23rd.—The *Daily Chronicle's* Constantinople correspondent says that the Turkish Foreign Minister is preparing a reply to the British proposals regarding the extension of the Baghdad Railway to Kuwait. The agreement will probably be based on a 4 per cent. increase of the customs and income tax on foreigners.

The special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* at Berlin understands that the German Foreign Office is prepared to concur in the British belief that from a strategic point of view it is desirable that Great Britain should control the final stages of the line.

The *Daily Telegraph's* correspondent at Kriabuchi says that all surveys and plans as far as Baghdad are completed, and were posted a week ago to Constantinople for sanction.

The Pioneer's London correspondent wires on the 24th.—The *Daily Telegraph's* Constantinople correspondent contradicts yesterday's statement from Kriabuchi, and says the plans of the Helles-Baghdad section will not be ready for sanction for three or four months.

A telegram from Aleppo states that the laying of the section of the Bagdad railway to the east of Aleppo began yesterday.

Reuter's Agency understands that fresh delay has arisen in connection with the execution of the vast Mesopotamian irrigation scheme devised by Sir William Willcock. Sir John Jackson, Ltd., are at present carrying out the work which was immediately pressing at the Hellenish barrage and the Habbanieh reservoir, and it was the intention of the Turkish Government to put in hand at once contracts involving the expenditure of a further £1,000,000. This plan was abandoned in favour of the immediate placing of contracts for the whole of the scheme, which amount to about £15,000,000, and tenders were called for covering the complete scheme. The last date for the receipt of tenders was Saturday, 29th January. It is understood that three British contracting firms have submitted tenders, these are Sir John Jackson, Ltd., S. Pearson and Son, Ltd., and Pauling and Co., Ltd. In view of the financial conditions under which the work is to be carried out, each tendering firm is supported by a banking firm. There has been some talk of German competition for the contract, but it is not believed that any German tender has been submitted.

Moslem Deputation to Japan

A MEETING of Lahore Muhammadians was held on the 26th under the presidency of Mr Fazal Hussain, M.A., Bar-at-Law, at which it was resolved to send a strong deputation of Punjabis Moslems to Japan headed by Dr. Iqbal, M.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, some time Professor of Philosophy in the Government College, Lahore, with a view to remain there two months to study the situation and to collect Rs 2 lakhs within one year for the local Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam.

Female Education

MR. JUSTICE KARAMAT HUSSAIN of the Allahabad High Court, a great advocate of female education in India, has made an

The Week.

China.

A MASSACK to the *Daily Telegraph* on the 24th from Peking states that the Federation of Mongol Princes has elected Yuan-Shi-Kai to be President of the Federated Empire.

A message to the *Times* from Peking states that Yuan-Shi-Kai informed a deputation of Protestant Christians that he was determined to remove all religious disabilities.

Reuter wires from Wei-Hai Wei on the 24th.—Representatives of the new Chinese Government and chief natives of districts outside the British boundary are endeavouring to pacify villagers before the arrival of a thousand Republican troops who are expected shortly. The villagers continue to persecute suspected Republicans.

Quieter conditions in Yunan are now indicated by the returns of the Commissioner of Customs and of Mr Fraser of the China Inland Mission to Tengyueh. No satisfactory news, however, is available of the actual conditions.

Reuter wires from Washington on the 29th: The Foreign Committee of the House of Representatives has reported favourably upon the resolution congratulating the Chinese people on the assumption of the powers, duties, and responsibilities of self-government. If the resolution passes, it will be tantamount to a recognition of the Republic.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 29th:—The British, American, French, and German bankers will advance five million taels to the

endowment of one lakh and eighty thousand rupees towards the cause of female education. The fund is to be called after his name, "Karamat Fund."

The Times publishes an appeal on the 28th signed by four Indian ladies, on behalf of the Indian Women's Education Association, for funds to endow scholarships for the training of Indian women teachers in England.

Crete.

Cairo, Feb. 27.

The Powers have presented a Note stating that they are determined to maintain the *status quo* and to take what measures they deem necessary if the Cretans persist in sending deputies to the Greek Chamber, dismissing Mussalman employees, and continuing the ill treatment of Muhammadans.

The Note concludes that if the Cretans cannot govern themselves without endangering European peace, the Powers will take action which will not be in conformity with the wishes of the Cretans. Reuter wired from Paris that the Protecting Powers have decided to strengthen the naval forces at Crete.

Khartum Railway.

LORD KITCHENER on the 27th opened the extension of the Khartum Railway, from Khartum to El Obeid, in the presence of Sheikhs and chief personages. There was a vast gathering.

In the House of Commons on the 27th Mr. Harcourt announced that Portugal had agreed to the Beira-Nyassaland Railway.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND

Through Haji Ahmedullah H. Wahabullah Sahib of

	Rs	Ars.	P.
Haji Abdulah Abdul Ghafur Sahib .	95	0	0
Mohamed Hanif Khan Sahib ..	60	0	0
Mohamed Hassan, Esq., Goya ..	5	0	0
Shaikh Abbas Mustafa, Esq., Aligarh ..	22	0	0
Through M. Muquida Khan Sharvam, Esq., Aligarh -			
Haji Mohamed Yunus Khan Sahib Sharvam,			
Rai, Datali, District Aligarh ..	1,000	0	0
Hafiz Ali Akbar Khan Sahib, Aligarh ..	10	0	0
Nawab Khedive Jung Begum, Hyderabad, Deccan ..	100	0	0
Salman B. Tyabji, Esq., Bhiwandi, Bombay ..	20	0	0
Afzazuddin, Esq., Sandwip, District Noakhali ..	1-	12	0
Faziluddin Ahmed Khan, Esq., Calnpore ..	5	0	0
N. Akbar Khan, Esq., Monywa, Burma ..	2	0	0
A Sympathizer, Aligarh ..	1	0	0
A Muslimman, Quetta ..	2	0	0
Mohamed Yakub, Raj, Aligarh ..	1	0	0
Through Ghulam Mohamed, Esq., Rawwind, Punjab--			
Ghulam Mohamed, Raj.	5	0	0
Mrs. Ghulam Mohamed ..	15	8	0
Mother of Mr. Ghulam Mohamed ..	10	0	0
Mrs. Ghulam Mustafa Khan ..	5	0	0

Less M. O. Commission ..	1,407	4	0
-----	0	6	0
Amount received during the week ..	1,406	14	0
Amount previously acknowledged ..	10,280	5	7

Total Rs ..	11,687	1	7

Anecdote.

Dr. WHATELY, when the learned Primate was Archbishop of Dublin, met a young aide-de-camp at a dinner when the latter prodded this singular conundrum:

"Does your Grace know the difference between an archbishop and an ass?"

"Sir, I do not," answered Dr. Whately.

"One wears the cross on his mitre, and the other wears it on his back," explained the tactless officer.

"Do you know the difference between an aide-de-camp and an ass?" asked the Archbishop, calmly, in return.

"No, your Grace, I do not," was the reply.

"Neither do I," said his Grace.

THE LATE Sir Lewis Morris, author of "The Epic of Hades," was once complaining bitterly to Oscar Wilde of the attitude of the Press in the matter of his claims to the poet laureateship. "It is all a complete conspiracy of silence against me," he declared — "a conspiracy of silence! What ought I to do?"

"Join it!" replied Wilde.

TETE À TETE



It is with feelings of profound sorrow and grief that the news of the untimely death of Maulvi Mohamed Aziz Mirza Sahib, Honorary Secretary of the All-India Moslem League, has been received throughout the country. The Moslem community has suffered the loss of a zealous and steady worker who had just begun his active career, who had inspired such high hopes, whose life was, indeed, beginning to be closely bound up with the most important and organised efforts for the direction of communal affairs. The abrupt ending of a career so young—it was only since 1909 that he had entered the ranks of voluntary and earnest workers in the public cause—and with so useful and so rich in promise, has very considerably impoverished Moslem public life. No one was prepared for his passing away so suddenly and so soon, and the news of the tragic event has everywhere caused a profound shock. Human life is made of such fragile stuff. It is almost a profanity to sermonise about what one is so powerless to control. Everyone of us has his vision and his hope. The life stretches as a vast, immeasurable opportunity before us. We toil with a stout heart and in the light of the faith that is in us that we may realise on earth however imperfectly, the beatuous heaven of our dreams. But anon, it may be in the very height of success the light fails, the body is doomed with chaos and the life that willed and toiled and created with such ease and power, in an instant ceases to be. Maulvi Mohamed Aziz Mirza Sahib was one of the oldest and most brilliant alumni of the Aligarh College. Immediately after taking his degree he had entered the Nizam's service in Hyderabad. By sheer industry and capacity he rose to be the Home Secretary and was sure to reach the highest offices in the State, if he had not had to retire under circumstances that so largely govern the destinies of people in Native States. His retirement, however, had proved a distinct gain to the Mussalman community. He was soon after elected to the responsible position of the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Moslem League, the duties of which he discharged with conspicuous ability, zeal and devotion to the end of his life. His little tracts in Urdu on Indian politics for the instruction of the man in the street have proved to be the most valuable contributions to the political literature of the times. He was a Trustee of the Aligarh College and a Syndic in charge of secular learning, and had always taken a keen and active interest in the affairs of the institution. Indeed, he was one of the few trustees who are alive to the tremendous responsibility of their trust. In view of his ability, earnestness and high sense of duty it is not at all improbable that he would have risen soon to be the Honorary Secretary of the Trustees had he been spared by the cruel hand of death. To the Aligarh College, to the Moslem League and the Moslem community his loss has been great indeed, and it would be difficult to fill the gap he has left behind. We offer our deep and heartfelt condolence to the bereaved family.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Karamat Husain of the Allahabad High Court has created an endowment of The Kartam Fund. Rs. 1,80,000 for the education of Moslem girls. The creation of this magnificent trust for such a useful and beneficent purpose will keep the name of the learned donor alive as a great benefactor of his community. It has now at last become a fashion to talk of education as the only panacea for the ills of the Mussalmans. Fashionable opinions, however, are generally lip-deep in most cases; and though even the most dullard amongst the wiseacres of the community will begin to prate on the least provocation about the advantages of a widespread communal enlightenment, it is not a little disconcerting to see the actual indifference of the leaders who have interchangably failed to do

anything practical for the spread of popular education. When the education of Moslem boys is as yet in a disorganised condition and subject to thousand and one freaks of opinion and random accidents, the education of Moslem girls can scarcely be said to exist in any modest sense of the term. It is, therefore, all the more creditable to the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Karamat Husain, that he should have exercised a wise discrimination in his choice and applied his liberality to an object that deserved and needed it most. His interest in female education is well known. He has hitherto supervised with great care a Normal School at Allahabad for the training of *Ustans*. The school has been doing a useful work in its own way. The generous endowment that he has now made in the cause of female education will earn for him the undying gratitude of the community. We do not know at present how and under what conditions the trust will work, nor can we state what definite scheme it has been set apart to promote. Until we know something definite and in detail about the objects that the donor has in view, we cannot offer any useful opinion or suggestion. We trust however, that the splendid gift will be turned into a source of abiding benefit to female education and will be most usefully applied.

IN THE sitting of the Imperial Legislative Council, held on the 27th February, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale moved that District Councils.

"this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that steps should now be

taken to bring district administration into closer touch with the people by creating, as far as possible, in every district in the different Provinces a District Council composed of not more than nine members, partly elected and partly nominated, whose functions should be merely advisory to begin with, and whom the Collector should ordinarily be bound to consult in all important matters." In the speech that he made in recommending this Resolution to the acceptance of the Council, Mr. Gokhale based his plea on the desirability of directly associating educated Indians with the administration of the districts. This was, so to speak, the burden of his theme. According to him "it was not sufficient that the administration should be carried on efficiently and honestly by the officials themselves. If the educated class was kept out of the administration they would criticise the administration. The limits of fair criticism were soon reached and then would come ill-informed and denunciatory criticism which would cause a gulf between the two classes. In the interest of administration it was necessary to admit the educated class to the responsibility of administration and give it an interest in the administration. If this was done a good deal of the poison that gathered in districts would be got rid of. The time had now come for making a beginning of this kind in this matter." On the face of it, the principle enunciated in this passage is so self evident that there can hardly be room for difference. District administrations would enormously gain in popularity and effectiveness if they are in direct sympathy with enlightened opinion of the district and conducted in the full light of public criticism. Let us, however, just consider the nature of district administration in India. The officer in charge of a district is a magistrate, a revenue and police officer and many more things besides. He has all the threads of administrative and executive power in his hands. He cannot, however, as a rule initiate a policy. His function is simply to maintain public tranquillity, administer the law, and execute the orders of the Government. But his authority is so great and his powers so comprehensive that he can to a very large extent effect, for good or evil, the lives and wellbeing of the people under his charge. The overwhelming majority of the district officers being Englishmen, it is all the more necessary to devise some means to keep them in touch with public opinion and fully informed about the needs of the people. Will Mr. Gokhale's device achieve this end? It sounds very plausible, but we are afraid it is rather cumbersome and could easily lend itself to abuse and misconception. An Advisory Council fastened on a district officer would in some cases hamper work instead of expediting it, while in most cases at present it would degenerate into a mere subservient body registering the decrees of the district autocrat. We will not be surprised if such councils opened new and strange ways to favouritism, flattery, and even scheming and manipulation for selfish ends or party aggrandisement. The best remedy for bringing district administration nearer to the people is to throw open the close preserves of the Englishmen to educated Indians and admit them more freely into the Civil Service of the country. The root of the problem, however, will not be touched until the system of district administration undergoes a change. The true and only remedy lies in separating the executive from the judicial function and thus reducing the chances of abuse of power or the dangers of indifference, incompetence or neglect to a minimum. It is, therefore, for reform in this direction that the efforts of our Legislative Councillors should be directed. We need hardly say that we have little sympathy or respect for the officials who oppose all administrative reforms with the notorious cant about

the interests of "the people." This class of officials always tries to set up a sort of antagonism between the interests of "the people" and those of the educated Indians. No fallacy could be more idle and mischievous. The educated classes are the articulate and thinking portion of the community, who formulate the needs of the people as a whole. If the masses were to be educated they, too, would think as the educated classes; and, after all, the hopes and aspirations of educated Indians about the future of their people and their country indicate the only true and certain lines along which the social, moral and political advance of the teeming millions of India will be effected.

It was only a fortnight ago that the late Mr. Aziz Mirza addressed to the Home Secretary to the Government Intervention of India a letter on the subject of Italy's blockade and bombardment of Arabian ports in the Red Sea and her proclaimed intention of extending the operations to Jeddah and Yembo after the pilgrimage season came to an end. A pathetic interest attaches to this communication, as this was perhaps the last which he addressed to Government, and a protest against an intended sacrifice was a fitting termination to the life of a pious Moslem in whom Western education had, if anything, confirmed Oriental piety. In this letter Mr. Aziz Mirza brought to the notice of the Government "the feelings of alarm and resentment entertained by the Moslems of India," and explained that "Moslem apprehensions regarding the blockade are not merely sentimental but substantial as well," referring therein to the trade interests of Indians who maintain a brisk traffic with Jeddah and Yemen ports. But he had added, "The loss to trade is merely one aspect of the question. The veneration in which Mecca and Medina are held by Moslems all over the world cannot be exaggerated and communication between the two places and the rest of the Islamic world does not cease with the end of the pilgrimage season. If Italy were to succeed in an effective blockade of the ports leading to these places and thus prevent all communication with other countries, the resentment caused among Moslems would be very great." It is needless to say that we agree with every word of it. But we rather wish that the Council of the League had not brought it to the notice of the Government with a view to prove that "the course of harassing Turkey which Italy has adopted is fraught with grave danger, as it will be regarded as a violation of their Holy Land by Moslem communities of the East and will produce among them a commotion which has never been seen before." This wish on our part may at first sight appear strange, as we have ourselves taken some pains to reflect Moslem opinion on the various aspects of Italy's action. But we have strong reason for not desiring that further communication of this character should be addressed to Government. We are convinced that Government know full well what the Mussalmans have felt during the last five months, and what they must feel about a blockade of Jeddah and Yembo and even more revoking conduct on the part of Italians. But assuming that they did not know such obvious things, it is doubtful that the League's letter would have materially added to their knowledge. The object of the League in sending this letter was to "respectfully request the British Government to persuade Italy to desist from wantonly wounding the feelings of His Majesty's Moslem subjects ... and confine their operations to other ports." But this is what the Mussalmans should not ask for at present. There was a time when intervention would have been useful and would have appeared altruistic and humane. Even the proverbially short lived memories of diplomats cannot have forgotten the repeated Turkish appeals for intervention when Italy had gone no further than arranging a naval promenade and could not therefore have been said to have committed herself irrevocably to the task of conquest and annexation. The Turks were smitten by every Chancellory in Europe and were plainly told that it was their own business to defend themselves and their empire and that they should cease praying for mediation. They accepted the plain and broad hint in a chastened spirit and set about to defend the honour and integrity of their dominions as best they could. Meanwhile the naval and military promenade had to grow in to a heavily equipped expedition, and the Italian army had to fight for every foothold and instead of marching ahead to realise its vision of conquest and military glory, speedily entrenched itself on the coastline of the Tripolitaine under the protection of the fleet. The romance wore off the shabby adventure, the heroics of the Press sank into mere calculating garrulity; the weak and vain government, intoxicated with the dream of empire, woke to its perilous condition at the first shock of reality, and thenceforward began to systematically work to bring about European intervention, for therein alone lay its safety. The Italian fleet began to run amock amidst neutral shipping and to indulge in random destruction along the Arabian and Syrian coasts.

To day when the Turks have confined the 125,000 Italians in Tripoli like rats caught in a trap, and when Italy, in spite of her boasts about excellent financial condition, is forced to ask for a loan even before Turkey, and to take to the bombardment of places like Beirut which cannot by one jot alter the situation in North Africa, it is Italy and not Turkey that stands to gain by intervention and it is solely in order to force the Powers to mediate in their own interests that she proclaims by beat of drum her evil intentions which are likely to create unparalleled commotion in neutral countries. Moslem excitement and Moslem appeals of intervention mean playing into the hands of this despicable and cowardly Power. The proper course for the Mussalmans of India to follow at this juncture is to curb their feelings, to cause no anxiety to their rulers and to give no handle to Italy for working up the Powers. This is exactly what Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk—who, by the way, is fearfully badly served by those who write inaccurate and ambiguous summaries of his advice to Mussalmans—has counselled them to do. Of all European Powers, France favoured Italy's raid the most, for it tended to break up the Triple Alliance and made Italy of no use to Germany in the Mediterranean in case of a conflict with the *entente* Powers. But Italy's mad-droit interference with French shipping on the coast of Tunis has now taught that there is no honour among thieves and has converted a friendly neutral to something even less useful than a neutral friend. France is therefore ready to intervene, if only some other Power would show her willingness to share the task with her. An Austrian journal had recently put forward the suggestion that "Turkey should make the best of a bad job, recognise Italian sovereignty in Tripoli, and accept what compensation in cash might be offered". That suggestion was said to emanate from Russia and to be approved by the Powers who were ready to intervene, though as a contemporary pointed out, "it was very clear it was only a kite flown at Italy's instigation." Only recently the Italian Chamber was convoked to ratify the annexation of Tripoli. This was indeed a counsel of despair. It looks as if a nervous and demoralised government wanted to restore self-respect and courage to itself by shouting tall words in the hearing of the world. Immediately after the Gilbertian ratification of the Royal decree the talk of mediation springs into life in Paris and St. Petersburg. We do not know how far it is spontaneous and based on a genuine desire for peace. To us it looks suspicious and appears to be the result of some concert rapidly coming into existence in order to dragoon Turkey into surrendering what Italy has not been able to wrest from her by force. Nor do we like the looks of Man o' War going to sail with Scud orders, even though it be to avenge unpunished murders of unprotected Mussalmans in Crete. We hope common decency, if not common equity, will keep the Powers from pressing on Turkey their advice for peace on the basis of Italian sovereignty in Tripoli. We have no patience for political charlatans like Dr. Dillon, who never tire of telling the world that Italy cannot go back on her declaration without losing her self-respect. Should Turkey then lose both her self-respect and her territory in order to save Italy the humiliation of defeat? What right have the Powers to mediate on a basis which is admittedly unjust and iniquitous? Let Italy establish her claims on Tripoli by force if she can. The method of arbitration was chosen by herself, and if she is unequal to the task she so lightly and wantonly undertook, let her go back and leave the field. This is the only basis for peace negotiations. Only the logic of the stricken field should tell in the settlement. The coercion of Turkey by the Powers in order to help Italy will be resented by the Mussalmans throughout the world. But a request from the Mussalmans of India would be Sir Edward Grey's opportunity. If a Gladstone could intervene in a war fended upon Turkey by Greece by making the victor give up the fruits of victory so that "not an inch of Christian soil" should go to the Moslems, a Grey could outwit him only by allowing the fruit of victory to go to the vanquished and ceding thousands of miles of Moslem land to a Power at least nominally Christian. Surely this is not what the Mussalmans of India desire. Let them suppress their anxieties, trust things to Allah, and rest; upon Sir Edward the practice of that doubtful virtue, Consistency.

tunity for the rousing of the worst passions of a fanatical population. A gentleman of the intelligence and education of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk must know that the action that he says Italy has under contemplation is impossible. A bombardment from aeroplanes is not feasible. They can only help in locating cities or people who cannot be easily approached by a journey by hand. We have repeatedly made it clear in these columns that the act of aggression committed by Italy in Tripoli has nothing whatever to do with religion. In fact to describe the Turco-Italian hostilities as war between Islam and Christianity is opposed to the truth. It is, moreover, calculated to excite ignorant people in favour of a *jehad*. In our opinion it is doing the British Government great disservice. Comment would seem to be superfluous. But we would like to ask the gentlemen who have developed fearfully non-conformist consciences, how they relish the journalistic charity practised by papers like the *Tribune*.

The forces of democracy in the land of the Celestials have at last succeeded in dethroning the Manchus from political power, in making short work of an institution of immemorial sanctity, and in planting a full-blown republic on the ruins of an antique system of government. The revolution, the full reach and import of which we are yet too near the event to grasp in its entirety, was as much the work of resolute and selfless patriots driving with consummate courage and skill irresistible popular forces, as it was due to the feebleness decadence, and corruption of the constituted authority. The Republic of China would initiate an experiment, the first of its kind in the East, the results of which would be watched with profound interest. The pseudo-scientists of Europe, who have evolved theories of political science on the basis of colour, and regard autocracy to be the only form of government suitable for brown, black, or yellow humanity, have of late been shedding fast some of their fondest illusions. The growth of democratic movements in the East is a fact too big to be hidden away under a philosophic pose or a sceptical sneer. Nor can it be explained away on the convenient but most insufficient ground of the meteoric rise of Japan and its influence on the races of the East. The conventional experts of Eastern affairs are fond of tracing to this single cause almost everything of note and importance that has happened in Asia. No doubt the sudden rise of Japan into a world Power has influenced opinion in China, but there were still older, wider and deeper influences at work which were gradually restoring mobility to social organs and preparing the people for a bold readjustment of motive, purpose and endeavour. We sincerely hope the ancient and gifted race that has just assumed new and very grave responsibilities will go through the untried regions of self-government with all the wisdom, prudence and moderation that are its characteristic virtues in the field of industry. The resources of China are immense, and if her statesmen are men of steady faith and purpose and are allowed to work out their destiny without foreign interference, the development of the Republic will be as rapid as it would be marvelous.

As a sample of journalistic dignity we quote the following from the *Leader* of Allahabad—"Just a piece o' amusing news. The Maharaja Bahadur of Durbhunga has been pleased to stop the *Leader* as we did not extend unqualified support to his appointment as a member of the coming Behar Executive Council. We humbly pray to God that it may live yet." We trust journalistic dignity will survive this.

FOR reasons which it would take too long to explain we have been compelled to go to press without our hedonistic adjunct, *Gup*, which we have reason to believe provides amusement for the average reader and instruction for the wise. We are extremely sorry that both the wise and the otherwise would be disappointed. But we promise those who ate this week starving for mirth and instruction that next week they will probably suffer from an indigestion of both. We promise plenty of good cheer and pray for equally good appetites.

COMMENT on the article of Nawab Viqar ul-Mulk that recently appeared in the *Hindu Institute Gazette* on the subject of Italian invasion of the Holy Places, the *Tribune* in the course of an editorial note says—"To give the Muhammadan masses in this country an idea that there is danger of the holy places of Islam being desecrated is to give an oppor-

الله عز وجل عليه السلام
لهم اذ حبسناك في قبرك
لهم اذ حبسناك في قبرك

The Comrade.

The Special Marriage Bill.

IT WAS a foregone conclusion that the Special Marriage Bill of the Hon. Mr Basu would not become law at the present time and that conclusion has been justified by results. But we are not quite sure if the Government were well advised in not allowing the Bill to go to a Select Committee of the Council. It is true that considerable time would have been taken up by the Committee and that Hon. Members have little leisure at present for academic discussions on a branch of Social Reform. But in view of the interest excited by the Bill throughout the country the expenditure of a couple of dozen hours at suitable intervals by less than a dozen members, including five non-officials to investigate and ascertain on what points agreement was possible between Hindus of the divergent views, of the Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the hon. mover of the Bill, between the Hon. the Law Member and the Hon. Mr Gokhale or between the Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock and the Hindu Members, would have been amply justified. If the Government could not agree to the passage of the Bill into Law, the Bill could easily have been thrown out after a Select Committee so composed had reported.

However, the Government did not choose to allot so much time to a Bill that had not the remotest chance of becoming a law, and it is not difficult to understand the motive that led the Government to reject the Bill at this comparatively early stage in a crowded Session. All that now remains for us to consider is the debate that took place. Frankly, the discussion disappointed us, and considering that the greatest responsibility in the case of a Private Bill is that of the mover, the Hon. Mr Basu did not acquit himself as well as his undoubted talents and industry had led us to expect. He appeared both learned and industrious, and it goes without saying that he was both vigorous and eloquent. But he was verbose and unmethodical, and rhetoric supplied the place of relevancy. He was obviously in earnest, though we may add that perhaps no class of people in India are so prone to self-deception as the people of Bengal, and eloquence which could not cloud the reasoning faculty of an intelligent audience of average non-Bengalis is apt to sweep away the doubts of the speakers themselves. Mr Basu has the merit of clear convictions, and although we do not assign the same value to his reforming measure that we do to the abolition of *suttee* or the raising of the age of consent, Mr Basu's advocacy left no doubt in the minds of his audience that he regarded himself as the pioneer of a great and historical movement worthy to rank with the greatest social reform movements of the past. This made him a little stiff in his diction and pompous in his delivery. And while we do not wish to suggest that he should have cut and clipped his words in order to please his opponents, and made them ineffective for those who sat on the fence, we are inclined to think that his tirades against the arch-monopolists of history, the Brahmins of India, were not calculated to persuade his Brahmin colleagues, and his sarcasm was only too often too personal to be in the best of taste. It is true that he had reserved his choicest innuendoes for his personal friends, but if he retains their friendship even after this debate the credit would not be his, but entirely of his friends.

The "Statement of Objects and Reasons" showed that the Bill was intended in the first place to remove a declaration which had been felt to be "an unnecessary condition by the community for whose benefit the Act was specially intended," and in the next place to make the Act available for "those members of the Hindu community who desire to introduce inter-marriage between different sub-sections of the same caste or between members of the same caste inhabiting different provinces of India." Finally, it was stated that the necessity of such a law was "greatly felt by those who do not desire to break away from Hinduism and at the same time seek to adapt their life to the growing needs of the time." Now, the first object is of too restricted a scope and too unimportant a nature to justify much eloquence. The second is certainly more important, and although in its application it is communal or sectarian, anything calculated to pull down the intolerably large number of barriers that disintegrate Hindu society must be considered a measure likely to prove beneficial to a very large portion of mankind. The third object leaves us more confused than convinced, for it seems to add to the existing complexities of Hinduism yet another and to create a sort of caste of those who would like to remain in the fold, and yet snap their fingers at the rules that are binding on the flock. Not one of these three objects possesses the large humanity of the movement against *suttee*, and the beneficence of that which favoured a rise of the age of consent. If this was all, the Hon. Mr Bhupendra Nath Basu was nothing but a *pseus* who mouthed pretentious sentiments and strutted his hour upon the legislative stage. But this is not so. Mr. Basu aimed not only at the removal of the barriers of

sub-castes and provincialism that divided the primary castes of the Hindus, but the destruction of all castes and the demolition of every wall that divided one creed from another in the matter of matrimony. His was an ambitious and a noble project and one nothing short of the unification of Indian society and the nationalization of its citizens. But if we must admire the boldness of the enterprise and the excellence of the motives, we must emphasise the fact that Mr. Basu has been guilty of trying to convert people under false pretences. He brought in a measure embracing three hundred and fifteen million people of innumerable castes, creeds, and races in its intended beneficence, and he pretended for nearly a year that he would only remove a superfluous declaration unpalatable to a handful of two sections of the Brahmins, permit a perhaps smaller number of others to enjoy the luxury of an appellation without having to accept the liabilities attached to the label, and as a final exhausting effort pull down a few newly-put up mud walls that separate members of one and the same caste. These may or may not be good tactics, but they do not give evidence of those ethical considerations which one expects from a social reformer who desires to rank with men of the rank of the great Raja Ram Mohan Roy and the eminent Vidyasagar. Mr. Basu confesses that his protestant zeal not so very long ago had resulted in "corporal chastisement which he was afraid he had not yet forgotten." We shall not be so uncharitable as to conclude that it was a good memory that suggested bad ethics, but it is open to one to argue that the absence of similar opposition to the latest measure of social reform was due to its sailing under false colours.

However, it is not our intention to argue in that way, for we had ourselves devoted considerable space to an analysis of the Bill in several issues in May, June, and July, and took care to point out that the Bill was not quite as innocent as the "Statement of Objects and Reasons" tried to make it. We shall not go over the same ground again, for excepting the aspect which made the Bill obnoxious to the orthodox Hindus, our examination of the Bill was both minute and exhaustive. Mr. Basu and his supporters in the Council failed to adduce a single argument in support of the Bill which had not been put forward at the time by his supporters outside the Council, and in this instance, at least, those who are not in the charmed circle of the Supreme Legislative appear to be if anything, abler than those who are.

But this seems to be true of orthodoxy as much as of heterodoxy and we were surprised to find the Hon. Mr Subbarao altogether silent, and the Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya feeble in defence of the existing order of things than his assertive orthodoxy had led us to expect him to be. We cannot say whether history bears out the Hon. Mr. Malaviya's theory that intercaste marriages were given up only on account of the friction and discord which resulted from a gradation of wives from different castes. At any rate, if castes were higher and lower, and no fluidity permitting motion from one caste into another existed even in the remotest Vedic period then expressions such as "my brother, the sweeper," which presented an alluring aspect of Orthodoxy, degenerate into unconvincing rhetoric. There is, however, considerable strength in the argument that as custom has been allowed to over ride Hindu Law, there is nothing to prevent a custom in favour of inter-caste and inter-creed marriages growing up in course of time. But it seems that the "enlightened minority" which does not desire "to break away from Hinduism" and at the same time seeks to adapt its life to "the growing needs of the time" is not prepared to wait so long or to suffer for the sake of an over developed "conscience." A modern Perseus is too law abiding a person to take the law into his own hands by cutting off the Chains of Andromeda and ridding her of the monster. Modern Chivalry would suggest to the maiden in distress a formal complaint at the nearest police station. Similarly modern "conscience" seek relief not in "marrying in opinion" but by fighting the good fight in a Council Chamber. If there is any value in precedents, we cannot predict success to the would be reformers if they continue to quarrel with the Government for following the line of least resistance while carefully avoiding all risks themselves. At present the *status quo* of the existing order of things is against the reformers, and a final victory against caste cannot be had so cheaply. Whether Hinduism can survive the reform is not for us to say. By no known rule can we judge what is Hinduism and what is not, and one of Mr. Basu's most persistent supporters confessed that "a more thankless task could not be conceived." The task appears to us to be not only thankless but also hopeless, and the symposium of eminent Hindus consulted by the *Leader* bears ample testimony to this apprehension. Mr. Srinivas Iyenger, who welcomed Mr. Basu's Bill in the Madras Provincial Conference, speaking of Hinduism said —

"There were no definite articles of Hinduism absolutely fixed. The term Hindu itself was a modern term of usage. It was merely a convenient description of the congeries of faiths which inhabited the continent, but which could not be classified under any other well known religion. What was Hinduism? It embraced every variety of faith and unfaith, all kinds of discordant views and antagonistic practices, monistic and dualistic philosophy, faith that was purely intellectual and faiths that were dogmatic and devotional, faiths that were cruel and obscene and faiths that were humane and noble."

If that is a true conception of Hinduism, we do not see why inter-caste and inter creed marriages cannot take place. Where there is no orthodoxy there can be no heterodoxy. But in that case all that the reformers need is to convince the Courts that this is the true conception of Hinduism, and if the Law Courts could take so latitudinarian a view of Hinduism, no fresh legislation would seem to be necessary. But they could not accept so indefinite a definition and measure the legality of facts by so uncertain a standard, and the obvious remedy is the creation of custom rather than legislation. The latter must come in only when there is "an outrage on the fundamental law of humanity" or when an "overwhelming majority" of those who profess a particular faith demanded it. These are the touchstones which the Home Member announced as the criteria of necessary legislative intervention and we think they satisfy the justice of the case. It is clear that the first is wholly inapplicable to the present demand, and, as for the second, it should appeal more strongly to a community which relies so much on its numerical strength.

If the Hindu supporters of the Hon. Mr. Basu's Bill could not much justify legislation for the purpose, his Moslem advocates could do it still less. Beyond insisting on the irrelevant instances of Moghal Kings and Princes marrying Rajput Princesses and unconsciously misrepresenting the views of the Right Honourable Mr. Ameer Ali, the Hon. Mr. Mazar-ul-Haq could do nothing. The Hon. Mr. Jinnah spoke little, but he spoke to the point. If Islamic law is defective it must be corrected by the Legislature, and if the *Lex Laci* Act could recognise the claim of the renegade to succeed to the property of a true believer, why not those of the issue of a marriage under the proposed Act? What he failed to add is that while the details of Islamic law are for the most part determined by jurists from whom no one can differ, no Moslem can claim to alter a word of the Quran in which any particular rule of Moslem Law may be based. Man's work can be and must be corrected by man, but

مَنْ كُتِّبَ لَكُمْ إِنَّمَا تُنْهَا فِي الْأَرْضِ مِنْ دِرْجَاتِ

(The Quran that I have is all the word of the Beloved) and the seal of finality is set on it.

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ مِنْ يَمِّنِكُمْ وَالْمُهَمَّةُ عَلَيْكُمْ بِعْدَئِنْ

(To-day I have completed for you your faith, and finished my blessing on you.) We cannot conceive that Mr. Jinnah does not know this, or, knowing it, regrets it and yet calls himself a Moslem. It is not for us to issue orders of excommunication and we would rather have the realisation of that divine assistance and victory which is evidenced by the entrance of whole armies into the faith of Allah than the excommunication of a single person whom calls him a Moslem. But any Mussulman who encourages or even looks complacently upon the "reforms" of another Moslem which set out to "correct the errors" of the Quran in accordance with "the growing needs of the times" helps to create the same indifferentism which has given to Hinduism, according to some Hindus themselves its comprehensive indefiniteness. That may be Hinduism, but it is not Islam, and while we are glad that the Hon. Mr. Mazar-ul-Haqe took care to dissociate himself from such "reforming zeal," we regret that Mr. Jinnah vented so far into pernicious seas.

To us the strength of the Moslem case appears to lie in this. The Mussalma are members of a certain society which has laid down certain rules for the conduct of its members. If they choose to follow them they are entitled to certain benefits. If they do not choose to do so, nobody restricts their freedom of conscience or of action, but they cannot claim benefits which are directly dependent on the observance of those rules. Some of those rules relate to marriage and an observance of them gives to the issue of such unions rights of succession. If a man chooses to disobey them, he is free to do so, but the issue of unions unauthorised by Islamic laws are deprived of the rights of succession to the property of Moslems. Mr. Jinnah, who would not expect to be permitted even to play bridge at his Club if he chose to disobey some of its rules, such as its sumptuary laws or regulations pertaining to dress, still claims that his children should succeed not only to his own property but also to that of the Moslem ascendants and collaterals according to Islamic law in spite of his entering into a union for which the Quran uncompromisingly assigns him to Prophet. Well, we must say he is less fair to his creed than to his Club and it betrays a regrettable state of affairs. He cited the example of the *Lex Laci* Act according to which a man who not only breaks the marriage law of Islam but throws Islam itself overboard is entitled to succeed to the property of his Moslem relations. But the *Lex Laci* Act is in direct contravention of Islamic law which places the brotherhood of religion above blood relationship and deprives the renegade of his rights of succession. The *Lex Laci* Act may be a good argument against the Hon. the Law Member but it is none against him as a Moslem, and he must be pardoned if he does not agree to rob his co-religionists of some of their rights because one of his predecessors robbed them of some

others. What astonishes us is the fact that the abettor of this robbery should be a Moslem and the representative of a purely Moslem constituency. It is true that the section of Mussalmans to which he belonged does not follow the Islamic law of succession. But there is no want of equity in this because it is a self-sufficient section and it confines its peculiar rules of succession to the circle within which its members intermarry. Had they married outside that section they could not have kept their own rules of succession intact.

The Hon. Mr. Jinnah's speech and the criticism of the Hon. Mr. Shamsul Huda bring us to the question of the latitude to be permitted to representatives. The Hon. Mr. Mazar-ul-Haqe in defending his "advanced" colleague a little too warmly, claimed absolute freedom of opinion for all representatives and the Hon. Mr. Basu was ready to quote chapter and verse from Burke's speech before the electors of Bristol. But in the first place Burke is not followed even in the United States whose action in revolting against taxation without representation he defended, and, in the second place, the honourable gentlemen's constituents are not experts in such searching cross-examination of their would-be representatives as they are of the witnesses on the other side. Had there been the same questioning and the same heckling, not to mention orange peels and seasoned eggs, we could have found it in our heart to give them as much freedom as Burke desired. But if circumstances ever alter cases, the plain sailing of the last elections should have kept the "advance guard" of Moslem India a little closer to the main body of the force. It is sad to find one representative satisfying his own "unrighteousness" - we use the expression in no evil sense --at the expense of others, and to find another claiming for him the full pound of freedom, if not flesh, as a punishment for the credulity of his unsophisticated co-religionists.

The Budget.

IT WAS under happy circumstances that the Hon. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson presented the Financial Statement on the 1st of March. He characterises it as a "No Change" Budget, and if we consider the fact that the last Budget was in every way a prosperously Budget with a very large surplus, we have every reason to be satisfied with the "No Change" that has been announced at the close of the present Financial Year.

The Estimates last year showed a surplus of less than a million, but the Revised Estimates show that it is going to be as large as $\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling. As Provincial Surpluses, that is, portion of allottments to Provincial Governments not spent by them in the year, amount to more than £600,000, the total surplus for the year amount, to very nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling. The increased surplus is due to an increase of revenue, nearly half of which is due once more to the opium windfall, but it is satisfactory to note that the greater half of the excess is the result of better returns testifying to general increase in the prosperity and trade of the country. Railways have contributed a net increase of about $1\frac{1}{4}$ millions sterling, Customs, Mint, Interest, Exchange and Salt contributing the other chief items. If the unfavourable weather conditions had not adversely affected the prosperity of Sindhi, Gujarat, Kathiawar, and the small tracts with its centre lying between Delhi and Meerut, and the Estimates under Land Revenue had not been belied seriously by a deficiency amounting to nearly a million, the surplus would have been no less than $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions or little less than what was secured in the preceding year. But Sir Guy has himself characterised financial prophecies of the Budget as a "gamble in rain," and had not the agricultural outlook been entirely altered for the better toward the end of August, there is no knowing what a sad tale he may have had to tell the Council. That "narrow line between plenty and want" to which Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson referred on Friday last makes us receive the diminished surplus with gratitude, if also, in view of what may unfortunately happen in the ensuing year, with chastened jubilation.

Expenditure during the year shows an excess of $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling if Provincial Surpluses and Deficits are included. In reality, however, there has been a saving of nearly a million, including about $\frac{1}{4}$ million in Provincial Account, the Imperial Savings of over £600,000 being chiefly due to less expenditure on the Royal Visit and in the Opium Department in Bengal. Balancing Expenditure against Revenue, the aggregate improvement on the Estimates of the year amounts to $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

The figures relating to the expenditure on the Royal Visit supply interesting information, and although nobody would grudge an expenditure of less than a crore, including the cost of the new regalia, our own experience of the Press Camp leads us to suspect that the contractors made a good thing out of the people's loyal and enthusiastic desire to receive their popular King and Queen in a manner worthy of the country and its traditions.

Opium on which Sir Guy made a most interesting pronouncement, which has considerable importance in view of the political situation in China, would be dealt with separately in a subsequent issue. But it is necessary to note here that the excess of opium

revenue over the receipts which should have been obtained under the sliding scale, a financial device designed to break the fall from the huge opium receipts to their almost complete disappearance due to the reform in China, is no less than 1½ millions sterling. Two-thirds of this amount would be remitted for the redemption of temporary sterling debt in London, and the remaining third which amounts to 85 lakhs will be distributed in the following manner—Sanitation will receive 50 lakhs and Agriculture 20 lakhs, while the balance of 15 lakhs would be distributed among a Central Research Institute for work in public hygiene (six lakhs), a School of Tropical Medicine in Calcutta (five lakhs), and Government Laboratories in Burma and at Bombay (four lakhs). Whatever may be the ultimate effect of the loss of the opium revenue, the windfalls from opium served to finance education last year and assist "the sister grace of cleanliness" this year.

Increment in the ordinary revenue has been utilised for the following allotments. Expenditure on the reconstitution of Bengal and Assam would be assisted with a grant of 117 lakhs, the Royal bonus of half a month's pay to Provincial officers in civil employ would cost 32 lakhs, Kathiawar gets a remission of famine debts, as announced at Delhi, to the extent of 11 lakhs, the Madras Corporation gets a grant for its water-works and drainage amounting to 25 lakhs, impetuous Burma gets 20 lakhs for its communications, and the expeditions upon the North East frontier would cost 9 lakhs. These are all non-recurring grants, and it is not possible to offer an opinion at this stage about the comparative merits of such diverse and unconnected projects. It may, however, be said that although sanitation benefits from the opium windfall, the hard pressed taxpayer, who was taxed afresh two years ago when an advisory Budget was presented, could not have contemplated that windfalls would largely go to redeem sterling debts and ordinary surpluses would be spent on Tropical Medicine and Laboratories, expeditions to Aborland and the reconstitution of provinces. The Finance Minister is anxious about redeeming recent floating debt, and Indian publicists are pressing the demands of education and cleanliness. But the poor taxpayer seems to have been thrust into a neglected corner to be brought out for further exactions when rains fail or Russia marches towards Chaman. We mean no disparagement of Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson when we say that the Finance Minister has yet to appear who regards himself as a friend of the taxpayer before the rest of an assertive and pushful world. No doubt every one of the grants can be justified, including the unjustified expedition on the North-East frontier. But had a non-official member of the Council put forward the claim of Tropical Diseases, or an indiscreet official representative of Madras had complained that the thirst of the Southern Presidency was her greatest vice, we have little doubt that a dozen good reasons would have been supplied by the Department of Finance why Tropical Diseases should be considered financial luxuries, and the Education Department would have effectively snatched the so called benighted Province.

The provision for the ensuing year show an estimated revenue of 7½ millions balanced by an almost identical expenditure, leaving in the purely Imperial section of accounts a surplus of approximately 1½ millions. Apart from opium, the Imperial revenue will be nearly a million in excess of the estimated receipts in the closing year. But opium is not estimated to give more than the figure of the retical sliding war, and should "cautious finance" result in another windfall the creditors in England will no doubt be paid for after alloting something to a third "grace," and some other provincial project would be discovered as a fit object of individual country, if the policy of a "stable government" in Persia and the ominous movements of the Dalaï Llama do not absorb the entire increment. As at present estimated Opium, Customs, Interests, Mint and Railways show a decline in revenue, though Oiium and Railways alone show any considerable falling-off. But the increase of nearly a million in Land Revenue and minor increases in salt, Stamps, Excise, Post Office and Civil Departments, are likely to balance the diminution so far as to leave a net decrease of two millions sterling only. Our oversea commerce in 1911 showed that the value of our exports was up to date the highest on record, and that both currents of trade gave a combined total value for the nine months of 1911 of 304 crores, which beat the past record of 272 of the same period in 1910. Railways naturally responded with similar increase and the Revised Estimate was £15,151,100 which also is the highest on record. Sir Guy has therefore estimated the net earnings for 1912-13 at £605,000 less than in the present year and his hope that no "prudent publicist" would be offended with "a moderate margin of safety" is by no means extravagant.

The total provision for next year's expenditure is 1½ millions higher than the revised estimates of the closing year, but the whole of this excess occurs in the provinces and even an imprudent publicist would not cavil at the increase which for the most part represents drafts on the large Imperial subsidies for education, sanitation and other beneficial services which are being placed

at the credit of local Governments. The Imperial expenditure itself shows a decrease even though it amounts to no more than £76,000. There are increases in direct demands on revenue mainly in the collection charges of Land Revenue, in Interest chargeable to Railways which varies with the growth of borrowings, in salaries and expenses of Civil Departments, Railways, Irrigation, and in other Public Works. The excess in the Civil Departments is, however, due to a special reserve of £530,000 for the advancement of education which will be hailed by all kinds of publicists, prudent or otherwise. The Finance Member is anxious to draw attention to "a noteworthy drop of £511,000 in Military expenditure" and we welcome as an earnest of a still more noteworthy drop after the Nicholson Committee has reported on Military expenditure and the Slade Committee's examination bears fruit. Russia and Sir Edward Grey's policy in Persia permitting

With respect to education, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson acknowledged the debt of gratitude which India owes to Mr Gokhale for pressing its claim to the forefront, and the country would certainly pardon the Finance Member's "indiscretion" in mentioning that on the very first occasion when he discussed finance with His Excellency Lord Hardinge, very soon after he assumed his high office, he expressed a hope that the burdens of the people would not be increased and that it was his chief desire that "the amelioration of sanitation and the wide and comprehensive diffusion of education should form the chief features of his Viceroyalty." His Excellency's speech at the Calcutta Club struck a very human note when he confessed very gracefully that viceroys also had feelings like other people. Speaking, we hope not too presumptuously, for the educated classes in this country, we would like to assure His Excellency that we have not the least doubt that he has education as much at heart as Mr Gokhale, and it appreciation of his excellent intentions, coming as it does from a humble quarter, can afford any pleasure we are willing and anxious to associate ourselves with all that fell from Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson. With a publicist so reasonably insistent as the Hon. Mr Gokhale, with a Viceroy so extremely sympathetic towards such demands, and last, but not least, with Sir Guy himself as a proclaimer of economy to all and a practiser of generosity towards education, Mr Harcourt Butler is not likely to find the needs of his Department neglected or deferred. Although a good deal has yet to be done for education, and we hope to find it receiving not less than a tenth of India's Revenue, free and compulsory elementary education securing entire proceeds from the sale of salt which is a tax levied exactly on those classes that would benefit from such measure, we must acknowledge that in recent years education has received remarkably sympathetic treatment. In 1910-11 the actual expenditure on this head was £1,610,213, while the revised estimates for 1911-12 show an expenditure of £2,038,000 and the Budget estimate for the ensuing year is no less than £3,042,700. In reviewing the figures during the last three years Sir Guy explained that the expenditure on Education has risen in the triennium by 75 per cent and we are sure that, while much of the increase is due to the pressing demands of the new Council so ably led by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, he and his colleagues would be the first to express their gratitude to a responsive government. The total new provision for the year consequent on the announcement of the Royal boon at Delhi, which has been liberally supplemented by the Government both with recurring and non-recurring grants, is no less than a crore and a quarter which exceeds the whole amount spent during the year on the Royal visit and the Durbar at Delhi. This is the boon of boons and the more this policy is followed the less foreign would appear the rule of the British in India.

We reserve for another occasion an examination of the provisions for Railways and Irrigation and the project of the new Imperial Capital, nor can we discuss to-day the Provincial Settlements of the new provinces. A discussion of military finance would also be more appropriate after the report of the Nicholson Committee is published. We may, however, mention here that in spite of all efforts, expenditure on military services during the last three years has decreased by no more than one per cent. This is no decrease at all but only a stoppage of undignate growth, and considering that military expenditure has grown enormously on account of the re-organization scheme of Lord Kitchener it appears that we have not yet returned even to our normal ways.

There is in India and in England a class of Englishmen that resents the least criticism of British Administration and specially that which is directed towards finance. But it would show up the autocratic vanity of this class if high officials of Government from time to time corrected the mistaken notions of the critics of Indian critics as the Hon. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson has done in submitting his financial statement this year. It will also give both courage and confidence to Indian publicists and indirectly benefit the Administration to an incalculable extent. We therefore

offer no apology for quoting in full the remarks of Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson.

It is not the time to sum up the influence which this Council has exercised on the general administration of India, or to estimate the services that it has rendered alike to the rulers and to the ruled. But I can testify unhesitatingly to the power that the Council holds for good in directing attention to the finances of the country, in scrutinizing expenditure, and in advising the Government on the employment of the public funds. I have always found criticisms of my non-official colleagues temperate, suggestive, and helpful. Unable though we may at times have been to accept their opinions at once, they have, oft been without their effect on our subsequent arrangements, and even where we wholly disagreed they have shown us fresh points of view and warned us of probable dangers. It is no exaggeration to say that the free interchange of views which this Council stimulates, has already become a powerful factor for good in the financial policy of India.

We are sure this is not meant to be an empty compliment, and we have no hesitation in saying that such appreciation of Indian criticism is sure to make it still more temperate and responsible and helpful to the administrators.



Short Story.

The Vicissitudes of a Young Man of Fashion.

Vicissitude I.

The Bitter Bit.

Mr. Ali Hossain sat staring at a letter he held in his hand. It did not look a very formidable epistle, and yet it seemed to make him very uneasy. It was only a dainty sheet of notepaper covered with about half a dozen lines, in a handwriting obviously disguised. He threw the letter down with an impatient movement, and, getting up from the table, went to the window and lit a cigarette. As he stood staring out his ears caught the jingling sound of anklets coming towards his room. He hastily went back to the table and picked up the letter, and had barely thrust it in his pocket when the purdah was pushed aside and his wife entered. He stood waiting for her to speak—they had already had one tiff that morning and he guessed she had come to renew hostilities.

"Will you take me to the Museum this afternoon," she said abruptly.

Mr. Ali Hossain assumed a most distressed appearance.

"My dear, I have already explained to you that I have a *very important* business engagement this afternoon with my solicitors, so how can I take you to the Museum? Any other day I shall be delighted, to-morrow if you like—but I can't possibly take you to-day."

"But you promised last week."

Mr. Ali Hossain lost patience.

"Good heavens, why won't women understand that business cannot give way to their whims. Why don't you go to the Museum if you are *so* anxious to see the wretched place. You can take your cousins with you, I have no objection—only I can't accompany you. I can't neglect important business."

"Very well, we'll go by ourselves, and I hope your business will get on satisfactorily," with which gloe she left the room, obviously still rather displeased. Presently, however, he heard the sound of gay laughter proceeding from her side of the house. "That's all right" he muttered with a sigh of relief, and then pulling the letter out of his pocket, perused it again, but this time with a smile of satisfaction, and a complacent twirl of his moustache. "Five o'clock! It's past three now, so I had better get dressed. Bearer!"

Mr. Ali Hossain went to his dressing room. He scoured very hard to please that afternoon. Half a dozen suits were rejected before he finally decided on one. Then came the vexed question of shirts, ties, and socks. At last, to the bearer's relief, he was ready to his satisfaction. As he stood in front of the glass fixing in the dainty buttonhole, he surveyed himself with a pleased air. The clock pointed to half-past four. "Tell them to bring the trap round," and with a last look in the mirror he turned away. On his way out he looked in at his wife's room, to tell her he was off to his solicitors, and would probably dine out, but found she had already gone to the Museum with her cousins. Thanking his stars that she had taken his suggestion, he jumped into his trap and drove off towards the Eden Gardens.

The place was fairly empty when he got there. At five in the afternoon very few of the fashionable crowd are to be seen round the *mandan*. The Gardens are mostly given over to children and their attendants. Mr. Ali Hossain looked somewhat out of place among these, but his air of complacency did not desert him. Pulling out the letter once more he re-read it carefully. "Five

o'clock—beyond the Bandstand" he murmured. "I am in excellent time. Let's hope she won't be long."

Drawing up his trap near the Bandstand he got out and strolled up and down the drive, always keeping his attention fixed on one particular point. A quarter of an hour went by, twenty minutes, half an hour! Mr. Ali Hossain began to show signs of impatience. The famous letter was studied again, with a slight frown this time—and he was hesitating whether it was worth while waiting longer, when a closed *gharri* drew up near the point on which his attention had been fixed. He looked up expectantly, and presently a little handkerchief was pushed through the venetians, waved twice, and withdrawn. Mr. Ali Hossain hesitated no longer. He hastened towards the *gharri* and eagerly opened the door. Two veiled forms were seated inside—in the hand of one was the little handkerchief. He was about to address her, when she beckoned him in, and with a finger on her lips enjoined silence. He stepped in, the door closed, and the carriage drove off.

"Where are we going?" asked Mr. Ali Hossain. No reply came from the veiled figure, but a little touch of the dainty hand thrilled him—only for a second did it rest on his and the gesture of silence was repeated. His heart beat eagerly. The adventure promised well, and although he could not see her face, she seemed young and slender—the little hand was fair and delicate enough.

Presently a whisper came from the other figure. "Do not be alarmed. The Bibi Sabiba is taking you to her house. We are afraid of being discovered, and you must promise to let us blindfold you when you get down from the carriage. You will not be disappointed when you reach home."

"I will promise anything," said Mr. Ali Hossain, now emboldened, "only grant me one glance of those beautiful eyes."

No displeasure was shown at the bold words, but no answer was given. In silence they drove on. In a few minutes the *gharri* turned into what seemed a courtyard and stopped. A sheet was held up, the door opened, and the fair unknown alighted. As Mr. Ali Hossain stepped out, a scarf was thrown over his head and a hand grasping his arm, gently piloted him along. Still in silence he followed and seemed to be led into a room to a sofa where he was motioned to seat himself. He was about to remove the scarf and reap the reward of his patient obedience, but a whisper said "Wait!"

He waited, several minutes elapsed and his patience began to give way. "May I not see the goddess now?" he said, putting out his hand in an endeavour to touch the fair unknown. A peal of laughter was the only answer. Where had he heard that laughter before? Tearing off the scarf that bound his eyes he looked up eagerly. In astonishment he found himself in his own room and in front of him his wife!!

* * * * *

Mr. Ali Hossain never dares to mention important business with his solicitor as a reason for not complying with his wife's requests. He is also very careful not to be too eager to meet ladies, who make appointments by letter, in a disguised caligraphy. In fact he is a wiser and sadder man.

L.L.



Verse.

Calm.

"After a storm cometh a calm"—so says
The proverb. From the crucible of pain
Our love rose pure of dross. Melted in rain
Were now the threatening clouds of former days.
Nor did the genial sun withhold his rays.
Would we not wish to live those days again?
I know not. Ask those wounded in sorrows:
"He jests at scars"—I miss the old refrain.

And yet. And yet the storm, they say, hath power
To please, and clouds a beauty of their own;
And the wild buffeting of winds is known
To give delight to some, when storm-racks lower,
And on the wind-ward strand are foam-flakes blown
From angry surging seas in a misty shower.

Wasiti.

CORRESPONDENCE



Sir Edward Grey and Persia.

To THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE":

SIR,—I find Sir Edward Grey has been decorated with the Order of the Garter. Some Mussalmans are displeased with it, but I think it is rather a good omen. It means that he is about to be shifted to some other post and this is meant as a consolation. In my letter in reply to the famous Russian agent Madarie Novikoff, published in the *Indian Daily Telegraph* of 20th February I had suggested his relegation to the House of Lords and the presidency of Council as a fitter post for him, for he has shown utter want of backbone in his dealings with Russia.

The recent note to Persia strengthens my conviction that the Garter could not have been the reward for success in the foreign policy of the Whig Minister. For his work properly speaking begins now when Persia is asked to subordinate itself to England and Russia. That means either (i) a flat refusal and hence failure or another period of disturbance later on, or (ii) acceptance by the present Persian Ministry. Then an unfortunate *Milch* (national) war with the Mejliss and the nationalists who will be backed up by the full strength of the religious heads of Najaf and perhaps by the secret or moral help of Turkey, is looming in the background. The Ministry in Teheran cannot stand but with the open help and military support of Russia and England if it accepts this ultimatum called a "declaration of policy."

I am reluctant to contemplate the result of this unrighteous policy. A legacy of hatred amongst the Persians and the countries where they have active influence, e.g., Mesopotamia, Caucasus and Herat province, want of confidence in these two powers by the Liberals all the world over, the wounding of the hearts of Muslims in every climate, the weakening of Turkey on the Eastern frontier, German demands for compensation and many other troubles. Cannot these troubles be allowed to sleep and the Note withdrawn? In my pamphlet "England's policy in Persia and its perils," published 14 months before, I had anticipated these troubles.

So I say, Sir E. Grey's work has just now commenced and all dangers that were remote are coming nearer to India, to Turkey, to Russia, to Islam, and to England.

GULAM-U-SAQAIN.

The "Lack of Variety."

To THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE":

SIR,—I read your short and sweet note on the "lack of variety" in the last number of the *Comrade* and was delighted with it. I am afraid I have got to confess that the *Comrade* is more of a "Fighting Bob" than anything else and you love nothing better than to demolish (and that too very efficiently) and expose the specious arguments and fallacies of individuals and communities. You hit hard, and justly, and spare neither big nor small. But many of us love *Comrade* best when it is offering an apology for unconfessed sins. Let us have more of them.

کلامیان ملٹری تجزیں عواد دل
میں وہ لامون بھے سے پتھر کو توڑ دوں

(My soft words break the heart of the foe. I am that awful spirit that breaks a stone with a glass.)

S. A.

More Possible Truths.

"WRITTEN to order" is a phrase usually taken to imply mediocrity, but is the implication inevitable? That modern scribe who has asserted that nobody would write unless he were forced to it goes too far; but there are plenty of people who from laziness or lack of concentration write all the better when a subject is imposed upon them from without. Cowper's "Task" is the classic instance in English literature. In one of the fits of depression to which he was liable, his friend Lady Austen urged him to distract his thoughts by undertaking a long poem. He pleaded that he was at a loss for a subject and she, who had already told him the story of John Gilpin, had lucky inspiration, "You can write on any subject," she said, "write upon this sofa." The demand was certainly enough to daunt a timid bard, but Cowper was too gallant to disobey.

How extract poetry from a sofa? "The Task" surmises to assure us that he did not fail. It is worth while recalling his own justification —

"The theme though humble, yet august and proud

The occasion—for the fair commands the song

Happy poet, to he thus commanded! Happy Fair, to be thus obeyed! It must, however, be admitted that Cowper escaped from the sofa as soon as he could.

* * * * *

Again, it may be that, to borrow Cowper's phrase,

"That perpetual want of peace which vexes public men" acts as a spur to lagging imagination. Some of the finest writing in the world owes its origin to compelling need. It comes as a shock to be told that Shakespeare himself

"For gain and not for glory winged his flight"

but the thing is not as ugly as it seems. If want of money set him to work upon a masterpiece, be sure that motive was forgotten before the first act was finished.

* * * * *

Thomas Fuller, who in his childhood might possibly have seen Shakespeare and who included him in his "Worthies of England," openly avows that in his own case the pecuniary motive was among the incentives which made him write! And what of "Rasselas," the once famous Eastern apologue, which was translated into most European languages? Composed in the evenings of one week, there is small reason to wonder at the melancholy which pervades it when we remember that Samuel Johnson wrote it to defray the expenses of his mother's funeral. What recommendation could be stronger? Necessity gave the order and love obeyed it.

* * * * *

The probability is that all good writing is spontaneous, given the original impulsion while spontaneity need not exclude subsequent revision. Whether the second thoughts of writers are better is a moot point. We know that Shakespeare "never blotted a line," and at least one critic wished that he had blotted a thousand. But, after all, correction might not have meant improvement. Wordsworth was ill-inspired when in the original line "the blackbird amid summer trees" he altered "summer" to "leafy." The lengthening by Burns, for musical purposes of each fourth line of his great lyric "Scots wha ha'e wi' Wallace bled"—"on to glorious victory" for instance, instead of "on to victory"—can hardly please any one. More over, there must be a limit somewhere. The aspiring poet should take warning from Addison's "Ned Soothly" who coquettishly half a summer's day between 'you sing your song' and "your song you sing!"

* * * * *

The ethics of biographical writing continue to provoke discussion. Indiscretion, it was lately asserted, is the would-be Boswell's greatest merit. But what type of indiscretion? Towards the close of the seventeenth century there dwelt in a cave in Galloway an old Scotch hermit who claimed prophetic gifts. One day he complained to the representatives of law and order that some neighbouring peasant had been "treating him with indiscretion." Pressed for the facts, he averred that they had pelted him and his dwelling place with stones, exclaiming repeatedly, "Come forth, thou vile old apostate!" This, at any rate, cannot be the sort of indiscretion the biographer is to emulate.

* * * * *

The prospect of having their careers recorded has added, it used to be said in the case of the eminent, a new terror to life. But there is something still more formidable, and that is, when novelist or playwright works his will upon the great departed! A French writer has lately made a drama out of Byron's career, which he has travestied beyond all bounds of veracity and good manners. This is a subject to which I may perhaps return, if it is not deemed by the Editor too remote and recondite to interest readers of *The Comrade*. [No, not at all — Ed., *Comrade*]

H. C. MINCHIN.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

The *Daily Mail* states that three Italian battleships are bombarding Beyrouth and that the inhabitants are in a state of panic.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 24th — The fort at Beyrouth, the warship *Avnillah* and a torpedo boat replied to the Italian fire. The *Avnillah* was burned and the torpedo was sunk. Fifteen were killed and 100 wounded. The Italian warships then left for an unknown destination. In the panic following the bombardment, the crowd forced the Government armoury and armed themselves. Disturbances ensued in which thirty persons were killed, including two Russian subjects, fifty were wounded.

It is semi-officially stated in Rome that the warships were sent to Beyrouth to destroy the Turkish warships which were located there for the purpose of facilitating traffic in contraband and for attacking transports.

Reuter wires from Beyrouth on the 25th — The Italian cruisers *Volturino* and *Garibaldi* demanded the immediate surrender of the Turkish gunboats in harbour. Before the Governor was able to negotiate, the Italians sank the gunboats in harbour. Buildings were damaged and sixty people killed. The populace were seized with panic and fled to Lebanon. The military authorities are dealing with the situation.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 25th — Admiral Faravelli, commanding the Italian fleet reports that he surprised the gunboat *Avnillah* and a torpedoer in the port of Beyrouth at dawn. Both were given respite until nine when the Italians opened fire. The gunboat vigorously responded but was silenced in twenty minutes and caught fire. The torpedoer was then shelled and sunk. The Admiral denies the bombardment of the town.

Reuter wires from Beyrouth on the 26th that the situation is satisfactory. This morning the population is calm. Martial Law has been proclaimed.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 25th — It is officially stated that thirty were killed and ninety-eight wounded at Beyrouth, all the casualties occurring among the Turkish crews and spectators thronging the quays. The foreign educational establishments were untouched.

The Porte has protested to the Powers declaring that the raid is contrary to International Law.

Reuter wires from Beyrouth — Over two hundred spectators on the quays were killed and wounded by the fire of the Italian cruisers on Saturday. Some business premises were damaged.

The Porte has circularised the Powers warning them of its determination to close the Dardanelles and expel all Italians from Turkey in the event of the Italians carrying their operations into the Aegean Sea.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 26th — The Cabinet has decided to expel all Italians, except ecclesiastics, from the vilayets of Beyrouth, Damascus, Jerusalem and Aleppo, allowing them fifteen days in which to leave.

The Vail of Beyrouth telegraphing on Sunday says that the total casualties are yet incomplete. About fifty of the crew of the *Armillah* are missing.

Reuter wires from Malta on the 25th — The cruiser *Lancaster* has been ordered to leave forthwith under sealed order. She is coaling and provisioning with all speed. It is believed that she is proceeding to Beyrouth.

A later telegram says — The *Lancaster* has proceeded to the Argan.

Reuter wires from Malta on the 27th — The cruiser *Lancaster* which left here under sealed orders has proceeded to Crete, where numerous unpunished murders of Mussalmans threaten to lead to trouble.

In view of large French and other interests, Italian action at Beyrouth has caused uneasiness in France. The press expresses anxiety regarding possible international consequences and several journals counsel Italy to use extreme prudence. Others severely condemn what they describe as futile action.

Reuter wires from Toulon that arrangements are being made to despatch a cruiser to the Levant to protect French interests.

The French liner *Armand Behic* called at Hodeidah and took off 31 Europeans and 62 Somalis, Indians and French proteges. An Italian torpedo boat assisted the refugees towing the boats from the shore to the ship.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 25th — The reopening of Parliament was attended by delirious enthusiasm.

The Chamber, 423 votes to 9, ratified the decree affirming Italian sovereignty over Tripoli.

The figures were received with cheers by the Deputies.

The population made a holiday of the occasion and processions with flags held demonstrations before Parliament and the Quirinal, where Their Majesties were given an ovation. The Italian Senate amid scenes of enthusiasm has unanimously approved the bill ratifying the annexation of Tripoli. The Dukes of Aosta and Genoa were present and received an ovation.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 26th — A Bill has been submitted to the Chamber sanctioning extraordinary credits of 170 million lire, which have already been opened for war purposes and authorising further credits of thirty-five millions. Of the total of 205 million lire, fifty-seven million has been covered by past surpluses and the rest will be spread equally over the budgets to 1917. The Bill also provides for harbour works at Tripoli, Bengasi and Derna.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 27th — A steamer carrying 250 tons of war material for the Turks in Tripoli has been captured in Sicilian waters.

The Municipal elections in Salonika are proving interesting by reason of the defeat of the candidates of the Committee of Union and Progress and the success of Liberal-Union candidates.

A communiqué has been issued stating that France is prepared to join in any collective action of the Powers with respect to either belligerent, with a view to ending the Turco-Italian war.

The Vail of Beirut reports on the 28th that in the Italian bombardment 41 men were killed and 20 wounded on the warships, and 56 killed and 58 wounded among the townspeople.

Reuter wires from London on the 28th — Fighting took place at Loms throughout yesterday. The Italians rushed the heights of Meigheb and remained in possession at evening when the Turks and Arabs retired after suffering heavy losses, leaving their dead and wounded on the field. The Italian casualties were eleven killed and 82 wounded.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 29th — Russia has made fresh proposals for mediation between Italy and Turkey. She proposes to ask Italy upon what terms she will conclude peace on the basis of Italian sovereignty over Tripoli, and afterwards for five Powers to approach Turkey.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 29th — There is little faith here in the efficacy of Russian initiative. The adoption of the Bill by the Italian Parliament annexing Tripoli is regarded as an insurmountable obstacle to an understanding.

Reuter wires from Constantinople — It is estimated that six or seven thousand persons are affected by the decree ordering the expulsion of Italians from Palestine. They include many employed on the Baghdad Railway at Aleppo.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, February 2.

OFFICIAL despatches from Bengasi report a furious attack delivered by some 400 Beduins on the night of the 30th on the small fort which protects the wells on that side of the town. The assault was repulsed by the garrison of the fort, aided by artillery fire from the flanking redoubts. The enemy left a number of arms and 12 dead in the wire entanglements surrounding the fort, while they carried off many of the dead and wounded. On the Italian side four were killed. The following morning a strong column of the enemy, with artillery, was seen at a distance of five miles from the outer fortifications. Some groups of Beduins who approached were dispersed by the Italian Cavalry.

February 4.

A telegram from Tripoli states that General Caneva, who is about to leave for Italy, has temporarily handed over the command of the Italian forces to General I'rugoni.

The object of General Caneva's journey is said to be to confer with the authorities on the military situation.

February 5.

General Caneva arrived here shortly after noon to-day from Tripoli. He was received at the station by the Minister for War

and the Chief of the General Staff, and was warmly cheered by the crowd as he drove off in a motor car to the Ministry for War.

The *Times* received the following telegram from Sheikh Ali Yousef, president of the Egyptian Red Crescent Society, dated Cairo, 3rd February:—

The latest telegrams received from the seat of war in Tripoli confirm the fact that the Italians are harassing the Red Crescent hospitals, and officials have been shot at repeatedly. We appeal to civilized nations to protect our missions and to prevent Italy's violation of international treaties.

Paris, February 4.

The French Government has instructed its representatives at Constantinople and at Obok, a French coaling station on the Gulf of Aden, to furnish information with regard to the reported bombardment of Hodeidah and Ras el-Ketub, on the Arabian shore of the Red Sea. French interest in the matter is due to the fact that the Franco-Turkish Company which, with the help of a French loan of £T1,000,000, is constructing a railway from Hodeidah to Sanaa has established works and depots at Hodeidah and a wharf at Ras-el-Ketub.

On 27th January the commander of the Italian blockading squadron in the Red Sea ordered the company's agents to evacuate the works within five days, on the expiration of which the place would be bombarded. These orders were given in accordance with Article 11. of the ninth Convention of The Hague of 1907, which excepts from the list of undefended places that are exempt from bombardment all works and establishments capable of being utilized by an enemy's naval or military forces. As the *Journal des Débats* points out, the Italians regarded the Hodeidah works as coming within this category, and after giving reasonable notice they bombarded the place. The *Debats* adds:—

Failing more detailed information, France, therefore, has so far no reason to protest to the Italian Government against acts which, until evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, appear to have been in conformity with the laws of war. Those, moreover who have suffered loss and damage are unquestionably entitled to proceed against the other belligerent—Turkey. It would be unwise and a blunder to excite over this affair the movement of public opinion in France against our neighbours.

This warning is addressed to certain French journals which demand the despatch of French warships to the Red Sea upon the pretext that French interests are in danger. The *Debats* not only shows that French interests are not directly involved, but adds that it has reason to believe that the damage caused by the bombardment is far from amounting to the hundreds of thousands of pounds at which it is estimated by some other journals. It is further stated that the material for the construction of the quays at Ras el Ketub is still on board a steamer, which is on its way to Hodeidah from Suez. The principal sufferer is really the Ottoman Government, which counted on the railway to Sanaa as an important auxiliary for the defence of Yemna.

The French Government has taken steps to secure the embarkation of the company's 40 French employees in the first Messageries Maritimes steamer due to pass through the Red Sea.

With regard to the renewed bombardment of Sheikh Saad at the southern Arabian end of the Red Sea, it appears that the alleged French territorial rights in that place have not been exercised. If an article in the *Figaro* is to be believed, the formal declaration by the Chamber of Deputies in 1896 that Sheikh Saad was a French possession has remained without effect, and the port, the position of which opposite Perini renders it commercially and strategically important, remains in the military occupation of Turkey.

Paris, February 6.

The following semi-official statement is issued here:—

Reports have appeared in foreign newspapers that Italian warships have bombarded Hodeidah and shelled and destroyed the yards and buildings of the company constructing the Ras Ketub railway. Up to the present the commander of the naval force in the Red Sea has reported no bombardment either of the town of Hodeidah or of the buildings of the above company. There was, it appears, only a bombardment of an encampment of regular Turkish troops at Jebanah, 16 kilometres from Hodeidah and six from Ras Ketub. The Government is, however, awaiting further intelligence on this subject. In spite of the assertions of several foreign journals that Hodeidah could not be bombarded because it is an unfortified town, it has been ascertained that it is protected by a small fort at the extreme northern end of the town and that on 2nd October this fort fired on the Italian gunboats *Voltorno* and *Aretusa*. It appears also that some field batteries were placed to the south of the town opposite the sea. (Reuters.)

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Paris, February 7.

It was stated yesterday that 14 truck-loads of shells consigned from Germany to Italy had been refused access by Switzerland via

the Simplon route, and that they had been diverted to the French frontier for transit by the Mount Cenis route via Bellegarde and Modane. No further news is forthcoming with regard to the actual passage of the trucks through French territory, but a telegraph agency issues a statement to the effect that the French Government has never had the intention of preventing French industry from executing orders for arms and ammunition either for Turkey or for Italy. Article 7 of the Fifth Convention of the second Hague Conference is adduced in support of the contention that a neutral Power is not bound to prevent the export or transit for the benefit of belligerents of arms, ammunition, or anything else which may be of service to an army or a fleet. It is added that orders for war material are being executed in various French industrial establishments both for Turkey and for Italy.

According to the *Tempo*, it is not considered probable that Switzerland refused to allow the consignment of German shells to pass through Swiss territory, since train loads of war material, including a captive balloon for Am Zara consigned to Italy from Germany, have repeatedly passed through Switzerland.

News from Turkish Sources.

(FROM THE "TANIN")

(Specially Translated for the Comrade)

We publish below an extract of a private letter which a prisoner in Kazerla in Italy had succeeded in sending to one on our staff:—

"I would have liked to write to you something about myself; but I cannot find an opportunity to write in detail. It is three months that we have been imprisoned in Aldestra (الدرسترة) barracks. Well not exactly in prison, but in custody. We are not allowed to see anyone. Among the prisoners are the following: about 400 soldiers, eighty old men, a Commodore of Tripoli and 3 Majors of Infantry, Cavalry and Gendarmerie. The rest are Captains and Lieutenants, in all 29 officers. None of us is a prisoner of war, for we did not participate in the war. The Commodore and myself with 7 marines were seized on board the German steamer *Galata*. Similarly others too are men and officers taken from steamers bound for Constantinople or Dede agatch. A few have been brought here from the towns of Benghazi or Derna, not one of whom had taken part in any fighting."

"To us is denied the treatment which is accorded to the meanest of men. I suppose international laws and agreements are not made to be applied to us Turks. However we enjoy the concession of reading newspapers, but no correspondent can approach us. Even Russia had not subjected our prisoners to such treatment during the war of 1878."

"We are not given any beds and sleep on stone pavements."

We have read the following with utter dismay and invite the serious attention of our Government to it:—

"When the Italians entered the town of Tripoli, I was lying in the hospital, in spite of this, I was at once made a prisoner."

"All the patients of the hospital were treated as prisoners of war and subjected to various barbarities. Many of our fellow-patients could not survive this treatment. A few days later we, 140 in all, were put on board a vessel and brought to Naples. We were kept 10 days in Naples. Morning and evening we were given flesh or wine to eat. One day we decided not to eat it. When the dinner bugle was sounded we did not come out to take our dinner. Whereupon Italian officers, stick in hand, compelled us to take our dinner and gave those who refused a terrible thrashing. From Naples we were sent to Kazerla (كازلہ). Although pork is no longer our fare, we are still putting up awful treatment. We are given 300 grammes of bread a day. We will die of starvation. As to cleanliness we are never given any clothes to change. May God rescue us from the hands of these oppressors. I can't write any more as my eyes are glistening."

The Subject Races of Turkey.

A memorial on the present condition of the Turkish Empire has been addressed to the Sultan and to the Presidents of both Chambers of the Ottoman Parliament by a number of distinguished representatives of many sides of public life in Great Britain. After expressing sympathy with the people of the Ottoman Empire and referring to the misgivings and disappointments caused both within and without the Turkish dominions by the departure from the noble ideal proclaimed at the time of the revolution some three years ago, the memorial continues:—

"The historic sympathy of the English people with the Ottoman Empire in the past was alienated by the like evils, and the English people were convinced that no hope of amelioration in the lot of the Turkish subject peoples lay in any other direction than in the gradual disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. The repetition of these evils will, unless arrested, alienate once again, and, we fear,

irrevocably, the sympathy which the Turkish revolution had reawakened amongst us.... We speak in no spirit of self-righteousness ; we had hoped that Turkey's great example would serve not only to anchorate the lot of her own people, but to fortify the ideals of ours. She may save herself by her exertions, and Oriental civilization by her example. She has yet a unique opportunity of convincing the West that Oriental peoples have been unjustly believed incapable of Constitutional Government. Sadly must we confess, however, that this belief will be confirmed if the great experiment of Turkish Constitutionalism should fail."

Among the signatories are Lord Peel, Lord Esher, the Bishops of Winchester, Oxford, Hereford and Lincoln, Lord Courtney of Penwith, Lord Wardale, Dr Mair, ex-Moderator of the Church of Scotland, Dr. George Adam Smith, Vice-Chancellor and Principal of University of Aberdeen, Dr Alexander Whyte, Principal of New College, Edinburgh; Dr Selbie, Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bt., Sir Thomas Barlow, Bt., Sir Charles Bruce; Sir John Macdonell; Sir T. Vezey Strong, ex-Lord Mayor of London, Sir W. S. Brown, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Sir W. M. Ramsay, late Professor of Humanity, Aberdeen University; Sir John Rhys, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford. Professor Sidney J. Hickson, University of Manchester the Warden of Keble, Professor J. H. Morgan, University College; Professor Westlake, Mr. Noel Buxton, M.P., Mr. William C. Gladstone, M.P., Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., and Dr. George R. Parkin, Secretary of the Rhodes Trust.

The Turkish Soldier.

THE TURKISH SOLDIER IS THE FINEST SOLDIER IN THE WORLD

I know because I have campaigned with him, writes an American correspondent. I have seen him in the stress of battle, on forced marches, in camp and in garrisons. I have seen him in the trenches, in the hospital tent and in his home. From every standpoint he is the finest soldier in the world. There are many reasons why this is true. In the first place, he is almost invariably a perfect specimen of manhood. His physique is that of a boxer and wrestler in perfect condition. His endurance is unequalled. In the second place, he does not know the meaning of fear. Like the Japanese soldier, he is a fatalist. Everything happens for the best, no matter whether he is killed or desperately wounded. In the third place, he is perfectly trained. His officers are graduates of the great military schools of Europe. And he is equipped with the most powerful rifles used by any nation. Last, but not least, he can fight longer without a commissary than any soldier on earth. He eats sparingly at all times and can go days without food. Being a Mahomedan, he never touches liquor in any form. I spent three weeks with the Turkish Army that captured Constantinople in May 1909, and overthrew Abdul Hamid. During that time I saw every phase of a Turkish soldier's life. As I have made more or less of a study of the fighting men of all nations it is not an off-hand judgment when I say he is the greatest fighting machine in the world.

My experience with the Turks came about in this way. I sailed for Egypt with Mrs. Selwyn in February of 1909 to gather material for a play dealing with modern life in Egypt. A trip up the Nile convinced me that an Egyptian setting was suitable only for a comic opera and I decided to visit Turkey. We made a caravan trip through Asia Minor and reached Constantinople early in May.

The day we arrived at the Golden Horn we were advised to leave immediately, as rumours of war and revolution were in the air. In fact most of the tourists had left. However, we were anxious to witness the enthronement of the Sultan, which took place that afternoon, and we decided to stay. Armed with passports, we managed to view the impressive ceremony which precedes the Sultan's entry to the mosque, and, seeing the troops lined up six deep around the great building, we laughed at the warnings of our friends.

After the ceremony we hired a carriage and drove out to a suburb of the city. Arriving at a crest of a hill about a mile from Constantinople we encountered a Turkish soldier who motioned for us to go back. I told our driver to pay no attention to him, with the result that a bullet came whistling over our heads. We jumped out of the carriage to show that we were Americans and to display our passports. As we did so our driver wheeled his horses about and drove off at top speed. There we were left on the crest of the hill with the Turkish soldier. We were not alone long, however. In two or three minutes soldiers, separated like skirmishers, appeared as by magic on the side of the hill below us. The situation dawned upon me in a moment. The Young Turks, who were supposed to be at Salonica, 22 hours away by train, were at the very gates of Constantinople. The revolution had begun. Seizing my wife by the arm, I turned her around, and we hurried down the road toward the city. Fortunately, after we had run nearly a mile, we came upon our frightened driver, who took us back to the city. I went immediately to the American Embassy and asked to see Mr. Leishman, our Ambassador. He was away, so I related what had happened to

one of the Under-Secretaries, who listened to me with the air of a man who doesn't believe a word you are saying. He assured me that I was mistaken about the approach of an army and that no trouble was expected.

That night we went to bed at the Pera Palace, our hotel, with great misgivings. We determined to leave Constantinople the following day. However, our plans were changed. About four o'clock in the morning we were awakened by the booming of guns and the rattle of small firearms. The Young Turks were attacking the city. Looking out of the window of our room, we saw scores of Turkish soldiers in the gray dawn, with drawn bayonets, carefully threading the crooked streets.

I had a letter of introduction to Shevket Pasha, an officer in the Turkish Army, from an Italian friend which I intended to present if I remained in Constantinople any length of time. Imagine my surprise when I learned that Shevket Pasha was in command of the army of occupation.

I asked the officer in command of the guard at the hotel to deliver the letter. About 10 o'clock that morning Shevket Pasha called on me at the hotel. He was profuse in his apologies for the inconvenience I had been put to and to my surprise invited me to accompany him.

That morning I witnessed the attack upon the Sultan's Palace which was guarded by several regiments of his faithful troops. The Young Turks numbered less than 16,000, and had marched from Salonica in 22 hours without halting for more than 10 minutes at a time. So sudden was the attack that the city was taken completely by surprise. There was not a single newspaper correspondent in the city. No army had ever made a march so rapidly yet the men seemed fresh and they fought like tigers.

At one stage of the fighting the troops in the palace raised a white flag and thinking they had surrendered, the Young Turks rushed forward, only to be mowed down by machine guns. I watched the fighting with Shevket Pasha and his staff from a tower about a quarter of a mile away. He gave his orders as coolly as if he were in a drawingroom. The soldiers on both sides fought absolutely without fear. The wounded dropped down without a groan. When the order for the final attack on the palace was given, the Young Turks rushed into a veritable hail of bullets from the machine guns and after a desperate hand-to-hand struggle captured it. By 2 o'clock in the afternoon the entire city was in the hands of the Young Turks.

When the fighting was over the soldiers, both the royal troops, who had been disarmed and the Young Turks stood around drinking coffee and smoking cigarettes. The army of occupation had been without sleep for thirty hours and had been fighting since day-break, but aside from a blood-stained bandage here and there they didn't show it. The Turkish soldier seems insensible to pain. I visited some of the improvised hospitals which were filled with the wounded. Not a groan was to be heard. Turkish Army surgeons were performing major operations without anaesthetics. The patients did not even flinch.

Shevket Pasha treated me as if I had been a distinguished representative of the American Government. I was escorted back to the hotel by a guard of picked men with an invitation to take breakfast with him the following morning. Needless to say I availed myself of the opportunity. The next day all the guests of the hotel left on an outgoing steamer for Athens while I remained.

The Young Turk army went into camp outside the city, and becoming acquainted with several of the Turkish officers, all of whom spoke English, I spent all of my time with them. While the officers lived like Europeans, the enlisted men lived on food that a French, German or American soldier wouldn't think of eating. All they seemed to care about was their coffee and cigarettes.

My admiration for the Turkish troops was so great that Shevket Pasha invited me to spend a fortnight with him. During that time he inspected a dozen or more of the garrison near Constantinople. I accompanied him on several of these tours of inspection, and I saw the Turkish soldiers under all conditions. Every day my wonder for them increased.

I was given every opportunity to study them, and even if I had served among them I could not have learned more of their habits, their mental operation and their outlook on life. Shevket Pasha is now Minister of War and one of most powerful men in Turkey.

Because he is silent we regard the Oriental as something of a mystic. As a matter of fact there is no mystery about him. He is more like a child than anything else. This is true of the Turkish soldier as well as of the Arab.

Turkish Finance.

(FROM A "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

HOWSOEVER many and great may be the political sins of Young Turkey, of that "irresponsible junta" which for the past three years

has controlled the destinies of the Ottoman Empire, it cannot be denied that, in the domain of finance its leaders have done good work under great difficulty, and that the present condition of affairs is in several respects more promising than that which obtained at the close of the Hamidian régime. "Ottomanism" has made but little progress towards the establishment of law and order in the provinces, internal strife, active or latent, is still endemic in Macedonia, Albania, and the Asiatic provinces; lawlessness is actually increasing in many parts of the Empire, and the local authorities seem quite unable to check it.

But at headquarters, both at Constantinople and at Solonika the leaders of Young Turkey seem to understand that the maintenance of the benevolent, not to say complaisant, attitude adopted by the Powers in 1908 could only be secured by a cautious and conciliatory policy in matters financial. They gauged, accurately enough, the financial *leit-motif* which runs beneath all the benevolent shibboleths of European diplomacy, and realized that the sentimental claims of humanity in modern politics stand for less, in the long run, than the immediate interests of bondholders. Finally, they have always kept well in view, as definite aspiration, the abolition of the Capitulations and the recovery of Tarif autonomy, and they have had sense enough to realize that these objects can only be attained by Turkey's proving herself worthy of confidence in the matter of financial administration. Wiser in this respect than their prototypes of Young China, they have made sincere efforts to put their house in order by holding fast to the tradition of the Monarchical form of government and by securing and following the advice of trustworthy financial experts in several branches of the public service. And the result of their wisdom has been that trade is slowly but surely developing, that the Customs receipts have increased; the Administration of the public debt has shown marked improvement in revenue collection and in Sinking Fund appropriations, while the general resources of the Empire have been materially strengthened as the result of improved administration and economic development. To Sir Richard Crawford, K.C.M.G., in particular, much credit is given by the Turkish Government for his effective reorganization of the Customs Department, the Financial Commission of Reforms has also rendered excellent service in devising new legislation and organizing fiscal administration upon practical lines—proving, incidentally, how short sighted was the action of the Powers which deprived Macedonia of their disinterested services in 1908.

Examination of the present condition of finance and economics in Turkey presents several features of interest. In the first place, it is to be noted that the returns of trade for the past three years (March 1907 to March 1910, continue to show a considerable balance against the Ottoman Empire. The figures are as follows—

	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.
	<i>L.T.</i>	<i>L.T.</i>
Year 1,323 (March 1907-8) .	34,733,519	10,213,031
Year 1,324 (March 1908-9) . .	31,472,231	18,439,071
Year 1,325 (March 1909-10) . .	33,322,556	18,198,447

The state of affairs implied by these figures is less ominous than would at first sight appear, certainly it conveys no such warning as the adverse trade balances of other debtor States, such as China or Portugal, and this for several reasons. First, a very considerable proportion of the imports in recent years has consisted of machinery, railway material, and other plant intended for the construction of remunerative public works. These may reasonably be regarded as outside the normal volume of trade, coming rather under the heading of capital borrowed in kind. Secondly, the balance of trade is assisted by remittances of emigrants and other unseen factors. Finally, there is good reason to doubt the accuracy of the Customs valuations of several lines of exports, which pay duty *ad valorem*. Of the real nature and significance of the trade balance we should shortly be in a position to judge on more accurate data, for the Customs returns are hereafter to be compiled on British lines, showing the countries of origin and destination for all cargo. For the present, we are confronted with the apparently conflicting facts of a considerable adverse trade balance on the one hand, and, on the other, of gold imported in large quantities which remains in the country. Reliable authorities aver that during the past ten years no less than 25 millions of pounds (Turkish) have been absorbed, either in the form of women's head ornaments or as circulating medium. Travellers, especially those coming from Russia or Austria, are immediately impressed by the fact that gold currency is undeniably plentiful in the House of the Sick Man, and that the foreign credit of so visibly disturbed an Empire remains, comparatively speaking, unaffected by wars and rumours of war.

It is not possible to determine, with any degree of accuracy, the cost to Turkey of the present war with Italy, or, indeed, that of any of her numerous military operations and expeditions of recent years. Since the Revolution estimates of revenue and expenditure have been published, it is true, but official audits are still lacking so that actual details of expenditure remain matters of surmise. The Albanian, Hauran, Kerek, and Yemen wars have, between

them, necessitated the mobilization of some 92 battalions of Reservists, and kept these with the colours for periods averaging four to six months; the troops in the Yemen have been on service since the beginning of last year. As regards the cost of the war with Italy, its principal item consists in the maintenance of the 50,000 Reservists called out (which may be reckoned at about £2,500 per diem) and purchases of ordnance and stores, chiefly for the Dardanelles Artillery. The burden is evidently insignificant compared with that which Italy is bearing, and it is, moreover, to some extent balanced by the cessation of administration expenses in the Tripoli province. Nevertheless the dominant feature of Turkish finance, as shown in the Budgets of the past two years, lies in its heavy, and apparently irreducible, burden of military expenditure. In the Budget for 1910-1911, out of a total expenditure of 35 millions the estimates of the War Department, Gendarmerie, Artillery, and Minister of Marine call for 12½ millions, while the service of the Public Debt absorbs another 11½ millions. It must be clear, from these figures, that either new sources of revenue must be found or that the administrative and reproductive branches of the public service must continue to be starved to the point of suspended animation. But the organization of new sources of revenue can only come with and from the activities of efficient civil administration. And so the whole question of reform continues to revolve in a vicious circle, the centre of which is money.

Herein lies the problem which confronts the Minister of Finance and those of his colleagues who appreciate the fact that with nations, as with individuals, the necessities of the debtor are the creditor's opportunity. Upon the solution of this financial problem, more than upon any conflict of races and sects, depends the future of the Ottoman Empire, yet its vital importance remains still unrealized by many of the rank and file of Young Turkey. If the position were accurately gauged, there could be no possibility of further opposition, or even of hesitation, in adopting the improved and organized methods of revenue collection repeatedly recommended by the Financial Commission of Reforms, methods which had successfully stood the test of experience in Macedonia, even before the Revolution. There is no doubt that in many provinces the present financial administration remains characterized by most of the irregularities, abuses, and waste which were supposed to be the direct result of the Hamidian régime and to perish with it. The much-needed development of the country's export trade in particular continues to be sorely let and hindered by the levies of tithe and other exactions imposed (precisely like the *lukum* of China) by the provincial officials of their own sweet will. The intelligent and progressive section of Young Turkey realizes, no doubt, the urgent necessity for remedial measures in these matters. But the question remains. Will their influence and efforts be sufficient to convert to seriousness and sense not only the reactionary and bureaucratic elements in the State, but also those Babus and boy warriors of their own party who have lately succeeded in reducing the Chamber of Deputies to something between a Kindergarten and a caucus?

The Balkan Danger.

(From THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT)

Belgrade, January 21.

The prospect for the coming spring is viewed with increasing anxiety here. In the best informed quarters, both native and foreign, it is feared that the growing anarchy in European Turkey may lead to serious complications as soon as the respite afforded by the present severe weather comes to an end. The first outbreak of trouble is anticipated on the side of Northern Albania, the usual period for the renewal of disturbances in this country being now only a few weeks off. The tribe-men are already exasperated at the refusal of the Government to allow a discussion of their grievances in the Chamber, the dissolution and the return of the Deputies to their respective districts seem likely to increase their indignation and to prompt them to seek redress by other than Constitutional methods. Notwithstanding the severe cold, the bands in Northern Albania increase from day to day, and conflicts with the troops have already occurred in the district between Ipek and Mitrovica.

In connexion with the prospect of coming trouble in Albania the attitude of Montenegro suggests many misgivings here. King Nicholas has neglected no means of retaining his influence with the Malusori, who have been provided with fresh supplies of arms from over the Montenegrin frontier, while Montenegrin agents are stated to be active in every part of Northern Albania. The suspicion with which Montenegro is now regarded here is not solely due to the discord prevailing between the reigning houses. It is now universally believed that King Nicholas has cast in his lot with Austria-Hungary and that Montenegro can no longer be reckoned on to join in opposing a prospective Austrian advance into the sanjak of Novibazar. It is certain that Russia largely forfeited her influence at Cetigne by withdrawing last year the subvention she had hitherto accorded to Montenegro, and the little State, unable to exist on its own resources and burdened with the expenses incurred during the last Albanian

2nd March.

revolt, has been compelled to seek financial aid from Vienna. Whether the loan recently obtained from Austrian financiers on remarkably favourable terms involves definite political obligations is unknown but the worst fears are entertained here.

The anxieties of the situation are increased by the attitude of Bulgaria. For some time past King Ferdinand has been believed to pursue an Austrophil policy, and the circumstance that His Majesty is now in Hungary is not calculated to allay Servian apprehensions. During the crisis of 1908-1909, Bulgaria acted loyally towards Servia and refused, it is believed, certain tempting offers at a moment when war with the Dual Monarchy seemed imminent. But Austrian influence is now generally supposed to be predominant at Sofia. It is reported from Macedonia that Austrian support is not withheld from the Bulgarian movement, even when it resorts to methods which need not be described in detail, and little comfort is derived from the pacific and apparently Turcophil attitude of the Greshoff Cabinet, which may soon be altered by the stress of events.

It is therefore feared that should Austria take advantage of the troubled situation in Turkey to make a forward movement in the spring, Servia will find herself practically isolated and deprived of the aid of her natural allies in the Balkans. The prospect of succour from any of the Great Powers is equally slender. While Italy is engaged in war and the Powers of the Triple Entente are absorbed by problems in Asia and Africa, Austria has her hand free, and needs only the assent of Germany to an aggressive movement in the Balkan Peninsula. The land apparently lies open, for Turkey, it is thought, would scarcely resist an Austrian advance in view of the danger of a simultaneous attack on the part of Bulgaria and Greece. The best hope for the situation would seem to lie in the unwillingness of Germany to risk a further decline of her waning influence in Constantinople and in the well known disinclination of the Emperor Francis Joseph to embark in a policy of adventure. At present Servia must content herself with such consolation as may be afforded by these considerations which scarcely suffice to banish the Austrian nightmare, now oppressing her more heavily than ever.

Sofia, January 30.

I understand that an arrangement has been practically concluded between the Greeks and Bulgarians in Macedonia for common action at the approaching elections. The efforts made by Young Turk agents to sow discord between the two races appear to have failed, and the Bulgarians are stated to have rejected the offer of seven seats in the new Parliament provided that they would act against the Greeks. The Bulgarian leaders and the Albanian chiefs maintain the accord arrived at last spring. The Albanians, recognizing the error they committed last year by beginning the revolt prematurely, are determined to remain quiet for the present, but to continue their preparations.

This decision was taken some weeks ago and, consequently, is not attributable to the recent announcement of certain "reforms" on the part of the Young Turks, which are regarded as an electoral device and are not taken seriously by the chiefs.

Despatches from Uskub give details of an attack by a strong Turkish band on the Bulgarian Monastery of the Blessed Virgin, situated on the border of the districts of Ishtih and Uskub. The Turks found nine persons in the monastery, these were bound and conducted into the church, where they were decapitated. The band then desecrated the church and plundered the monastery. The Commandant of the local gendarmerie, on being informed of the occurrence by some peasants, sent two gendarmes to the monastery, who discovered the corpses but no further step is stated to have been taken by the authorities.

Salonika, January 30.

A bomb exploded at Stevanitza (58 miles north north-west of Salonika) last evening, killing an officer and five gendarmes and injuring the Commandant of the gendarmerie and seven gendarmes (Reuters).

Sofia, January 31.

The Crown Prince Constantine of Greece arrives to-day at the frontier station of Harmanli where he will be met by M. Panas, the Greek Minister, who will accompany his Royal Highness to Sofia. The circumstance that this visit to the Greek throne has been selected to represent the King of the Hellenes at the festivities in Sofia is much appreciated here, and may not be devoid of political importance, especially when taken in connexion with the recent interchange of visits between the Greek Patriarch and M. Sarafoff, the Bulgarian Minister in Constantinople, and the refusal of the Greeks in Macedonia to co-operate with the Young Turks against the Bulgarians at the approaching elections.

The Greco-Bulgarian *rapprochement*, which was inaugurated by Macedonian peasants, is also largely due to the tact and ability of the Greek representative here. The Bulgarian Minister in Athens seems destined to become an important factor in the future developments of the situation in the Balkans.

King Victor Emmanuel will be represented at the festivities here by a special mission under the Marquess Malaspina, formerly Italian Ambassador in Constantinople. The Italian Government will be represented by Count Bosdari, the Italian Minister here.

It is regretted that Great Britain alone of the Great Powers refrained from sending a specially deputed Mission on this occasion, as might naturally have been expected in view of the close relationship of the reigning houses, but it is understood that owing to the absence of King George and the lack of time for the purpose of making arrangements this was found impossible. A special British Mission will attend the 25th anniversary of King Ferdinand's accession next summer.

Vienna, January 31.

A special train left Vienna this evening for Sofia with the French, Russian, Spanish, and other Foreign Missions to the Bulgarian festivities. Prince Alexander of Servia is expected to join the train at Belgrade.

Constantinople, January 31.

Commenting on the *Janiss* on the visit of the Crown Prince of Greece to Sofia, Ismail Haiki Bey expresses fear that the "pompous menacing" Greco-Bulgarian *rapprochement* is directed against Turkey. If that be so, the Ottoman Empire must stretch out its hand across Bulgaria and find an ally. As for the possibility that it may lead to interference in the internal affairs of the Empire, Turkey is strong enough to resist such attempts and can count upon the help of "elements that are oppressed by the hand of the foreigner".

Though the publication of these remarks at the moment when the Turkish mission is preparing to start for Sofia to salute the Bulgarian Heir-Accident on his coming of age may seem somewhat discourteous, the above article faithfully reflects the apprehensions caused in Young Turk circles by the steady improvement in the relations between the Greeks and Bulgars both within the boundaries of the Empire and outside them.

Vienna, January 31.

Reports of outrages in Macedonia are becoming frequent. Bulgarian *kumtakis* are alleged to have placed in the house of a merchant, named Selim, at Radovishta a dynamite bomb which on removal and examination exploded, killing an officer and eight soldiers and wounding eight others. A Bulgarian band is stated to have murdered and mutilated four men and two women of Bulgar race (according to another version eight men and a woman) for having betrayed a band near Kuprili.

These outrages, together with reports of unrest in Northern Albania and the singular stories supplied of late to the Austrian Press from Belgrade concerning the alleged revolutionary intentions of alleged secret associations of Servian officers, are regarded here as early indications of what is expected to occur in the Balkans next spring. Whether the disturbance will consist merely of sporadic turmoil, or of organized insurrection as in 1903, or of deliberate action by the Balkan States, there are at present no means of judging.

The supposition entertained in several Balkan centres, and even in some quarters in Constantinople, that Austria-Hungary contemplates action in the Sanjak of Novibazar or is actually engaged in fomenting trouble is scouted in official and military quarters. It is not denied that, in certain eventualities, Austria-Hungary would be compelled to safeguard her interests, but it is pointed out with some plausibility that, if only for financial reasons, anything in the nature of a military campaign would be extremely unwelcome. Of the present condition of Austro-Turkish and Austro-Bulgarian relations little is known, although the former are believed to have been until quite recently more cordial than the latter. The mysterious fittings of King Ferdinand of Bulgaria may conceivably have contributed to increase the intimacy between Sofia and Vienna, but for the moment no substantial sign of such a development is perceptible. The illness of Count Aehrenthal naturally adds to the uncertainty of the outlook, but in estimating prospects it should not be forgotten that the Emperor Francis Joseph is likely to set his face against any scheme of wanton adventure.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND COLLECTIONS OF INDIA.

Name of place	Name of person in charge of the Fund	THE WEEK'S PROGRESS			PROGRESS UP TO DATE		REMARKS
		Amount Collected.	Amount Forwarded to Turkey	To whom Forwarded and through what agency.	Amount Collected	Amount Forwarded	
Karachi (Sind)	Seth Haji Abdullah Hatoon	916 16	6 12		9,040 0	7,871 11 9	For the week ending 31st Feb. 1912.

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

Reuter wires from St Petersburg on the 25th—Two batteries which were despatched to Tabriz in December have left for Russia.

The *Civil and Military Gazette's* correspondent at Shiraz writes under date 1st February—"In native circles the great subject of conversation is the coming visit of Lord Lamington for whose stay elaborate preparations are being talked of."

"The Persian idea appears to be that his lordship is coming in an official capacity to make full enquiries into the whole question of the Fars disputes and obtain the removal of the 39th Central India Horse whose presence is still causing some offence but against whom the boycott has ceased. No news has transpired as to what is being done by the British Government about the attack on the 39th Central India Horse and speculation is rife as to whether a punitive force will be sent or whether the British Government will content itself with a modest indemnity."

Reuter wires from Teheran on the 28th—The anti-British boycott at Shiraz has ceased.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT)

Teheran, February 5

Sardar Assad complains that he is the victim in the German Press of a calumny periodically brought against him that he desires to oust the Regent and to establish a Bakhtiari dynasty. He is also accused of betraying his country at an interview with M. Isvolsky in which he undertook to secure the acceptance of the Russian ultimatum. During a conversation to-day Sardar Assad begged me to give publicity to his assurance that he had never aimed at the Throne, and that the Bakhtiari were determined to return to their mountains as soon as any tolerable order had been restored.

I repeat the assurance the more readily as, although the story is always circulating, I before had occasion to point out that Sardar Assad himself had never done anything which could give credence to the report. His conduct on the abdication of the ex-Shah and on the death of the Regent was in itself sufficient contradiction. He stated that his interview with M. Isvolsky was solely in the interests of his country with a view to obtaining stable relations if possible with Russia.

The old chief's eyesight has unfortunately not benefited by his visit to Europe. He fears that blindness is rapidly approaching. "The specialist in Berlin," he told me, "forbade me sad thoughts, but all my thoughts are sad."

The question of compensation for the American officials seems finally settled to their satisfaction. Two of the American *Gendarmerie* officers, Mr Merritt and Mr Preuss will remain with Anglo-Russian approval.

Teheran, February 6

The British and Russian Ministers to-night made the last portion of their expected communication. It states that Russia is willing, on condition that Persia will grant him a pension and his followers an amnesty, to inform the ex-Shah, through the Consul at Astrabad, that he must leave Persia. I understand that the communication has been most favourably received, and that Persia is ready to accord the ex-Shah half his original pension, which was 100,000 roubles (£16,166), and remove the ban upon Salar-ed-Dowleh and Shur-eh-Sultaneh and revoke the confiscation of their properties if they leave Persia.

It appears to have been thought advisable to make this communication immediately, owing to the intrigues now centring round the ex-Shah. The remainder of the new programme is nearly completed, and a further communication is therefore probable shortly relating to the loan and other measures to assist the Government.

Zia-ed-Dowleh, Deputy-Governor of Tabriz, shot himself to-day in the British Consulate, where he took *bast* (sanctuary) during the recent troubles.

Brussels, February 7

According to the *Gazette*, the Ministry of Finance has received a long telegram from M. Mornard, the new Treasurer-General of Persia, who is a Belgian, dilating upon the extraordinary disorder in which he found the Persian finances and denouncing "certain foreign machinations." M. Mornard, it is added, cites a number of grave facts and appeals to his compatriots to resist what he describes as the English Campaign. (Reuter.)

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT)

Teheran, February 8

Persia, with the approval of Great Britain and Russia, has requested the services of eight additional Belgians for the Treasury, Mint and Customs services. The appointment of a Belgian staff for M. Mornard indicates an intention to confirm him in the office of Treasurer General. The Belgians appear to be distressed by the charges of anti-English bias generally made against them in the English Press and M. Mornard has expressed to the British Minister the belief that his acts will speedily show his desire to preserve strict impartiality and to treat all parties fairly in the best interests of Persia.

St Petersburg, February 8

The situation in Persia once more gives promise of better things, and the Russian troops are being gradually withdrawn from Tabriz and Kazvin. The whole Kazvin force will probably soon retire to Resht and thence to the Caucasus. Thanks to the friendly co-operation of Russia and Great Britain, the Treasury will shortly receive a loan of £400,000 and the ex-Shah Mohammed Ali will leave the country. The trouble which has arisen among the ex-Shah's Turcoman followers around Astrabad, necessitating the despatch of four companies of Turkestan Rifles, only increases Mohammed Ali's desire to seek the more favourable climate of Switzerland or France.

The assembling at Constantinople in the near future of a Turco-Persian Commission to settle the Urumiah frontier dispute, the apparent willingness of the Turks to avoid complications, and the readiness of both sides in case of disagreement to submit the question to The Hague Tribunal indicate a decrease of tension in one of the most difficult phases of the Persian crisis.

The rumour that a loan will be negotiated through a German or an American bank arouses some apprehension here lest alien influences should again embroil the situation.

An Interview with Mr. Shuster.

A REPRESENTATIVE of the *Near East* has had an interview with Mr. Morgan Shuster which he relates as follows—

So much has been written and read about the ex-Treasurer General that a few words of personal description will not be out of place. Young, tall, powerfully built, with coal-black eyes that sparkle incessantly, and determination written on his clean shaven face, Mr. Shuster impresses one as being a man born to lead, whether it be in Persia or elsewhere. He speaks bluntly, but not impulsively, to the point always, but only after having carefully weighed the significance of his words. I should imagine that he takes a delight in encountering obstacles for the sake of overcoming them. In his own words, he got on well with Persians who were eager to see their country regenerated, the others were not difficult to deal with. The only obstacles were Great Britain and Russia, and these, unfortunately for Persia, could not be overcome. The result is obvious. Mr. Shuster returns to America.

"Yes," he said in answer to my inquiry, "I am leaving for New York towards the end of the week. No, I shall not lecture, but I have promised to address some civic organisations on the Persian problem. I shall keep the public alive to the question," he added meditatively. "It may do some good. It is a frail reed to lean on however."

Mr. Shuster is, as far as the future of Persia is concerned, openly, avowedly and incurably pessimistic. So are all acquainted with the situation. As it happens, *The Near East* publishes in its present issue a letter from its correspondent in Teheran which is decidedly gloomy.

"Every word of it is true," said Mr. Shuster, to whom I mentioned its contents. "What is more, I prophesied that a state of utter anarchy would arise as soon as the Majlis was dissolved. The Cabinet has no authority, whether legal or moral, and can inspire neither respect nor confidence. It is a group of self constituted directors—puppets, who can impossible rule over a country where they have no power."

"What, then, ought to be done now in order to improve matters?"

"I have often been asked that question, but have never been prepared to answer it. I will do so now. Either the two Powers must assume control of the government of the whole realm, and take over the responsibility for governing it in the eyes of the world or they must restore or permit or encourage the restoration of some form of government commanding the respect, confidence, and support of all. This latter can only be obtained by re-establishing the Majlis."

"I know what you are going to say," he continued, "namely, that the Majlis was of little use. There you are mistaken. The Majlis was a most valuable body, so much so that Russia exerted herself to destroy it, because by so doing she destroyed the vitality, the national patriotic spirit of the Persians, and cleared the way for her own political and economic advance. The constitutional body was working for the financial regeneration of the country, it was able to hold in check and combat filibustering expeditions such as that led by the ex-Shah, and to put down provincial disturbances. It was a thorn in Russia's side, and it had to go."

"The Majlis had to go because it was working well," continued Mr. Shuster, "not only was it a democratic institution dangerously near the Caucasus, but it was opposed to aggressive Russian policy in the Near East. Within ten years," came the cruel prophecy, "Russia will have reached the Persian Gulf, and there is an agreement, whereby Germany will have reached it also, and Baghdad Great Britain will not stop them. She might have done so."

"Nevertheless, we acquiesced in Russia's pretensions."

"Precisely. And the more I study the whole development of the situation—here, in your quiet London, far from Persia—the less I am able to understand the motives which induced the Foreign Office to move Russia's paws. I know of no argument, whether commercial, strategical, or moral, in support of the attitude taken by the Foreign Office. It is said that Great Britain acted thus in exchange for considerations elsewhere; if so, let it be known where material advantages or prestige have been gained. They have not been gained in Persia, nor among the Moslems of India who were used as buffers against Hindu agitators. Quite the contrary in Persia nothing has been gained from a strategic point of view, and as for commercial interests, ask your Manchester merchants what they have gained."

"No, there is absolutely no excuse for the policy pursued by the Foreign Office. It was neither moral nor successful, and in statesmanship every act, every policy must be either moral or successful. In this case Great Britain's policy was immoral and unsuccessful, and consequently there is no apology for it."

"But the integrity of Persia?"

"The partition is, practically speaking, a *fait accompli*."

"Are there no hopes?"

"However much I hate doing so," said Mr. Shuster, slowly, "I cannot help thinking that, unless Great Britain changes her attitude, Persia is doomed. Russia wills it. When I see a man chased by another man who has a gleaming knife in his hand—however much one may regret that there are such people as criminals in the world—I must admit that one has every reason to believe that if the man with the knife catches the man who is running away, he will kill him."

"Is there any final message," I asked, "which you would like to give to the public before leaving for America?"

"You can state that I hope and believe that, with the additional light thrown upon recent events in Persia, British public opinion will bring about a change in the Government's policy towards Persia and towards Russia's demands as to what should be done in Persia."

"You can also point out the fact that the proposed Trans-Persian railway, if forced upon Persia by the Russians, backed by Persian guarantee, will absolutely cripple Persia financially for the next one hundred years. For by no means could such a railway be expected to pay expenses within a shorter period, and in the meantime the guarantee, or the interest on the bonds, would have to be paid."

"In addition to this, if we may judge by other similar cases, Russian railroad construction materials would be forced on the Persian Government at inflated prices, at least for the entire portion of the railway lying within the so-called Russian sphere. Therefore even if the railway is only built as far as Isfahan, the advantage to Russian influence and selfish interests will be enormous, and, if built through to Bushire or to the Indian frontier, to the above would have to be added a most important strategical advantage for Russia."

"Then the railway can hardly be looked upon as an investment?"

"There can be no question about that. It would, most emphatically, not pay as an investment. Its *raison d'être* is purely political and strategical, and favours Russian policy only. Possibly," added Mr. Shuster with pointed sarcasm, "the fact that I did not favour the railroad is what the *Times* had in mind when it accused me of opposing British interests."

"One last question. Are there many concession-hunters in Persia?"

"The biggest concession-seeker in Persia," said the ex-Treasurer-General, slowly, "is the Russian Government. Not only

does it seek concessions, but exacts that they should be granted. Therein lies one of the reasons of the dissolution of the Majlis which was at times opposed to these concessions. Now that it has gone, Russia has a free hand."

Mr. Shuster and Persia.

To THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR.—Several friends of the Anglo-Russian understanding in this country are asking me, as the London representative of the best known organ of Russian public opinion, if I will not reply to Mr. Shuster's allegations against Russia in his speech of last Monday. I find they already received an answer in the remarks made on them in the London Press. Your leading article of Wednesday last contained a good deal of what I would otherwise have wished to say. I beg to express my fullest agreement with your estimation of the value of our Entente for both of our respective countries and of its decisive importance for the fate of Persia. I would further point at the significant fact of there not being in Russia any institution, political party, newspaper, individual statesman, or writer in favour of an annexation of the whole or part of Persia, of a protectorate, or of a permanent occupation. I am basing that statement not only on a total absence of public utterances in that sense, but also on the contents of my private correspondence with public men of different parties and positions in Russia. However else the Russian people may differ, and they widely differ, in many things, they are at one among themselves, as well as with the Russian Government, in the desire to maintain the independence and integrity of Persia. That unanimity is due to their conviction that, for many and grave reasons, Russia's interest demands the upholding of Persia in her present limits as an independent State. In asserting that I feel sure not to be contradicted from any authoritative quarter in Russia.

It is true that not a few people in Russia, as well as out of Russia, think Persian independence would have been better safeguarded under a traditional Asiatic Monarchy than under a Western regime for which the Persians, to say the least, are but little prepared. The Russian Government, however loyal to the spirit as well as to the letter of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, have done nothing to uphold the late Shah, which had been easy for them while he was on his Throne and which was not much less easy when he tried to recover it. It has, more than once, been acknowledged in the British Press that the presence of the Russian troops in Tabriz saved that city for the Constitutionalists, and even now the increase of their numbers in Northern Persia hinders rather than favours the success of the ex-Shah.

But the independence of the greatest World Power is limited by her treaties with other Powers and by the rightful interests of the latter. It is, therefore, natural that that of Persia should also be limited by the rights and interests of the two Empires between which she is situated. Persia's independence is further restricted, according to the testimony of so warm a friend of Persia as Mr. Shuster, by "a chaotic state of finances" as well as by "corruption and dishonesty of all kinds rampant in administrative services." Mr. Shuster even came to the conclusion that only "drastic and arbitrary control in fiscal matters" exercised by a foreigner "could save the situation." Great Britain and Russia are not claiming for their Governments the absolute power which had belonged to Mr. Shuster but in order to preserve an independent Persia, they must assist her Government to establish a *minimum* of order, which alone can insure her existence as a State. Mr. Shuster strangely asks "why a little prosperity on the part of Persia should be feared by Europe." I am not aware of any country having such a fear, but as he shows he thinks Russia to be opposed to Persia becoming prosperous, I beg to describe that allegation as absolutely fallacious. Russia has, on the contrary, a manifest interest in seeing that country prosperous on account of the great development which would then receive the even now considerable Russian trade with her.

At the risk of appearing unduly optimistic I venture to say that information gathered from different reliable sources makes me hope to see already in a near future a serious improvement in the situation of Persia owing to a united Anglo-Russian assistance of her Government. I would feel quite certain of it if I did not know of the existence of parties in Persia, and of parties in Europe, hostile to the Anglo-Russian Entente and trying to break it, particularly by fomenting dissensions in the Persian question. The sincere pacifists and enthusiastic lovers of Persia would shudder if they realized whose and what objects they are unwittingly promoting. Should they succeed in creating an anti-Russian current in England which naturally would by repercussion produce an anti-English current in Russia, they would render a very bad service to the cause of peace and of balance of power, and moreover they would prepare a fatal blow to the existence of Persia.

But I have too firm a faith in the political wisdom, and particularly in the sense of proportion, of the British nation to admit

the possibility of such a success. Least of all at the moment when I hear the echoes of the quite unprecedented spontaneous manifestations of the hearty feelings of the Russians of all classes and opinions towards Great Britain, and when I see them so fully appreciated by the people of this country

I have the honour to be,

Sir,
your obedient servant,
G D F WESSILITSKY

109, Cromwell Road S.W., 2nd February—

(London Correspondent of the *Newer Freiheit*)

Persia and the Ex-Shah.

To THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES"

SIR.—We have read with some surprise the news telegraphed by your correspondent in Teheran to the effect that the British and Russian Ministers have signified to the Persian Government that Russia is willing to inform the ex-Shah that he must leave Persia on condition that Persia will grant him a pension and an amnesty to his followers

At the time of the "escape" of the ex-Shah from Russia the Governments of Great Britain and Russia informed the Persian Government that the ex-Shah had forfeited his claims to the pension granted under the Protocol of 1909. Since then the ex-shah has involved the Persian Government in a very considerable expenditure of money in repelling his attacks and in inflicting upon him a decisive defeat. Since the delivery of the Russian ultimatum, the increase of the Russian troops, and the execution of prominent Persians identified with the Constitutional movement, by Russian officers in Northern Persia, the activities of the ex-Shah and his brothers have been resumed and intrigues have been set on foot to fill important posts in the Government by adherents of the ex-Shah. Meanwhile the south of Persia has been denuded of its natural defenders for the

purpose of combating the ex-Shah in the north, and the Persian Treasury has been emptied of the moneys which might otherwise have been expended in policing the southern trade routes. Under these circumstances it seems monstrous that the Persian Government should be required—for it amounts to that—by Great Britain and Russia to pay a pension to the ex-Shah. If it be true that our own Government have joined in this requisition they will have taken up ground which they will find it difficult to defend

Of course if the Persian Government of their own accord, having weighed all the circumstances, should desire to restore to the ex-Shah a portion of the pension which he has forfeited, that is the affair of the Persian Government and not of ours. Something, no doubt, may be said for this course, provided that the Persian Government can obtain definite and binding guarantees that he will never return to Persia. The guarantees of this nature already given by Great Britain and Russia under the Protocol of 1909 have been evaded. The only guarantee which might prevent a recurrence of past events is an undertaking by Great Britain and Russia, as signatories of the Protocol of 1909, that they will never recognize Mohammed Ali as Shah of Persia. The exchange of views between the British and Russian Governments on the subject of the ex-Shah, as explained to the House of Commons by Sir E Grey on 14th December leaves the question of the future attitude of the two Powers towards the ex-Shah extremely vague and unsatisfactory. Since that time the Russian Government must surely have recognized that public opinion in England feels strongly on the Persian question. If it sets any store upon the friendship of the British nation it ought surely not to hesitate to join in a definite undertaking by our Government never to recognize Mohammed Ali. Such an act would reassure public opinion here and greatly relieve the situation in Persia

Your, respectfully,

H. F. B. LYNCH
EDWARD G. BROWNE.
FREDERICK WHIRLEN

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Calcutta : Saturday, March 9, 1912.

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The Week.

The Coal Strike.

Although the papers are daily filled with columns of matter concerning the strike, discussion of Government intervention and conjectures respecting the duration of the strike, several important factors remain wholly obscure. One thing clear is that every miner in the three kingdoms numbering 1,065,000 has struck, and the sudden cessation of the coal supply is already producing dire consequences on some important industries. There is much distress among casual workers at the Docks and elsewhere. No particulars are available regarding actual stocks of coal on hand. Apparently railways and gas and electric companies are fairly supplied, but the wholesale curtailment of train services and warnings to consumers to be careful in the use of light suggest that the supply of coal is not excessive.

The general outlook varies daily, but everything appears to depend upon whether the miners insist on the acceptance of their schedule of the minimum wage. There is a general disposition towards hopefulness, but there has hitherto been small justification for the belief that the miners will yield, except, perhaps, the increasing destitution and the pressure upon them by trades which are suffering.

South Pole.

Reuter wires from Hobart (Tasmania) on the 7th.—The explorer, Captain Amundsen, has arrived here. He is reticent of the subject of his experiences. Captain Amundsen has sold the

copyright of his exploits to the *Daily Chronicle*. Hence he refuses to speak. The keenest interest is expressed as to the results because it is known that Amundsen hoped to forestall Scott, who is also returning and is expected to arrive at Stewart Island, New Zealand, at any moment.

The correspondent of the *Daily Express* telegraphs from Wellington that Captain Amundsen says that Captain Scott reached the South Pole.

China.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 1st.—Dissatisfied at not receiving their pay two thousand of Yuan-Shi-Kai's troops started looting the capital yesterday morning (Friday). Hordes of coolies and loafers swelled then ranks to five thousand and the orgy of destruction only ceased when the looters were exhausted early this morning. Seven incendiary fires, some of large area, were then burning in various quarters. A grim spectacle was presented by gangs of mutineers in the glare of flames, battering in shops and shooting and bayoneting shopkeepers who did not promptly hand over their valuables and then staggering off laden with loot. In strong contrast were a detachment of Foreign troops marching unmolested through the crowds bringing in foreigners to the legations. Numbers of foreigners were fired at but not hurt.

Reuter wires from Washington.—Great Britain, Russia and Japan have sent favourable responses to Mr. Knox's note inviting joint action in China without seeking individual advantage. Austria, France and Italy have still not replied.

The delegates at Nanking have telegraphed to Liuyuheng to take the Republican Army to Peking and restore order. A meeting of foreign Ministers has been held partly as the result of the request of Tang-shan to prevent further bloodshed and damage to property. The Ministers decided to bring in all available troops in the adjacent ports. A thousand mixed troops will arrive tomorrow.

A detachment of artillery on the 2nd marched to the Duke of Kuei's palace and shelled the gate. They then looted the place and burned a portion of the palace. Civilians are arming themselves and barricading the premises. It has now been ascertained that the mutineers on Thursday looted the Foreign Office itself.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 2nd.—Martial Law is in operation and all is quiet in the vicinity of the Legations. Cannonading continues in the direction of Fengtai with which communication is cut off. The Legations are preparing for a siege.

Reuter wires from Tientsin on the 2nd.—Serious rioting broke out in Tientsin city last night. Whole streets were looted and burnt. One foreign doctor is reported to have been killed. Hundreds of arrests were made.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 2nd.—Yuan-Shi-Kai has sent a communiqué to the foreign residents, regretting the unexpected disturbances. He says that every precaution will be taken to prevent their recurrence.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 4th:—The population has been reassured by the presence of 3,000 Foreign troops. No further disturbances have taken place. A hundred looters have been executed, including six women, but no soldiers, the authorities fearing the effect upon their comrades.

Reuter wires from Tientsin on the 4th.—The rioting which broke out last night was of a most serious kind. Soldiers began looting and burning, and aided by the mob looted and gutted the shops and banks in all the important streets. No fewer than four

teen fires were raging simultaneously. The pillagers broke into the Peiyang Mint and entering the silver store looted everything portable.

Reuter wires from Pekin on the 5th :—Dr. Sun Yat Sen no longer insists on Yun-Shi-Kai coming to Nanking. On the contrary, the Government at Nanking will probably go to Peking to co-operate in the restoration of order. It is reported that bands of soldiers are looting everywhere in the interior.

A message to the *Daily Telegraph* from Pekin states that a Manchu terrorist organisation has come into existence and is despatching emissaries to various centres to incite the soldiery to revolt. The message adds that it is expected that a new claimant to the throne will shortly raise a standard of revolt in the person of Chuchengyu, a descendant of the Ming dynasty.

The *Times*, Peking correspondent telegraphs that the British, French, American, German, Russian and Japanese banks have agreed to make a joint advance to Yuan-Shikai with a view to strengthening his authority. Half a million taels will be advanced now, half a million in ten days, and other amounts subsequently.

Suffragette Raid.

The Suffragettes indulged in a window smashing campaign over a wide area between Oxford Street and the Strand, together with several Government offices.

The Suffragettes, who were armed with hammers concealed in reticules, simultaneously assailed windows in the leading streets of the West End at the busiest time in the evening. The shopkeepers and police were surprised and had no time for defence. Damage was done to the extent of thousands of pounds. Mrs. Pankhurst motored to Mr. Asquith's residence and broke his windows with stones. One hundred and fifteen arrests were made.

Mrs. Pankhurst and other leaders of the Suffragette window smashing raid have in most cases been sentenced to two months' imprisonment. The police estimated the damage at over five thousand pounds. The prosecutor dwelt on the disgraceful scenes which occurred and emphasized that the time had come to inflict the maximum imprisonment. Cases in which the damage was over five pounds were sent to a higher court.

A Suffragette on the night of the 3rd ignited a pile of shavings saturated with petroleum in the doorway of the General Post Office. He was arrested. The damage done was of the lightest character. The *Daily Mail* says that the Suffragettes in Holloway jail noted in the yard demanding to see Mrs. Pankhurst and singing the "Marseillaise." When they were removed to the cells they smashed all the windows.

The Suffragettes indulged in another window smashing campaign in Charing Cross district on the night of the 4th. The shopkeepers barricaded their shops. A violent demonstration is taking place in Parliament Square. Hitherto two hundred arrests have been made.

In the House of Commons a Member asked in view of window smashing, if Government would speedily pass a Bill making Suffragette organisations responsible for damage.

Mr. Asquith said that these disgraceful proceedings (Cheers) ought to be brought home not merely to wretched individuals but to those responsible for them. He entirely agreed with the Member but desired to consult the Attorney General before making a further statement.

The Suffragettes on the 4th raided in Knightsbridge and Kensington, smashing the windows of Harrods, Parker's and other great establishments. They also broke eight windows of the House of Lords, besides those of houses of Cabinet Ministers. Police, mounted and on foot, were powerless owing to the attacks being spread over a wide area. One Suffragette has been committed for trial on a charge of incendiarism.

The Mullah.

Reuter wires from Aden - Owing to the report of the advance of the Mullah, 335 men and nine officers of the 18th Indian Infantry have sailed for Berbera.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Harcourt explained that the despatch of troops to Berbera was due to the Mullah having recently had an unusually successful skirmish with the Frenchies.

Morocco.

Reuter wires from Casablanca on the 2nd - The French troops have been engaged in heavy fighting with the rebellious tribesmen at Sukelasha. Many dead were left on the field. The French casualties were six killed and thirty wounded.

Indian Students in England.

The first annual report of the Distressed Indian Students Aid Committee estimates that there are 1,700 Indian students in England, of whom one thousand are in London. The Committee urge that no youth be sent here unless his parents can provide at least ten thousand rupees to cover the cost without unduly crippling themselves, and it is wise to reckon on the possibility of the student needing much more. The report adds that the majority of the students are diligent and well-behaved, but there are too many cases where they had better not have been sent.

Resolutions passed at the All-India Moslem League.

The Hon. Mian Mohamed Shafi proposed a resolution to the effect that H. H. the Aga Khan be elected President of the All-India Moslem League for the next term.

At the opening of the Second Day's proceedings the Secretary communicated to the meeting the news that His Highness the Aga Khan had intimated his desire to be the third of three Joint-Presidents of the League, but the Secretary stated that under the present rules it was impossible to have more Presidents than one, so His Highness was elected the only President.

Formal resolutions were passed thanking the King and Queen for the unique honour done to the people of India by the Imperial visit, lamenting the deaths of H. H. the Nizam, Mouli Mohammed Aziz Mirza, and Syed Ali Bilgrami.

Khan Bahadur Alabuksh of Lahore moved a resolution, on behalf of the League, appreciating the munificence of the Hon. Hajji Mohamed Ismail Khan of Buckengunge, in making a princely donation towards Muhammadan education. Nawab Ghulam Ahmed Khan of Madras seconded the resolution.

Mr. Mohamed Ali moved a resolution appreciating the tough fight of the Africa Indians in protesting against the racial distinctions and praying that the Government might be pleased to remove those distinctions. Syed Zahur Ahmed of Lucknow seconded and Han Nur Mahomed Zakaria supported the motion.

The Hon. Mr. Shafi proposed a resolution respectfully urging the Government to take steps to put an end to the system of recruiting Indian labour under indenture. The Hon. Mr. Rafiuddin of Bombay seconded the resolution.

Mr. Samiulla Beg of Lucknow proposed a resolution, requesting the Government to reconsider the alteration in the age-limit at the competitive examination for the I. C. S. as it would prove detrimental to the interests of the Indian candidates. Khan Bahadur Ghulam Sadiq seconded the resolution.

Mr. Mohamed Ali proposed that the All-India Moslem League places on record its deep sense of regret and disappointment at the annulment of the partition of Bengal in utter disregard of Moslem feeling and trusts that Government will take early steps to safeguard Moslem interests in the Presidency of Bengal. Shaikh Zahur Ahmed seconded the resolution.

The Hon. Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhury moved the following resolution - That in view of the comparative backwardness of the people of Eastern Bengal and Assam in the matter of higher education, the All-India Moslem League heartily welcomes the scheme for the constitution of a teaching and residential University at Dacca, and urge on the Government the desirability of extending the operations of the proposed University over the districts of Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong divisions, so far at least as the general control and supervision of the educational institutions in those areas and the prescription of the curricula of studies and the examinations are concerned. "That the League begs to accord its hearty support to the proposal for appointment of a special education officer for Eastern Bengal and begs to urge the necessity of vesting him with full powers of initiative and control, independent of the Director of Public Instruction at Calcutta and with a adequate funds at his disposal." "That with a view to induce the Musselman community to avail themselves more fully of the benefits of education and to prevent a set back in the remarkable progress in education made by the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal and Assam during recent years, the All-India Moslem League begs to urge the desirability of continuing in Eastern Bengal and Assam the facilities already granted to them and giving full and immediate effect to the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1812 in this behalf." The Hon. Mr. Wasi Ahmed seconded the resolution.

The Hon. Mr. Wasi Ahmed moved the following resolution - "That the All-India Moslem League respectfully reiterates its prayer that the Government may be pleased to institute a thorough inquiry into the general purposes and manner of administration of existing Musselman endowments designed mainly for the public benefit." Khan Bahadur Shaik Ghulam Sadiq seconded the resolution.

Syed Sultan Ahmed moved the following resolution :—"The All-India Moslem League strongly urges upon the Government of India that Indians be appointed in the higher branches of the public service in larger numbers as a corollary to the reforms recently introduced and in fulfilment of solemn pledges repeatedly reiterated. The League also hopes that in view of the necessity and importance of each community being duly represented in the administration and with a view to secure efficiency in the Public service, the Government will lay down an irreducible minimum of educational qualifications and will give the Mussalmans possessing the minimum qualifications their just and rightful share in the appointments." Mr. Shaikh Zahur Ahmed seconded the motion.

Mr. Mirza Samiulla Beg moved the following resolution :—"That the All-India Moslem League accepts in the main the principles of Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill, but is of

opinion that Elementary Education should also be made free and that Moslem interests should be adequately safeguarded." The Hon. Mr. Mazharul Haque seconded and the Hon. Mr. Shafi opposed the resolution.

Mr. Zahur Ahmed moved the following resolution.—"That the All-India Moslem League earnestly hopes that now that the highest offices in the State have been thrown open to Indians, Government should give them greater share in the defence of their country by appointing qualified Indians to the higher posts in the British Army to which Europeans are now eligible." Mr. Mahomed Ali seconded.

Mr. Ghulam Husain moved the next resolution, expressing the League's sympathy with the people of Persia and urging the British Government to get Russia to adhere to the spirit of the Anglo-Russian Convention. Mr. Samiulla Beg seconded the resolution.

Mr. Abdul Aziz proposed a resolution saying that the provisions of the new Regulation adopted by the Council of legal education for the admission of Indian students into the Inns of Court, respecting the certificates of good character were harsh and must result in the exclusion of a considerable number of good and worthy Indian students. The Hon. Wasi Ahmed seconded the resolution.

The Hon. Mr. Shafi moved a resolution to the effect that the League expressed deep abhorrence of the raid of Italy on the Tripolitan Coast and hoped that the European Powers would not fail to force Italy to recognise Turkish sovereignty. The Hon. Nawab Saafdar Husain seconded the resolution.

The Hon. Mr. Mazharul Haque moved that the U. P. and the Punjab be granted the same privileges to which they are equally entitled as Behar, in view of the formation of an Executive Council in Behar. The resolution was seconded by Mr. Maqbul Ahmed.

The Hon. Moulvie Rafiuddin proposed that the League urged a provision for the adequate communal representation of the Mahomedans on the District Boards and the Municipalities.

The meeting adopted a resolution agreeing with Mr. Jinnah's Bill *re Waqf-al-aulad*, urging upon the Government the desirability of its being passed into law.



TURKISH RELIEF FUND

Messrs. S. Hamiduddin and Mohamed Yaqub Khan, Aligarh, Re. 1 each	2	0	0
Ata Husain, Esq., Bhurthana, Etawah, on behalf of his Mother	20	0	0
Bashir Ahmed, Esq., Etawah, on behalf of his deceased Sister	15	0	0
Through M. D. Husain, Esq., Jhowband, Hooghly—			
M. D. Husain, Esq.	2	0	0
Messrs. Musafir Husain, Wahid Baksh, Ekkari Bagh, Maqsud Ali, Kadir Baksh, Abdul Burhan, Zahurul Haq, Re. 1 each	7	0	0
Minor Subscriptions from 17 donors	8	0	0
Through S. Mohamed Wasi, Esq., Masaurhi, District Patna—			
Hasan Raza, Esq.	4	0	0
Manzoor Ahmed, Esq.	5	0	0
Mohamed Wasi, Esq.	2	0	0
Manzar Ali, Esq.	14	8	0
Shamsuddin, Esq.	3	0	0
Mohamed Abdul Majid, Esq.	4	0	0
Mir Nawab Jan, Esq.	1	0	0
Khablur Rahman, Esq.	30	0	0
Azizul Huq, Esq.	2	5	6
Naim Hasan, Esq., <i>Al Kaasrat</i>	4	0	6
Hakim Ali, Esq., Aligarh	1	3	0
S. Shujaat Ali, Esq., Seoraphuli	5	0	0
S. A., Calcutta	2	0	0
S. Ali Raza, Esq., Calcutta	0	8	0
Anisur Rahman, Esq., Miangan, Unao	10	3	0
Through Shaikh Zikrur Rahman, Esq., Delhi	130	0	0
W. Panee, Esq., Karatiya, Mymensingh	100	0	0
Two Destitute Widows, Calcutta	1	0	6
Mrs. Yusuf Ali, Kota Ramachandrapuram	10	0	0
Messrs. Rafiuddin Ahmed and Ziuddin Ahmed, Kota Ramachandrapuram, Re. 1 each	2	0	0
Abdul Aleem, Esq., Jaunpur	10	0	0
Sahibzada Nurul Huq, Gumla	4	0	0
Amount received during the week	414	11	6
Amount previously acknowledged	11,687	3	7
Total Rs.	12,101	15	1

TETE À TETE



We HEAR with satisfaction of the appointment of Mr. J. M. Mitra of the Provincial Civil Service as the Registrar of Co-operative Credit Societies in Bengal. Such appointments are usually the monopoly of the Indian Civil Service and we believe the post generally went to a junior Collector. It is a hopeful sign of the times that an Indian is appointed to such a post. We have no doubt that all communities would press the appointment of more Indians to such posts if reasonable assurances were given that an Indian appointed to high office would treat all communities alike and deal fairly with all interests. Such assurances can better be given by the actions of five men than the words of a hundred and we trust Mr. Mitra, whose community has scored a great political triumph in the tumult of the Partition, would show by his conduct that so far as he is concerned no differences exist in official matters between victor and vanquished, between the triumphant and the depressed. In eastern Bengal the Musselman ryots and artisans are both pressed heavily by the yoke of the creditor and if a Hindu officer can help to lift this burden, even to a small extent, and make Mussalmans more self-reliant and economically independent, he would redeem Indian character far more than a dozen speeches from the Congress platform.

J1 APPEARS from H. E. the Commander-in-Chief's reply to a question put by the Hon. Mr. S. Sinha that the notification in the *Punjab Gazette* need apply I announcing a "public" examination for admission to the Assistant Surgeon Branch of the Indian Subordinate Medical Department at which "only Europeans and Eurasians will be allowed to appear," has been published periodically in the Gazettes and Press for several years. The reason for disallowing His Majesty's Indian subjects is that "the chief duty of Military Assistant Surgeons is the care of British soldiers in European Special Hospitals—a duty upon which it is not customary to employ His Majesty's Indian subjects." The curing of bodies, perhaps, stands on a higher plane, but, if we remember aright, it was an Asiatic who came to the world with the divine message of Christianity for curing the souls of men. That "custom" has, however, now grown somewhat obsolete, and the colour of the skin more than the skill of the curer is the "customary" qualification to-day. We do not know in, reply to what question His Excellency said that "Indians are eligible for the Military Sub-Assistant Surgeon Branch of the I.S.M.D., which performs similar duties in connexion with Indian troops." Relevant or not, the reply is significant. If official designations are not meaningless, we should think the Sub-Assistants had rather a worse time of it than the Assistants; but in any case we write subject to correction. Now, the point of Mr. Sinha's question was the invidiousness of the distinction, and His Excellency's reply has only emphasised it. What is worse, as Indians are not even permitted to compete for these posts, we have not even the fair fiction of efficiency to justify their exclusion from Military Assistant Surgeonships. We wonder whether the victims of the Military Assistant Surgeons' surgical skill, who may be presumed to resent being cured by a doctor just a shade darker, also resent being buried in graves dug by sable grave-diggers. It is mere curiosity that suggests the question Will Mr. Sinha please ask it for us?

As IF the disabilities of Indians in the matter of higher appointments were few, there is on top of them all the invidious distinction, that while "temporary promotions" to another class of grade in the same service are made in the Indian Civil Service and the higher ranks of the Police which are the

9th March.

close preserves of Europeans and Eurasians, no such acting allowances are given to the members of the Provincial Service in respect of appointments ordinarily held by them. Thus practically more than half the officers in the I.C.S. and in the higher ranks of the Police receive large acting allowances in addition to the salaries of their permanent posts, the numbers drawing such allowances on 1st January, 1912, being 610 in the I.C.S. and 338 in the Police. When the matter was brought to the notice of the Government in the Imperial Council, and it was suggested that the rules should be assimilated for both the classes of services, Government refused to entertain such a request, and in stating their reasons for the refusal explained that "the reason for the differential treatment of the Provincial Services on the one hand and, for instance, the Indian Civil Service, on the other, is that the latter was originally organised on a system of substantive promotion in furlough vacancies. In 1868 this procedure was changed, and an officer proceeding on furlough retained a hen on his grade appointment. As a partial compensation to his locum tenens for the loss of substantive promotion, what is known as an officiating allowance was given to him, and this is doubtless the 'temporary promotion' referred to. These considerations never applied to the case of the Provincial Services, to which the system of officiating promotion has not been extended. In view of the origin of the existing difference, as explained, it is not considered necessary to introduce a uniform treatment of these Services in this respect." For our part, we fail to understand this "reason for the differential treatment," and we doubt if many others understand it either. We are, however, certain that Sir Reginald Craddock will hopelessly fail to satisfy the very estimable Provincial Service men whom he rightly praised only the other day. Praise is not payment, and the Service which gets so little in the way of permanent pay will not be contented with empty praise as a substitute for well deserved acting allowances. It is distinctions of this nature and the absence of opportunities that make Provincial Service a pauper among the services. Whatever justification there may be for such differential treatment in the general administration, Government are now committed to an equality of status in the case of Deputy Superintendents of Police and Assistant Superintendents. It is some consolation to think that the status and functions of the former are engaging the attention of the Government of India. We published correspondence on this subject some time ago and await the result of the Government's deliberation with interest.

Although the Hon'ble the Home Member could make no pronouncement with regard to the Hon. Mr. Subba Rao's question about the injury promised with reference to his Resolution on the Public Service, we trust the rumour is unfounded.

Indians and the Public Service
Government intends to carry out the recommendations of the Public Service Commission even now only so far as to give to Indians a sixth of the total number of posts held by Europeans in each department and not a sixth in each grade. Why should not some member of Council put a direct question suggesting that such a redemption of an old promise would not allay discontent of the Indians in the Services? We would remind the Government of the significance of the Hon. Sir P. R. Wynne's reply to Mr. Basu's query that in showing the share of Indians in the employ of the Railway the coolies had also been included. Our artist had well illustrated this admission by showing the congestion in the third class carriages and the luxurious privacy of the first class "reserved for Euro—ficients only". If a promise is to be redeemed, the redemption need not be as partial as it is tardy.

LORD MORLEY had taken a wise step in 1908 in indicating that he was not content to see India remain for ever the land of the services as against the professions, and he had rightly begun with medical relief

which no longer needed the monopoly of the Indian Medical Service and could gradually be left to private practitioners. But we are in 1912 now, and the Hon. Mr. Gokhale has still to ask whether anything has been done in this direction. The Hon. the Home Member could not have expected to make matters clearer by referring to the reply given to the Hon. Mr. Gokhale on 18th March 1910, or to Mr. Malaviya on 7th March 1911. But he has certainly helped us to understand that in 1913 he may have to refer in reply to a similar question to the answer he gave Mr. Gokhale on the 26th February 1912, and that perhaps his successor in 1918 would have to quote a similar reply of his dated February or March 1917. Patience is a virtue and its development should be enforced by a paternal Government. After all, the matter is serious and needs careful consideration. Had it been merely a modification of the Partition or the transfer of the Capital, there would obviously have been no need for delay.

WHENEVER the Mussalmans complain of the paucity of their co-religionists in Government service the A Significant Coincidence reply volunteered by the leaders of the Hindu community is that it is of the utmost importance in the interest of the Administration that selected candidates for employment should be as efficient as possible, and that it is because the best qualified candidates have hitherto only been found among Hindus that these posts have till now been filled from that community. We wonder whether those who volunteer such answers to Moslem claims are apt pupils or effective teachers of the bureaucracy that rules us, for here is Sir Reginald Craddock's reply to Mr. Gokhale's questions whether there is any legal bar to the appointment of medical men outside the ranks of the Indian Medical Service to Senior Clinical Chairs in the Calcutta and Madras Medical Colleges, and if not, why no such appointments have been made hitherto. Sir Reginald Craddock stated in reply that, "It is of the utmost importance in the future interests of the medical profession in India that the instruction imparted to medical students should be as efficient as possible, and it is because the best qualified Professors have hitherto only been found among the members of the Indian Medical Service that these posts till now have been filled from that Service." We trust Mr. Gokhale is convinced and that the Mussalmans would be convinced equally well in future.

On the strength of a statement made by a prominent member of the Moslem University Constitution Committee, The Moslem University and Affiliation our local vernacular contemporary, the *Mohammedi*, published that Government did not intend to permit the affiliation of colleges and schools outside Aligarh to the Moslem University, and naturally expressed great alarm. As a matter of fact the Government has announced no such conclusion, and the only basis for this rumour is, that Government was at first doubtful whether affiliated institutions outside Aligarh would be conducted on the same lines and as efficiently as the central institution, and considered the proposal to affiliate outside colleges and schools to be unsupported by the writings of Sir Syd Ahmed Khan himself. But it was explained by the members of the Constitution Committee that, both in the interests of the Mussalmans and the Government, it was desirable to extend the influence of Aligarh which was admittedly beneficial to every part of India, and that affiliation would be the principal means adopted, so to speak, by the Aligarh Extension Movement. But affiliation would be governed by the all-important conditions that only residential institutions would be eligible for affiliation, and that it would depend on their attaining a degree of efficiency consistent with the status of the University. As a further safeguard, it was arranged that affiliation shall be subject to the Viceroy's approval as Chancellor. So far as members of the Constitution Committee know, there is no reason to believe that Government will not agree to affiliation in spite of such effective safeguards. As a matter of fact if the teaching and residential University at Dacca is to have colleges all over Eastern Bengal under its control and supervision, there is every reason to believe that the Moslem University at Aligarh will have the control and supervision of Moslem colleges and schools conducted on Aligarh lines and deemed worthy of affiliation both by the Chancellor and the Court of the University. It is unfortunate that such a statement as the *Mohammedi* published should have been inadvertently made. But we hope the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler would soon hold another Conference like the one at Simla and announce the final views of the Government of India and the Secretary of State on all points. We heartily wished that Government would see its way to introduce the Moslem University Bill this session, holding up the coming into force of the Act till such time as the balance of 8 or 9 lakhs was forthcoming and the Regulations were approved by the Chancellor. For unknown reasons, Government have not deemed fit to do so and rumours are more likely to grow than subside. But those who are in the know have no reason to believe that the Government would disagree in any material particular with the members of the Constitution Committee. Only, their knowledge cannot always be published, and we have been driven to offer this explanation simply by the growing danger of rumours based on slender foundations. All this would be needless if the veil was lifted by the Government, and we trust the Hon. the Education Member will be the reverse of anxious to help the multiplication of such rumours by the inaction and silence of Government.

ALTHOUGH we shall be the last to judge the merits of any question merely or, in some cases, even mainly, from the numbers advocating a cause, we must confess the statement asked for by the Hon. Mr. Dababhoi, showing year by year the number of marriages registered under Act III of 1872, and supplied by the Hon. the Home Member, not only supplies

very interesting information, but also a world of comment on the grandiloquent advocacy of the Hon Mr Basu and his supporters. In the 40 years since 1872, when the new law was passed, only 1,014 marriages have been solemnized under the Act. This gives an average of 25 such unions every year, no less than 22 of which fell to the share of Bengal. Madras comes a poor second with only 54 such unions against the 886 of Bengal, and Bombay secures a place with 50. Among the "Also rans" is the Punjab with 20, Burma with 2, and the United and the Central Provinces lump in with one apiece. In the very first year after the passage of the Bill two marriages took place, but the honour did not fall to the lot of Bengal, Bombay and Madras dividing it between them. Five years later the number suddenly ran into two figures, as Bengal celebrated 13 such unions. But there was a falling off after this unlucky number in 1877, and a recovery was recorded only after 1884. However, the average of the first 20 years was less than 11, and the highest number recorded was 25 in 1890. The next 20 years show an average of 40, the record figure being 57 in the year 1908. There has been a slight falling off since then, the number in 1910 being 43, which was the lowest on record since 1903. But Mr. Basu's Bill was evidently a good advertisement of the existing law, and 49 marriages were recorded in 1911. It may perhaps please Mr. Dadabhoj to know that in that year the Central Provinces recorded its only marriage under the Act, but his joy would probably be more than counterbalanced by the grief of Mr. Malaviya, for in the same year was celebrated the solitary marriage that falls to the share of the United Provinces. If marriages under the Act are evidence of enlightenment, it would seem that light still comes from the East. But the West has not been without it, nor has Madras remained wholly benighted. However the light of Bombay, though dull, has been steady, for its 50 marriages were spread over 27 different years, while that of Madras flickered, as the 54 unions of the Southern Presidency were contracted only in 17 different years. The North alone was dark, even if true and tender, and would have remained so were it not for the Land of Five Rivers—and innumerable faddists. In 1885, the Punjab entered the ranks of matrons with no less than three marriages and its 20 marriages have been spread over 16 different years. We reiterate our general conviction that numbers are not always a satisfactory test of anything, but we must say at the same time that those supplied by the Home Member are a significant comment on the eloquence of Mr. Basu. Out of the several hundred millions of Indians no more than 2,028 availed themselves of the provisions of the Act in the last 40 years, and perhaps in every case the parties were Brahmos. How many of these, we wonder, found the declaration unnecessary, and why, and what evidence is there that a considerable portion of them desire to remain within the pale of Hinduism while contracting a union unauthorised by Hindu law? It may be that there are members of other communities who would like to avail themselves of the provisions of the Act. Hitherto of the 2,028 persons who married under the Act, 1,728 were of Hindu, 24 of European, and 2 of Muhammadan origin, uncertainty existing about the remaining 274. It appears that the English Civil Marriage Act can be availed of even now by such of the "advanced" couples as are prepared to rush to so distant a Grecina Green. But we do not know of any that have done so. Is there any reason to believe that if Mr. Basu's Bill had become law, many more would have availed themselves of it? The Mussalmans have perhaps been "adequately and effectively" represented by the brace that have already married under the Act and these were converts to Brahmonism. But as the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan puts it, a handful of love-sick youths may have claimed shelter under the wings of Mr. Basu for alliances more indiscreet than romantic, and some "reformers" may look back upon the 40 years that have intervened between the Act of 1872 and the new Bill and may sorrowfully sigh for the lost opportunity. Even those, however, for whom the opportunity still exists, are as a rule too swift winged in their "reform" to wait for such silly conventions as marriage. It is part of their reforming creed to believe that marriage is a failure. It is time that Mr. Basu advertised for such as could declare on oath that if his Bill became law they would marry forthwith under it, so that he could enrol an army of the Civil Marriers. The list would be interesting reading, specially if the names of the partners were also given.

Statutory Civilians When appointments of what are called Statutory Civilians were first made, it was thought that to some extent at least the inequalities and deficiencies of the Indian Civil Service would be removed. That hope has, however, proved delusive, and to day, although there are no less than 64 Statutory Civilians in India, only two have been appointed to officiate as Divisional Commissioners, and not one has been thought fit for promotion to the High Court or Chief Court or even to the post of Judicial Commissioner. The Punjab with eight Statutory Civilians, and the Central Provinces with only two have fared better than Bengal with 17, the United Provinces with 16, Bombay with 11, and Madras with 9. We are told that there is no legal barrier to such promotions. Of course, there are no *legal* barriers, but the *illegal* ones are a legion, and they are excellently

covered by the explanation that "appointments to such posts are made strictly by selection," and the inference that of the 64 all but two are not "thought to be fully qualified." Those who have read Kipling's *Departmental Duties* would no doubt appreciate at its full value the impartial character of appointments "made strictly by selection." Fortunately or unfortunately, Indians have not availed themselves even of those semi semi-official means of success which made Potiphar Gubbins, C. E., the power he was, and forced a brother officer to "muse in his bed on the reason that led to the hoisting of Potiphar G." *Hon voit qui mal y pense*

The Nicholson Committee When Indians are denied Commissions in the Army, and the Arms Act exists to emasculate a once virile population, there is no wonder that H. E. the Commander-in-Chief deems it unnecessary to include a non official Indian "to consider military policy, administration and expenditure in India." But we ask what harm would such an Indian have done if one had been appointed on the Committee? Is "military policy" still too sacred for Indians simply because some of the sepoys had revolted 55 years ago? Or is it that "military expenditure" is still on too lavish a scale to bear the scrutiny of a non-official Indian? At any rate, why all this *purdah* about the terms of reference? The Hon Mr. Mudholkar should have asked a supplementary question, and at any rate should give notice of another asking that a copy of the detailed terms of reference should be laid on the table of the Council.

While India owes a great deal to the builders of her railways and those that have harnessed her mighty rivers, she cannot find it in her heart to forgive those unesthetic Engineers whose handiwork in buildings combines the minimum of art with the maximum of waste. What awful eyesores are those huge godowns that the P.W.D. construct and call palaces. If the construction of another Imperial Delhi forces upon the Government the desirability of employing Indian carvers and other workers in the decorative arts, without whose aid the new Delhi would only provide a foil for the many Delhis of the past of which we see glimpses even to-day, then even some of our local contemporaries perhaps would find something to admire in the transfer of the Capital from this city of brick and lime godowns. The Indian artist even more than the Indian artisan is available at a small wage and it is amusing to be assured that Indian Art would be encouraged by the P.W.D. "with a due regard to economy in the expenditure of public funds." The P.W.D. and economy in the expenditure of public funds! The juxtaposition is delightful. We, however, hope that Sir Robert Carlyle, who has such an excellent adviser in the matter of the revival of Indian Art in Lady Carlyle, would redeem the promise to the full. May we suggest the formation of a Delhi Society, under the patronage of His Excellency the Viceroy, for the revival of the arts and handicrafts of Delhi, as well as the preservation of historical and archaeological monuments too apt to be forgotten and destroyed in the hurry and bustle of new construction?

As we go to Press, H. H. the Aga Khan wires to us saying that the Trustees of the late Mr. Wadia of The Moslem Bombay have given Rs. 25,000 for the University and Fresh Moslem University. It must be remembered that H. H. the late Nawab Sahib of Junagadh had died shortly after having

promised a large donation to the University. The Junagadh Administrator who is the Regent for the minor Nawab Sahib wires that not less than a lakh would be paid by the State even now, and it is expected that possibly two lakhs may be given. The Trustees of the late Saboo Siddiq Seth were approached with a request to found a Chair of Moslem Theology at Aligarh in memory of the deceased, and it is hoped the result would be successful. An anonymous donor of Bombay has already paid half a lakh for a Hostel. But what would settle all questions and set every rumour and doubt at rest is that His Highness the Nizam has been approached with the humble request that the grant of Rs. 24,000 a year to the Collage from the Hyderabad State be raised to half a lakh a year, and a very hopeful reply has been received from H. E. the Minister. Definite orders are hourly expected and we are confident that they will be such as would make the 70 million Mussalmans of India eternally grateful to Mir Osman Ali Khan. Had Mir Mahboob Ali Khan lived, he may have completed the pile of the University, but

اگر پدر نتوان کن پسر تمام کرے

(If the father could not finish it, the son does it.) The late Nizam had really laid the foundation-stone of the University, but the coping-stone would be put by the present Asaf Jah

حو اسکی ابتداء و تئے تو اسکی النہ تم مو

(If he was the beginning, you are the end.) With the increased grant, the Mussalmans would secure more than the required 35 lakhs. May we not hope that they would secure the University also at a special session of the Council early this summer at Simla?

The Comrade.

The Moslem League.

I

WHEN it became known that the All-India Moslem League could not hold its annual session during the Durbar holidays, and that the coincidence of the Ashura and Christmas made the usual date out of the question, it was generally felt that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to hold a successful session this year. But the announcements at the Durbar made it imperative for the leading Mussalmans to meet together, and apart from the need of an expression of communal opinion on the recent changes, it was necessary to take stock of the situation and formulate the lines of policy on which the League should work in future after its first eventful quinquennium. Even before the announcement, the ardent spirits of Calcutta had ventured to undertake an invitation to the League, for Calcutta was then the capital of India, and it would not have been in the fitness of things if an institution of such importance and influence had for long remained unfamiliar at the seat of the Imperial Government. But if the announcement deprived Calcutta of that privilege, it made the situation of Bengal all the more pressing on the attention of Indian Mussalmans, and an organisation which had followed close on the heels of the Partition could not well keep itself away from Bengal when that Partition was annulled. But the date selected, although the only possible time, were not wholly convenient. A succession of sad events, such as the indisposition of H.H. the Aga Khan, his express desire, after two successive terms of office, of giving to some other leading Musselman an opportunity of guiding the deliberations of his co-religionists, and, finally, the tragic and sudden death of Mr Aziz Mirza, the capable Secretary of the League, combined to promise a very poor session on the 3rd and 4th instant. But in spite of all these drawbacks and difficulties the session has been a great success, and its deliberations, with their occasional differences of opinion and reasonable compromises, have given evidence of just that vitality which is the best asset of a political body.

The speech of Khan Bahadur Maulvi Hudruddin Hyder Saheb, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, who opened the proceedings, went over practically all the important questions which are at present engaging the attention of Indian Mussalmans. While discussing purely Indian question with great moderation and in an optimistic spirit and referring to the incalculable benefits of the Royal Visit—on which the League enthusiastically passed a Resolution of its grateful thanks—Mr Hudruddin Hyder did not fail to take note of the fact that "the Moslem community all over the world is passing through very stirring times." He said, "Coming events are casting their shadows before them; and the whole Moslem world waits on the up-toe of expectation to see what the womb of futurity has in store for us." He mentioned the Italian raid on Tripoli, but while he naturally felt that the so-called war should be brought to an end as soon as possible, the League was careful enough to express a hope that European Powers would not intervene in order to force Turkey to accept in an integral portion of the Turkish Empire and in the heart of Moslem Africa the sovereignty of a Power that has disgraced Christendom not only with her unchristian raid and unparalleled brutality but also with an unshamed cowardice that has deepened the stain of Adowa.

In the matter of the aggressive attitude of Russia in Persia the speaker's words are significant. He said—

The political situation in Persia is also a matter of grave concern to the whole Moslem world. Here, again, we have a superior power trying to fully a weaker constitution and seeking to establish an utterly dictatorial claim by the primitive and highly objectionable rule of "Might is Right." How far Britain has involved herself inextricably in this mesh of international relations we are not in a position to judge. But rightly or wrongly the idea has of late been gaining ground that the part taken by Britain in this transaction has not been wholly in consonance with the ideas which we entertain of British Justice.

We presume Sir Edward Grey is even more ignorant about India than he is about the continent of Europe, but we trust that those whose duty it is to keep the British Cabinet well informed about the feelings and opinions of Indian Mussalmans would not fail to impress upon him the fact that these are words coming from a responsible gentleman of considerable influence in Bengal whose temperament and whole career make it impossible for him to do injustice to the actions of Government. The temperate and reasoned speech of Mr Ghulam Husain, B.A (Alig.) was a model of clear cold analysis of facts when he moved the following resolution—

The All-India Moslem League places on record its deep sympathy with the people of Persia who are connected with the Indian Mussalmans by the closest ties of blood, religion and a common culture, in their unmerited sufferings in their noble efforts to save their unfortunate country from Russian encroachments, and while trusting that the British Gov-

ernment is fully alive to the grave consequence likely to result from the dismemberment of Persia, respectfully urges upon the Imperial Government to get Russia to adhere to the spirit of the Anglo-Russian Convention and more effectively ensure the integrity and independent development of the country.

It is more than we can say whether Mr. Ghulam Husain's interpretation of the Convention would commend itself to Sir Edward Grey who has made it a sort of Amin Chand's treaty, with this difference, however, that while Clive outwitted a traitor for the benefit of his own employers, Sir Edward has brought Persia face to face with the loss of independence for the benefit of the traditional foe of Great Britain and with every chance of trouble for his country and our own.

The Presidential address of the Hon. Nawab Khwaja Sir Salimullah Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., was an outspoken utterance with a few of the faults and most of the virtues of such utterances. Naturally the Nawab Bahadur devoted considerable space in his address to the annulment of the Partition, but it was not disproportionate. In view of the sensational attack of the Bengalee on this part of the address we deal with the whole subject elsewhere.

On the subject of education the Nawab Bahadur's remarks would be read with genuine pleasure by an overwhelming majority of our countrymen of all classes and communities. He said—

The munificent grant of fifty lakhs for the advancement of education comes very opportunely at a time when the ferment of new ideas in the East has led to a great Educational Renaissance in India, and to an eager craving for education amongst all the various sections of the community. The spread of education in all its branches has been one of the inestimable blessings of British rule in India, and anything that serves to foster education is a real boon to the people. It appears to me that the immediate effects of this Renaissance are to be seen, among others, in the incisive movements for the two great Universities at Aligarh and Benares, and the eager enthusiasm with which the country as a whole has welcomed Mr. Gokhale's Bill. The question of a system of free primary education for the masses has been agitating the minds of the leaders of Indian thought for some time. In my opinion the Hon. Mr. Gokhale has rendered a signal service to the future of primary education in this country by the elaborate scheme he has worked out and which he has so ably formulated in his Bill. I feel it my duty to accord my whole-hearted sympathy to the principle of Mr. Gokhale's Bill, for I feel convinced that unless some action is taken in the way suggested by Mr. Gokhale, the cause of primary education will continue to be relegated to the cold shade of neglect. The apathy with which we have hitherto allowed our masses to pass their days in dense ignorance and superstition appears to me to be almost a crime. All the efforts that have been made in this country towards the advancement of education have hitherto been confined mostly to the cause of higher education. It is time that this apathy to the cause of primary education should be removed. That this primary education should be free is, perhaps, universally accepted, but in order that any scheme for this sort of education may be effective, it should also be to a certain extent compulsory. There can be no hardships in compulsion as is sometimes argued, provided there are reasonable safeguards just as is provided for in Mr. Gokhale's Bill. But instead of wasting time over endless discussions as to the details of the working of the Bill, I think that a beginning should be made as early as possible. With the inauguration of a system of free primary education I can look forward to an era of prosperity and progress for the inarticulate masses whose interests should always be our most sacred charge.

It is gratifying to note that following the lead of the All-India and Bengal Provincial Muhammadan Educational Conferences and several Muhammadan meetings, notably one held at Lahore under the presidency of Dr. Md. Iqbal, the All India Moslem League passed a resolution in the session supporting the principles of Mr. Gokhale's Bill and asking for necessary safeguards for Moslem educational interests. Such unanimity is rare indeed, and we appeal to Government not to estimate it lightly.

The Nawab Bahadur dealt also with the movements for the two sister universities, and repudiated the charges "that they will hinder the diffusion of new and enlightened ideas, and that they will perpetuate the line of cleavage, accentuate the differences, and widen the gulf between the two communities." He said—

These apprehensions arise from an ignorance of the wealth of knowledge, culture and civilization which lie hidden in the neglected mines of Oriental learning. Nor do I believe that there cannot be any real unity between the youths of the two great communities unless they are prepared to forsake partially at least, their own respective ideals in order to develop a hybrid nationality and meet on the common ground afforded by the diffusion of an alien culture and civilization. It is such are the tremendous sacrifices that have to be made, even for so desirable an object as a real rapprochement between the two communities, I for one would not purchase even so valuable a commodity at so high a price. Happily these alarms are without foundation.

His remarks on the Dacca University, however, are more topical and would be read with keen interest. A vein of pained sarcasm seems to run through them. He said:—

We, the Mussalmans of East Bengal, welcome the University, not because it is meant for our exclusive benefit or to injure the interests of our Hindu brethren, but because we feel convinced that a teaching and residential University in an area which has shown itself so susceptible of educational improvement, would give an impulse to the cause of education in the Eastern Bengal Districts which would easily place them in the van of educational progress in India. No doubt, any benefit to East Bengal means necessarily a benefit to that section of the population, numbering 20 millions, who happen to be Mussalmans, but this is a contingency which cannot be avoided. We cannot cease to be a part and parcel of the population of that part of the country simply to please the fancy of a set of politicians who eternally penalise the whole of Eastern Bengal for the sin of having harboured

so large a Musselman majority. But while we welcome the scheme of the University and the appointment of a Special Officer, I am strongly of opinion that the Musselman community would not derive any appreciable benefits, unless sufficient funds are allotted for the exclusive advancement of Musselman education. Ours is a proverbially poor Community and the leaders of the Hindu Deputation, as well as the Viceroy, have admitted that it will be necessary to give some special facilities to Mussalmans. With sufficient funds at our disposal, it will only remain to work out matters of detail as to how our community in East Bengal can best be helped to take the fullest advantages of a residential and teaching University in their midst.

It was in the same strain that the Resolutions of the League welcoming the announcement made at Dacca by H. E. the Viceroy were worded, we may add that is just the view we ourselves have taken of the matter.

The Nawab Bahadur also repeated the request of the Mussalmans, submitted more than once through the various educational conferences, that more Musselman teachers and inspecting officers should be appointed. It is worth while quoting the views of the Nawab Bahadur and others who support his contention, because even what little the Government have promised to do in Eastern Bengal has been declared by the *Bengalee* and some of the leading Hindus of Bengal to be "a most mischievous form of partition which will inaugurate an educational and intellectual cleavage" He said.—

There is hardly anything, either in the curriculum of studies, or in the *personnel* of the institutions, which can inspire Musselman parents with confidence as to the spiritual upbringing of the students. "Is it any object for wonder," says Mr. L. C. Bayley, "that they (Mussalmans) hold aloof from a system which, however good in itself, made no concession to their prejudices made, in fact no provision for what they esteemed their necessities, and which was in its nature unavoidably antagonistic to their interests and at variance with their social traditions?" The language of our Government schools, says Sir William Hunter, "in Lower Bengal is Hindu and the masters are Hindus. The Mussalmans with one consent spurn at the instruction of idolators through the medium of idolatry." The astute Hindu has covered the country with schools adapted to the wants of his own community, but wholly unsuited to the Muhammadans. Our rural schools seldom enable a Muhammadan to learn the tongue necessary for his holding a respectable position in life and for the performance of his religious duties." No condemnation can be more vigorous or in its complete and no words more deserving of careful consideration.

The Nawab Bahadur referred to some instances of the phenomenal advance made by the Mussalmans under the fostering care of Musselman inspecting officers, and we sincerely hope with him that Government will be induced to give a fuller effect to the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882 and the extension of such appointments.

Turning from these politics—educational topics, the President of this session of the League dealt with the purely political and administrative subjects such as communal representation on local bodies and the share of the Mussalmans in the public service. With reference to the first, the Nawab Bahadur reminded the Government and other communities as well as his Moslem audience of the clear and emphatic pledge given more than five years ago by the predecessor of Lord Hardinge. Much has been said and written on this subject since then, but to our mind the pronouncement of Lord Minto cannot be equalled for a brief and clear enunciation of perhaps the greatest political principle which governs political circumstances such as exist in this land of caste, and creeds. In addressing the Muhammadan Deputation that waited upon His Excellency Lord Minto at Simla in October 1906, His Lordship observed —

I am firmly convinced that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent. You point out that in many cases electoral bodies are now constituted cannot be expected to return a Muhammadan candidate and that if by chance they did so, it could only be at sacrifice of such a candidate's views to those of a majority opposed to his own community, whom he would in no way represent. I am entirely in accord with you.

This is nothing more or less than the view of Mazzini whose opinion must carry some weight even in Bengal. He wrote in his celebrated work "On the Duties of Man" in language which he calls "words of conviction matured by long years of study, of experience and of sorrow" that "doubtless universal suffrage is an excellent thing. It is the only legal means by which a people may govern itself without risk of violent crises. Universal suffrage in a country governed by a common faith is the expression of national will; but in a country deprived of a common belief, what can it be but the mere expression of the interest of those numerically the stronger to the oppression of all the rest?"

We appeal from the Congress and Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque to Lord Minto and Mazzini, and we hope we can say without offence that our estimate of the liberalism and statesmanship of the last two is higher. Where homogeneity exists and violent racial, religious and caste prejudices do not disturb it, the theory of one man one vote may be useful, and the lines of cleavage being territorial, various interests may adequately and effectively be represented by the separation of local areas into electoral groups. But where everything seems to take religious colour and even educated people fight with each other on questions of meat shops and street noises,

where the lines of cleavage are those of caste and creed, not only is adequate and effective representation impossible by means of general territorial electorates merely, but, as the Moslem Deputation pointed out in 1906, and as Lord Minto accepted, no kind of representation of minorities is possible. An elected candidate can only represent the voters who return him, and if he is declared to be the representative of the minority simply because he worships the same gods as the minority and wears the same caste-marks, his representation of the minority is wholly fictitious and unreal. The fact is that in India rival communities make the country more like the continent of Europe, which in spite of the unity of its ultimate interests, is the battlefield of warring ambitions and conflicting immediate interests, than like a country inhabited by citizens of the same State and subjects of the same Sovereign. The situation is more international than national, and we have only too often to disabuse our minds of the applicability of political principles and national institutions which are too universally in use among European nations to create the least suspicion that they are only of limited use and applicability. For our part we regard separate communal electorates as a hateful necessity, but their necessity is not less to day than our hatred of them, and while endeavouring to cure the situation in our own humble way without cant or ostentation, we must ask our countrymen to endure the institutions which the hateful evil has necessitated. These institutions are the separate communal electorates, and the principles on which they are based are that great communities like the Hindus and the Mussalmans must be treated everywhere as equals, irrespective of numbers, neither being placed in such a position as to overreach the other, yet both permitted to work together in administrative and legislative bodies by means of their true representatives for the regeneration of India and the good of its people. The political importance of the Mussalmans and their services to the Empire make it still more unjust to place them in a position of subservience to rival interests but the governing consideration is that, politically important or not, it would be sheer injustice to leave one community at the mercy of the other, and this can be prevented only if political power is shared equally by both. Without this there would be no representation of the community as a community, but a personal enfranchisement which could not meet the case of India and its divided millions.

While discussing communal representation, we must say we appreciate the spirit in which the Hon. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque made a personal explanation appealing successfully for freedom of conscience and freedom of speech. He was also sensible of the position in which he found his co-religionists and, recognising their difficulties, refrained from pressing to a division his own views which favour communal representation in the Councils as a necessary evil but disapprove of it on local bodies. The Hon. Mr. Wazir Ahmad was also justified in asking for freedom for various Provinces to demand communal representation on such bodies if they felt the necessity or to refrain from demanding it if the evils which it is designed to correct were not felt to exist. We would go still further, and in a matter of this character would leave it to the Mussalmans of each locality, which had a self-governing local body, to refrain from asking for separate communal representation if they so chose to do. It is only thus that we should deal with a hateful necessity. Care must, however, be taken that this freedom of choice was not misunderstood as rejection of separate representation where Mussalmans formed a majority and a desire to retain the power of the giant intending to use it as a giant. Although it is of no importance when dealing with the principle itself, we may add that the Hon. Nawab Sarfaraz Husain Khan, who is assured that the Mussalmans of Behar desire adequate and effective separate representation as much as those of any other Province, appeared to us to gauge the feeling of his people more correctly than either of the other two speakers from Behar. Now that the League has passed this resolution once more with such unanimity and ardour, we trust Lord Hardinge will take early steps to redeem in full the pledges of his predecessor in spite of all the clamour that rival interests may raise. The opinion expressed by the Decentralization Commission has fully justified those pledges and further delay in their redemption is not likely to improve matters.

We are glad to find in the Presidential address an echo of our views on the subject of fixing a minimum of qualification for all posts in the administration and the adequate representation of qualified Mussalmans, when available, in preference to others who have at present a monopoly of Government appointments. The Nawab Bahadur has done a distinct service to the cause of truth by exploding the myth about the "favourite wife." He said —

There is a general impression that in matters of employment in public service Muhammadan claims have met with indulgent consideration. I have gathered statistics of appointments in Eastern Bengal, where the principle of favouritism is alleged to have been carried very far, which shows that there are far more Hindu officers without any University qualifications than there are Muhammadans.

A resolution on this subject was ably moved by Mr. Sultan Ahmad and we hope it will lead to an improvement in the share of the Mussalmans in the administration.

The Exposure.

We confess our experience of Bengali journalism is of the slenderest and we are unable to say what is characteristic of Bengali journalism and what is not. It is no wonder then that our surprises are also many. In polite society it is considered a sign of bad bringing up to be surprised at anything, and if this rule applies to journalism we shall stand condemned of conduct that is *autic*. For we have before this been astonished at the spectacle of a hoary journalist of Bengal throwing himself on the mercy of the law court for having committed upon matters *sub judice* and then describing the proceedings as "allege & contempt of court." Similarly, we have been amazed to read perversions of facts in prominent journals which when exposed have been declared, so to speak, privileged, as having been written "subject to correction." We have been caught marvelling at the unabashed garbling of official pronouncements to paint on unethical moral and adorn a self-invented tale. But what are all these to the shock of surprise which we have received recently by a deliberate misrepresentation which beats everything that occurred previously by its phenomenal audacity. Previous experience, however, has prevented our being surprised at discovering that the audacious and resourceful journal is once more the *Bengalee*.

Our contemporary commands the services of a variety artist who is everything by turns, from an advocate of "the Bengali Nation," an adversary of the British bureaucracy, and a Socialistic Labourite to an Imperialist whose Imperial flights outwing even Tory journalists. This time he appears as a saviour of the Government of India and a champion of Royalty. But whatever the toggeries of the stage, the accents are those of Pistol, and in spite of all his fustian and bombast it will be our painful duty to make him this time swallow the leek.

It was only natural that the Hon. Nawab Khwaja Sir Salimullah, who for more than five years bore the brunt of the struggle between the forces of sedition and anarchy on one side and law and order on the other, should have been grievously disappointed at the annulment of the Partition, and that he should have taken the opportunity of explaining his views when he was elected to preside over the sixth session of the All India Moslem League. He was perfectly right in believing that silence would have been misunderstood and in risking even contumely in order to avoid such a misunderstanding. If a little plain-speaking and a few "bitter truths" could be permitted to any man they must be to one whose great influence was used all along in favour of the lawfully constituted authority when tremendous forces had conspired to make the exercise of such authority impossible, and who showed exemplary self-restraint himself in the face of the extreme disappointment following on the announcement at Delhi and kept his co-religionists well in hand in spite of the grave provocation of triumphant clamour. We hold no brief for the Nawab Bahadur and are in no way responsible for his words. In fact, we would frankly say that he was not well advised in using certain expressions, which, however just in themselves, were all the same harsh and inconsistent with his genuine desire to let bygones be bygones. But a monstrous fabric of grotesquely mischievous interpretation, deliberately false suggestion, suppression of truth and actual untruth has been built up by the *Bengalee* on the slender foundation of some plain speech and one or two harsh epithets, indulged in by the Nawab Bahadur on the eve of his intended retirement from politics, and it is our painful duty to demolish this structure.

The Nawab Bahadur explained that he was not one of those who used to look upon the Partition in itself as the only panacea for all our evil. According to him,

The Partition gave us a great opportunity to better ourselves, and it awakened in our hearts the throbings of a new moulded life which went pulsating through the various sections of our community in Eastern Bengal. I hope gentlemen you will believe me when I assure you that the Mussalmans of East Bengal supported the Partition, not out of enmity to our Hindu brethren or at the bidding of the Government, but because we felt sure that the new administrative arrangements in East Bengal would afford ample opportunities for self-improvement. We feel sure that the people of East Bengal, particularly the Mussalmans, would be immensely benefited by a sympathetic administration easily accessible to them and always ready to devote its time and attention exclusively to their welfare. As for ourselves—the Mussalmans of East Bengal—we came to realize for the first time in our history that we too had rights and privileges as British subjects, and that it was only necessary for us to put our own shoulders to the wheel to free ourselves from that state of servile dependence on a dominant community in which we have been living before the Partition.

We have here a picture of the dawn of hope for many million souls who had been neglected far too long on the admission of the present Government themselves. If it suits the sanctimoniousness of the *Bengalee* to characterise this dependence of so many millions on an aggressive majority skilled in the political use of its education, wealth and numbers as an "indissoluble alliance between Hindus and Mussalmans which has existed for centuries and which prevails in every rural home in Bengal," and to compare it with studied innocence to the relationship of "the younger brother who occasionally looks to his elder brother for

help," we have no objection. But we should very much like to put some of the champions of loyal and sturdy Behar, who have fought many a sturdy and loyal fight under the *Bengalee* banner, in the witness-box for half an hour and ascertain their views about the alliance between Bengal and Behar which has just been dissolved and ask them to describe in their own words the cousinly relationship which has terminated after a century and a half of idyllic peace and beatitude.

The Nawab Bahadur went on to describe what followed when the fetters of his co-religionists were cut off. He said:—

Our ill-wishers at once perceived that the Partition would necessarily bring to the fore the long-neglected claims of the Mussalmans of East Bengal, and although we never got more than what was justly our due, what little we gained was so much a loss to them. We regretted that this should be so, but it was unavoidable. It was perhaps unavoidable also that the philanthropy of our opponents should not be equal to the occasion, for they saw in the maintenance of the Partition a possibility of the Mussalmans of East Bengal regaining a portion of their well-deserved rights as citizens of the British Empire. Those who are forced to give up a portion of their long-enjoyed monopoly, however unjustifiable in nature and origin, will readily understand the feeling of our enemies after the Partition. It was, therefore, only natural that they started a vigorous agitation to have the Partition annulled and to secure a reversal to the old order of things.

The use of the unfortunate word "enemies" puts our contemporary in a paroxysm of indignation, and when the Furies seize it, we may be sure Reason bids adieu. It writes:—

"Who are the enemies," we ask? It is again the Hindus, who are charged with "unjustifiable monopoly." We regret to have to say that the Nawab is doing injustice to the honoured traditions of his own illustrious family. Is it not the case that the bulk of the employees in his estate are Hindus? How is it that he has given them a practical monopoly of which he complains in the departments of the Government? It is for the best of all reasons, e.g., that he and his ancestors had to look to the efficiency of the work that had to be done. And is the Government to be blamed for following the same principle?

Whosoever the monopolists—and the Hon. Mr. Basu could supply a copious vocabulary of denunciation to condemn the seekers and preservers of monopolies—it is certain that the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca has drawn up no sweeping indictment of a whole community. For in another passage of his speech he says:—

On one side there was the community of agitators with, in many cases, wealth, education, and influence to back them, and on the other there was the loyal community both of Hindus and Mussalmans who had faced the onslaught of the agitators and incurred their bitter hostility in supporting the Government.

Much as we regret the term "enemies" and consider it incompatible with the magnanimity of Kkwa Sir Salimullah, we could well ask if its use was after all so reprehensible in a man who had to go about throughout the disturbed Province with his life at the mercy of people who prided in murder and delighted in dacoities? It is no secret that the Nawab Bahadur's life had been declared a forfeit to Bengal "Nationalism," and we marvel at the sense of proportion of those who roared as gently as a sucking dove when the *Fuginter* preached the gospel of blood against the Government and its supporters and now play the lion when a man who has patiently borne much for five years calls a spade a spade on the eve of his retirement from public life. So far as the Hindus as a community are concerned, the very fact that the Nawab Bahadur maintained not only his former relations with Hindu Rajas and Zamindars but also kept every one of his numerous Hindu servants in his post in spite of his obvious temptations and no less obvious danger, proves that he had no malice against the community. But where another would have felt unutterable gratitude for this magnanimity, the *Bengalee* trots out the efficiency of his Bengali servants. All that we can say is that only the *Bengalee* could carry it off so manfully.

It must be remembered that the Nawab of Dacca had a splendid opportunity of unveiling the sedition that ruled in Bengal as a disagreeable contrast to the loyalty shown during the week of the Royal visit. But he dismissed the subject in a few brief sentences to which we would specially invite attention as a model of temperate expression. Not even the most moderate description of the state of Eastern Bengal, during that quinquennium, which bore on it the impress of the dignity and responsibility of the Government of India could surpass its self-restraint. Yet how does it strike the nald and mock *Bengalee*?

It is with a feeling of deep regret that we read the speech which Nawab Sir Salimullah of Dacca delivered as President of the Moslem League. If the policy of the newly-formed Moslem League in the Bengal Presidency is at all to partake of the character and the temper of that speech, all that we can say is that we deplore the formation of such an organization in Bengal. With the modification of the partition a new era has dawned upon the country—an era of peace, goodwill and conciliation. His Majesty's last words when leaving Bombay embodied a fervent hope that the goodwill amongst themselves which had been displayed by his subjects belonging to different race, and creeds in welcoming him, might govern the daily relations of their lives. All classes of His Majesty's loyal subjects have accepted the message with cordiality and enthusiasm and are trying, each in their own sphere, to give effect to the gracious message. At such a time the thrice decorated Nawab of Dacca whose personal obligations to the British government surpass those of the average subject of His Majesty, thinks it consistent with his loyalty and with the veneration which he owes to the person and the Throne of His

Majesty to deliver a highly inflammatory speech calculated to rekindle the embers of racial animosity and to bring the Government into contempt. It is a serious allegation that we make, but we are prepared to prove it to the hilt; and that in the interests of the great Muhammadan community whose well-being has been always so near to our hearts.

But it strikes us that, like Lord Crewe, the loyal *Bengalee* is ascribing to the annulment of the Partition the virtues of the Royal visit. It passes our understanding why the new era should dawn upon the country with the revocation of the Partition, "an era of peace, goodwill, and reconciliation," when the Partition itself ushered in an era of anarchy and sedition. This can be explained only on the assumption that monopolists in all else, the friends of the *Bengalee* wish to be monopolists in agitation also, and that it is only their grievances which can give the sanction of patriotism to clamour, not to say crime. Once Bengali clamour is victorious, the voice of discontent must be hushed and every man would grumble at his peril. This seems to be the logic of the monopolist; but why has His Majesty been brought into the controversy and the Government troubled, and why, in the name of all that is not sheer hypocrisy, is the occasion utilized to throw dust into the eyes of "the great Muhammadan community whose well-being has been always so near to our hearts?"

Similar logic has been used in criticising the poorly reported speech of the mover of the Resolution which dealt with the annulment of the Partition. The *Bengalee* bestows high if also frigid approval on the remark that if the annulment of the Partition served to promote love and fraternity between Hindus and Muhammadans, the Mussalmans would consider it a boon and regard both Lords Crewe and Hardinge as their best benefactors, but that if it served only to alienate the feelings of the two communities, it would be the greatest misfortune that had ever beset the country. But there is a saving clause characteristic of our contemporary. "Evidently the only attitude proper to a man who held such views was that of a suspension of judgment." And after this it detects an "obvious inconsistency" in the speech because the speaker had commenced it with the remark that in view of the many sacrifices which the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal were called upon to make in order to retain the benefits accruing from the Partition, its annulment could cause nothing less than regret and disappointment. Where the inconsistency comes in we fail to see. But if it is in the subsequent remark that the speaker trusted that his Hindu brethren would not be carried away by a feeling of triumph and allow themselves to fall into a vindictive frame of mind, the *Bengalee* itself furnishes some ground for apprehension in the ominous warning to the Mussalmans, "Have not the Partition and its history been a lesson which should never be forgotten?" As regards "the wise suspension of judgment" which is declared to be the only proper attitude, example is perhaps inconsistent with precept, for in the same issue the announcement made by His Excellency the Viceroy at Dacca is unwisely and rashly declared to be "a more mischievous form of partition which will inaugurate an educational and intellectual cleavage," and the new era of peace and goodwill and the rest of it disappears in the hope that "a strong body of our Muhammadan fellow-countrymen and the entire Hindu community will fight tooth and nail" against the Government's measures.

Reverting to the attack on the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, we have to remember that although our contemporary admits that the charge of rekindling "the embers of racial animosity" is "a serious allegation," it is not only "prepared to prove it to the hilt," but deliberately accuses "the thrice-decorated Nawab of Dacca" of sedition and bringing the Government into contempt. It says—

From the indictment of the Hindus we come to the indictment of the Government, and it is of a very grave character. The Government is charged with sacrificing its prestige by annulling the Partition. Who has made the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca the custodian of the prestige of the British Government in India? The Government is well able to look after its own prestige and does not need the help of the Nawab of Dacca. But this is the smallest part of the indictment. The Government, we are told, has yielded to clamour, to agitation, to sedition, and disloyalty. In the words of Sir Sahimullah, "Government has appeared to put a premium on sedition and disloyalty, and created an impression in the minds of the irresponsible masses that even the Government can be brought down on its knees by a reckless and persistent defiance of constituted authority." Nor is this all. The climax is reached in the next sentence. "It (the Government) has discredited British rule." Is not language such as this calculated to bring the Government into contempt? And let it be borne in mind that with this act (the annulment of the Partition) which has "discredited British rule," the august personality of His Majesty is associated. We could scarcely believe our eyes when we read this sentence as coming from an Indian nobleman, especially one on whom the Government has lavished its favours and bounties. But the words are there; and all may read them. We confess to a sense of painful surprise that the Nawab should have been betrayed into such language and sentiments.

We may answer the question "Who has made the Nawab of Dacca the custodian of the prestige of the British Government in India" by referring to the same unknown authority which evidently delegated to our contemporary the censorship of "language hardly compatible with the respect due to the Government, with which undoubtedly we may have at times differences," and which empowered it "to warn and to protest." If "the Government is well able to look

after its own prestige and does not need the help of the Nawab of Dacca," we should have thought it was also capable of judging for itself the compatibility of language with the respect due to it, without the mischievous warnings and theatrical protests of our contemporary, which undoubtedly may have at times "differences" with that Government.

As regards "the august personality of His Majesty," we challenge the *Bengalee* to prove before a tribunal of its own lawyer friends whether by importing the name of the Sovereign into the controversy it is not endeavouring to destroy one of the chief bases of the Constitution, namely, the responsibility of Ministers which follows the famous doctrine "the King can do no wrong." Is not the royal announcement—*amounting to the royal assent*—of any measure which needs the sanction of the King-in-Parliament, before Parliament has considered it, subversive of constitutional procedure, and if the "King can do no wrong," is it not His Majesty's advisers that must be held answerable for such unconstitutional methods? We shall not waste many words on the loyal devotion of the Nawab of Dacca to the Throne and person of His Majesty because even if two pages of well-chosen praise of the "broadminded statesmanship and overflowing love for his subjects" and of "the personality of the King-Emperor," which "always stood out bright, majestic, serene, full of kingly dignity and yet intensely human in the gracious sympathy with which His Majesty accepted the heartfelt homage of all classes of his subjects," cannot convince one of it, there is the outstanding fact that in the words of the Nawab Bahadur, "we preferred to restrain ourselves from the course which might have commended itself on the first impulses of the moment, and did not wish to embarrass Government by an agitation against an administrative measure which, however galling to our feelings, has had the impress of the Royal assent and approval." The Nawab Bahadur may well say that "we hope we have succeeded in setting an example of genuine loyalty and willing obedience to the words of our Sovereign which can stand the severest tests"—even the test of the *Bengalee*'s malicious misrepresentation. It would, however, be a fit subject of speculation, what our loyal contemporary would have written about "the august personality of His Majesty" had the Partition been announced, in 1905, by the King himself and not by His Majesty's representative in India, or if His Majesty had only transferred the capital to Delhi, or parted the new province of Behar in 1911, and not united the two portions of Bengal. Should we not have been treated in that case to learned disquisitions on the unconstitutionality of irrevocable words or to demands for the impeachment of His Majesty's advisers?

The *Bengalee* says "we could scarcely believe our eyes when we read the sentence as coming from an Indian nobleman." May we not say, and with better reason, that we could scarcely believe our eyes when we read deliberate misquotations in a journal which we had credited at one time with many virtues, including common honesty? Will our belief survive this shock? To eliminate every chance of a misunderstanding, we print the exact extract from the Nawab Bahadur's speech not only as it was printed and read out, but also as it appeared in the *Bengalee* itself, and we print below it the same extract as the *Bengalee* publishes it in its issue of the 7th instant.

The real speech

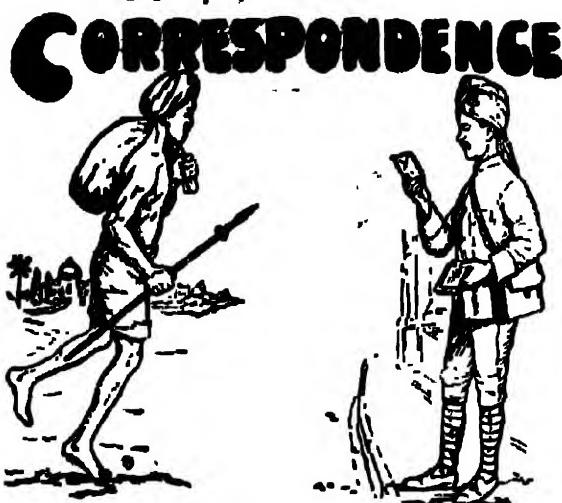
The annulment of the Partition had all the appearance of a ready concession to the labours of an utterly seditious agitation. It has appeared to put a premium on sedition and disloyalty, and created an impression in the mind of the irresponsible masses that even the Government can be brought down on its knees by a reckless and persistent defiance of constituted authority. Moreover, it has discredited British rule to an extent which is deeply to be regretted. It has hitherto been felt throughout the East that the word of the British Government is its bond and that, come what may, Government cannot go back on its plighted word. Anything which weakens this belief must necessarily injure British prestige in India and the East in general.

The speech as "cocked" by the "BENGALEE"

In the words of Sir Sahimullah, "Government has appeared to put a premium on sedition and disloyalty, and created an impression in the minds of the irresponsible masses that even the Government can be brought down on its knees by a reckless and persistent defiance of constituted authority." Nor is this all. The climax is reached in the next sentence. "It (the Government) has discredited British rule."

It is clear from this juxtaposition that the pronoun "it," which refers to "the annulment of the Partition," our contemporary has deliberately altered into "Government," and when in the next sentence the same pronoun occurs again, referring as it could not but do to the "annulment of the Partition," the *Bengalee* has retained it, but added the words "the Government" in brackets. We ask if this is the vaunted Bengali journalism and this the honesty of seasoned patriots? Apart from the alteration of the speech which nothing could justify, it is obvious to anyone who knows the law of sedition why this perversion has been resorted to. An expression of disapproval of particular Government measures is one thing and a condemnation of Government itself which is likely to create disaffection or bring Government into contempt is another. There is, therefore, not a shadow of doubt that the alteration of words is both deliberate and dishonest. We shall say no more on the subject—unless perhaps we ask if the Bay of Bengal is deep enough for the *Bengalee*.

9th March.



The League and Moslem Endowments.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE"

SIR.—Will you kindly accord me the hospitality of your columns to point out to my co-religionists the inexpediency of acting on the resolution adopted at the last annual sessions of the All-India Moslem League regarding the administration, or I would assume for the present, the mal-administration of Muhammadan Endowments. You are perhaps aware, Sir, that under the Muhammadan Law as interpreted by Muhammadan jurists, a Muhammadan can dedicate his properties by way of Waqf solely for the benefit of his children and descendants and create what is called Waqf-al-aulad, inasmuch as a provision for the maintenance of one's own children is regarded as a charitable object under that law, for charity after all begins at home. Now, their lordships of the Judicial Committee have held in some cases (notably in *Abul Fatah vs Rashomoy*, 22 Cal.) that you cannot make a valid Waqf unless you dedicate a substantial portion of your properties to religious and charitable purposes other than the provision for the maintenance of your own kith and kin. In other words, their lordships have, unfortunately for the community, imposed restrictions which are not to be found in the Muhammadan Law. The position now comes to this, that although the Muhammadan Law allows a Muhammadan to create an endowment for the benefit of his children and descendants, that law as administered by British Courts in India invalidates such an endowment, with the result that almost all the important endowments in Bengal at least have been declared invalid and the families benefited by them ruined. One of the chief causes of the poverty of our community is the division and distribution of wealth into atoms because Waqf-al-aulad is not permitted and there is no other form of trust recognised by Muhammadan Law which can keep properties intact in particular families. Now, the resolution in question asks the Government to institute a thorough enquiry into the administration of Muhammadan Endowments without drawing any line between endowments which are purely of a religious or charitable character (e.g., Mohsin Endowment) and those whose object is charity in the wider sense of the term including the provisions for one's own family. To my mind it is difficult to reconcile the undoubtedly desire of the community to be permitted to create Waqf-al-aulad with the spirit of the present resolution asking the Government to enquire into, and, presumably, to interfere (for an enquiry necessarily implies interference) with the operations of such endowments. Whatever may be urged in favour of the principle embodied in the resolution under notice, I submit it would be adopting a suicidal policy in the present state of the law to allow any interference with our endowments. On the contrary, on grounds of policy and until the law of Waqf is brought into harmony with the Muhammadan Law as expounded by our jurists, I would have that done indirectly which the law does not allow to be done directly, for there is nothing wrong in doing a thing permitted by one's own law which under the statute is guaranteed to him. Take the case of a man who is anxious to create a family endowment which he knows his present law allows but which is not permitted by Anglo-Muhammadan Law, and suppose, to get round this obstacle, he ostensibly dedicates a substantial portion of his properties to charities recognised by the Anglo-Muhammadan law and a minor portion to the maintenance of his family, with a mental reservation that in the actual administration of the trust the order should be reversed, that is to say, that the smaller portion of the usufruct should go to charity and the larger portion towards the maintenance of his family. I submit he would not by so doing transgress any rule of his personal law. That being so, would it be right for any Muhammadan to invoke the authorities to frustrate his wish and to enforce the terms of this hypothetical endowment in their entirety? It may be argued that

the enforcement of the terms in their entirety would benefit the Community at large. To this my answer is that the gain when closely examined greatly outweighs the loss to the Community, for the question of Waqf-al-aulad vitally affects them. Unless some form of trust is recognised by law our Community and wealth must part company, and it is obvious that the release of funds from a few existing endowments cannot lead to our political salvation unless some means are available for preserving wealth intact in the Community permanently. Moreover, with the exception of large-hearted philanthropists whose number must necessarily be limited in every community, people would hardly care to create Waqfs for pure charities, and thus the number of purely charitable endowments would gradually decrease, whereas if there is permanent wealth in the Community the advantage of the same is bound to be reflected on the Community in more ways than one. It was therefore on grounds of expediency that I had suggested to the members of the All-India Moslem League the desirability of postponing the consideration of this matter till the fate of the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah's Bill was decided, and then, and not till then, we should determine our line of action in the matter. But I was ruled out of order.

CALCUTTA,

7th March 1912

NURUDDIN AHMED,

Vakil, High Court.

[We regret we do not agree with the writer of this letter. He is wrong in saying that the League's resolution about endowments does not draw a line "between endowments which are purely of a religious or charitable character (e.g., Mohsin Endowment) and those whose object is charity in the wider sense of the term including the provision for one's own family". As a matter of fact, the resolution refers only to endowments of the former class, namely, those "designed mainly for public benefit". But in any case, it is not by going round the Privy Council decision and ostensibly "dedicating a substantial portion" of one's property to charity as understood by the Privy Council while in reality arranging that charity should both begin and end at home that Mussalmans can get rid of the objectionable decision. To our mind the disintegration of property among Mussalmans which is likely to result from this decision, though in itself a great evil, is a far smaller evil than the open interference with the personal law of the Mussalmans which has been guaranteed to them. This must be fought against equally openly and fought to ultimate victory. Therefore, we find no inconsistency whatever in pressing for a thorough enquiry into the general purpose and manner of administration of existing Moslem endowments designed mainly for public benefit while urging on the Government the absolute necessity of a Bill declaring the true Moslem Law on the subject of endowments designed mainly for the benefit of the donor's own family.—ED., *Comrade*.]

Verse.

Song.

O! SWEET was love and sweet desire,
And love's young blood was all a-fire,
And is knew not the dread to die,
When last my love came home to me.

The sun was sifted mellow in
The casement starred with jessamine,
And on the glass-pane buzzed the bee,
When last my love came home to me.

And roses red as martyr-wound,
Were on the trellis-shed festooned;
And blue-bells hung from every tree,
When last my love came home to me.

And larkspurs on the way-side grew,
And poppies pearly with silver dew,
Pink passions made them flowers three,
When last my love came home to me.

I took from love close kisses three,
One kiss for love and one for thee,
And one for way-side company,
When last my love came home to me.

I took from love close kisses seven,
Some were for Hell, and some for Heaven,
Some for the thing that was to be,
When last my love came home to me.

Wasiti.



The Council.

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please"
—*At You Like It*

February 26th

AT QUESTION time, nothing important. Dashing Boy dashed off on oiled railway wheels to Pennsylvania and asked the Railway Sleeper if in that soothing land they employed annually six of the best men turned out by Engineering Institutions within the State. Railway Sleeper considerably worried. Who, which, what, where, when or how is Pennsylvania? Never heard of him, her or it, as the case may be. Regie explained with utmost sang froid why acting allowances or "temporary promotions" would be wholly iniquitous in the case of "our excellent Provincial Civil Servicer."

Sobraon, the Pantaloons, appeared in the guise of Paul Pry and wanted to lift the veil from that dread Isis, the Executive Council of H.E. He would have rules and orders made for the transaction of business laid on the table. Although Regie couldn't tell tales out of school, there's somewhere outside official pigeon-holes a copy laying down the maximum number of cigarettes that may be smoked in the Friday meetings, the exact degree of the angle permitted for the swaying motion of Members walking after the fifth cup, and the class of stories that would just escape the Blue Pencil of the Lord Chamberlain and Charley's Aunt if they were dramatised. (Council Members please note, no bush money required to prevent publication of such Official Secrets!)

Madge was up in the hills and pottered about the Landour cantonment. Considerably gratified when Regie informed him that out of 10 higher police appointments in Eastern Bengal in 1910 no less than 6 went to Imperial cousin. Another strong reason why the Partition should not have been unnnulled. Madras alone showed a clean slate, having appointed none. The Benighted Presidency!

The Khan Bahadur beginning to be useful, very early asked for irrigation statistics and his alphabet book was duly supplied to him by the Sage. Desiring a concentrated dose of information, asked why no "Official Year Book" published on the model Australia and was informed that it was published under other names. Oh these awful "invidious distinctions" between the Colonies and India! Growing bolder, Khan Babadur wanted to know "the starting as well as maximum pay" of a Munsiff in various Provinces. Should think that if a certain salary is the starting as well as the maximum pay of the Munsiffs, the brutes get precious little by way of promotion throughout their careers. Regie, warned of the K.B.'s powers of searching cross-examination, quailed before the prospect, and instead of wading through the figures like the Sage, deposited them on the table all in a lump. The Khan Bahadur thought this was all very well but it was not cricket. So forthwith got up and expostulated. "Oh, but I had prepared an elaborate catechism for you in the way of supplementary questions." Sir Guy, too strict a disciplinarian to permit unrehearsed effects on the Council stage, quietly pulled K.B. up. In other words, asked him to sit down. "Oh, but I have a lot to ask." "Please, will you sit down?" "But the cross-examination of the witness is not yet over." "Will you sit down!" "I would ask the Court to take down my question if it is to be disallowed." "Sit down!!" And he did, you know.

Dig'er-Patty asked if the new Province of Assam would be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court and placed under a Judicial Commissioner. Regie replied. "No such proposal is at present under the consideration of Government." Very ominous this. Seems this too is all settled, for in September at Simla poor Dig'er-Patty had asked a similar question about a new High Court at Dacca and received the same innocent-looking, guileless, unsophisticated reply. Yet the Imperial conclave had settled the fate of many millions and had signed, sealed and delivered their judgment into the hands of the S. of S. Speculation rife in the Council if Assam as "Earle's Court" was already made a separate Presidency with a band, a bodyguard, and such sundries as a High Court and a brand new teaching and residential University. Dig'er-Patty asked if the Executive Council of Bengal would not be enlarged after the abolition of the Revenue Board. If Durbhangal could grace the Chhajju Bagh Council, why couldn't Dig'er-Patty grace the one at Belvedere or Government House? Yes, why not? And echo answered, "Why not?"

In answer to the Mild Hindu, Bootlair Saheb informed Council that even if the Imperial Records were located at Simla, provision would be made for the needs of the Councillors at Delhi to enable them to perform satisfactorily their duties in connection with Council work. A flotilla of airships was no doubt in sight. Preferably they should be unairworthy. Mild Hindu, not finding his "worthy soc" sitting just opposite to him, skipped over the Sinking Fund question, and preparatory to the expulsion of undesirable aliens, asked for a list of Colonials in the I.C.S. Thereafter performed some skilful surgical operations on the Medical Department. The *corpus rebus* was reluctantly submitted to ruthless dissection and the sight turned Regie into a pronounced anti-vivisectionist.

The Cross-Bencher roamed all over the land and got out of Regie the promise that following the example of Diogenes who searched for a good man, he would take a lantern out and hunt in daylight for those Deputy Superintendents, if any, who had been promoted to any of the 15 posts of Superintendents thrown open to them.

Questions over, Regie, who had commenced his career with selection on the Lunacy Committee, advanced a step further and introduced a Wild Animals' Bill. It included wild or gay birds also. This inclusion rather hard on fashionable ladies. Already under the Act of 1870 the Municipalities were down on them and had prohibited the sale or importation of the plumage of any kind of wild birds during their breeding season. In the name of all that is modish and up-to-date, what lady of fashion could regard with favour such an obsolete thing as a breeding season? Regie talked a lot about humanity and said this was "recognised as Man's Duty." But he had nothing to say of the Rights or Wrongs of Woman. Oh, for a Chrissie Pancake to teach Regie the Whole Duty of Woman! Was it not the duty of woman to look beautiful, even if she did not happen to be, and how could she perform this recognised duty, if she had to think of the demands of the breeding season, and recognise the embargo on bought, begged or borrowed plumes?

When Regie had done, Bhupen Babu rose amidst applause in all the self-consciousness of virtue and social reform to move that his Bill be referred to a Select Committee. Tried the customary

trick of persuasive orators and said when he introduced the Bill he did not expect such large and influential support. It was beyond his wildest expectations. Here was a guilty consciousness of being in a hopeless minority, for who does not know that in other matters, such as the political future of India, the tamest expectation of Bhupen is a Bengali-Rule Parliament in Government House, with himself as its President, and the captain of his Mohan Bagana as the Jungi Lat putting the tribes on our frontiers in terrible fear of their lives. Only orator as he is, edged in a word or two about the courage of the Government which carried out social reform regardless of popular indignation. Evidently the Partition of Bengal could not come "within the meaning of the Act" and be maintained regardless of popular indignation. Asked if the Hindus of modern days would believe that when the abolition of *suttee* was proposed their ancestors gathered together and submitted a solid memorial to the Government. He certainly did not tax the credulity of the descendants much, for the protection of Indian cattle is now the burning question, and solid memorials are still the order of the day. In the days of Bentinck, people cared disproportionately about the chastity of women, the marital rights of husbands and the security of their lives from poison and the poniard. But the assets of yesterday are the liabilities of to-day. As for the security of life, insurance in favour of wives, with its recurring premium, coupled with votes for women, has made life itself a burden. Modern lager think more rationally of these matters. "Who loves my wife, loves trash, 'tis something, nothing," and all the rest of it. The altruism of the love of to-day is stupendous. It embraces the whole world, and forgets not his wife.

Turning to more recent times, Bhupen Babu described the opposition to that "tiny little measure," the Age of Consent Bill—an appropriate phrase, considering the "age." He saw a big mass meeting on the maidan at which more than 100,000 people had assembled to protest against the Bill. He said not if there were any maidens also on the maidan. But, in any case, what are a lakh of people for Calcutta? More than that assemble to-day or, smaller provocation. What if thousands assembled at the Kalighat "to purify themselves against the law," and offered prayers to the goddess "to save them from this dire calamity"? Have not thou bands assembled in recent years on other occasions "to purify themselves against the law," and offered prayers to the goddess to save them from "dire calamities" of another kind? Bhupen Babu proved what a habitual protestant he was, for he described how he went to protest against the opposition to the Bill, "was very soon shown the door and received an amount of corporal chastisement which he was afraid he had not yet forgotten." Panditji, who was prepared to administer a polite reminder if only Burly Raja would help him, thought that even if the rod had not been spared, the *enfant terrible* had certainly been spoilt.

Referring to Vidysagar's Widow Remarriage Bill, said there were protests against its provisions, people saying that "Hindu Society was going to be turned upside down and the purity of the Hindu widow was going to be destroyed." No wonder. Who ever heard of any but a Hindu widower marrying or finding consolation for the loss of the late lamented spouse? Was it not topsy-turvydom? Compared with the magnitude of these, what was "my little measure"? Shant swear to it, but if he held the tape on the Little May and turned round, it would exceed 42 inches. There were nearly 180 for him (Mark the round figure.) and 247 (Note the exactitude) against "A very respectable number in my support." Say nothing as to the number, but should like to know what the Panditji thinks of the "respectability." Every Social Conference, that euphemism for the unfructuous picnic of self-conscious "reformers," was for the Bill. Could say "with clear conscience," --being only a Solicitor--that highest authority was in favour of the Bill. Even that organ of the bigoted and proud Brahmin, (alas, for poor Bal Gangadhar Tilak) the *Krishi*, was one of the strongest supporters of the measure. As for the Pandit his paper, the *Leader*, had thrown him overboard! But that was at the Sangham, and what could be a greater service if the Guru of Prag dipped the orthodox Brahmo in Tribeni? While this enumeration of the assembled hosts was going on, the Khan Iahadur, like Homer, nodded and slumbered! He had already been assured by the guileless Solicitor that "the Mussalmans were not so vitally affected as we are."

Referred to cases of intermarriage among various castes, and as a special compliment to "Hon. friend to the right," the renowned Kshabirtryyya, Burly Raja, began with the exploits of Parashram, who extirpated Burly Raja's caste twenty-one times. Said how this could be possible only Brahmin ingenuity could explain, and looked fixedly at the white-robed Pandit. Don't know what puzzled him. It would take more than twenty one attacks of a modern Parashram to demolish the self-possession and self-satisfaction of the Burly Raja. Well, any how, when Greek meets Greek there's furious fun, and Parashram was half Greek inasmuch as his mother was a caste-fellow of the Burly Raja himself. Again, the arranger of the Vedas and Puranas was the son of a Brahmin by a fisherwoman, though the lady may be presumed not

to have hailed from Billingsgate. But if Yajnavalkya's authority unacceptable, there's Manu for your money. (Again a glance in the direction of the Orthodoxy of Allahabad.) Quoted the Shastras about the Aryan status of one "begotten by chance by an Aryan on a non-Aryan." After this reference to the accidental growth of some Aryans, turned to Sobraon, the Pantaloons, "the sturdy champion of the Orthodox Hindus." With the facility of a certain unnameable Ruler of the Netherlands, quoted Hindu Scriptures to define the Sudras. Who are Sudras? "Those who always weep." Now, where the Kayasthas come in in the hierarchy of caste is a moot question, and confusion was worse confounded when the Sudras were thus defined, for Bhupen Babu himself had only a little while ago on a historic occasion wept with one eye and winked with the other.

As if these quotations were not enough, heaped Pelion upon Ossa by quoting the mighty Hunter about "arbitrary manufacturing" of some of the highest castes "promiscuously out of menial servants." In Southern India—name it not in Gath—the Brahmin is a pure Dravician. Similarly raked up remote and obscure origins of Brahmins in other places and roused the ire of Panditji whose face was a picture of pent-up rage and Brahmanic wrath. Threw salt on the sore spot by disclaiming all desire to run down the Brahmins. They had been of the greatest service (Sobraon's heart is gladdened and the Panditji thawed), but they had also been of the greatest disservice to India. (The genial current of the Pandit freezes, and Sobraon contemplates Hari-Kari.)

Then, having settled Madras and the United Provinces, commenced his charity nearer home, and turned to "my friend on my right who makes a lowly obeisance to Kulins Brahmins." "My friend on my right" decided it was time to smoke a cigarette in the lobby and retired with honour. In the meantime the Kulins and their origin were discussed with more candour than courtesy and at last came the summing up. "What do you think? What does my friend to the right think?" But Burly Raja had already flown and was contemplating the excellence of Abdullah's aromatic cigarettes, and the Slacker, who had taken his place, guiltily looked up as if caught for once *flagrante delicto* in the unthinkable process of thinking. What could be more reprehensible in an official representative of Bengal than the reflection that he reflected? Baulked of his prey, Bhupen Babu pitched once more into the Kulins and traced their ancestry to "oilmen leathermen, wine sellers, Mussalmans and the despised classes generally." Finding that the Panditji was sending a non official despatch to Sir Guy, added that he would not dwell further on that aspect. It was unpleasant, no doubt, but it was nevertheless a duty. But thinking better of it, turned to Kathiawar, and to C.P., "whence Cheery Chitnis comes," so that no Province should complain of neglect. At last concluded this part of the argument by saying in the true spirit of Collectivism, "The greatest happiness would be that the *Jus Cognitum* embraces us all in a single fold." If the conjugal happiness of one married couple is desirable, it should be extended to all the world, and so extended would it not be the *summum bonum*, the greatest happiness of the greatest number?



Petty Larceny.

(By OUR SPECIAL KLEPTOMANIAC)

[Motto.—"Wit is your birthright, therefore steal it where soever you find it"—*Rigmarule Veda*.]

The hen that cackles loudest may not lay the largest eggs,
The mule that kicks the hardest may not have the longest legs;
The tree that is the tallest may not bear the sweetest fruit;
And the girl who is the fairest may not wear the smallest boot.
The man whose brow is highest may not always know the most;
The hero who is bravest may not have the loudest boast;
The arm that is the strongest may not have the farthest reach,
And the man who talks the longest may not make the finest speech

The rose that is the reddest may not have the sweetest scent;
The man whose strut is proudest may not be most prominent;
The woman who has jewels that she measures by the peck
May not have the slimmest fingers or the most delightful neck.

The man who works the hardest may not draw the highest pay;
The one with deepest knowledge may not have the most to say;

But the man who is most modest gets the last seat in the rear,
And the one who blows his bugle is the one whom people hear.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 29th —Official details of the fighting at Mergheb on the 28th February show that five thousand Turks and Arabs were engaged. It is estimated that they lost five hundred killed in an attempt to recapture the heights. The Italian losses were fourteen killed and one hundred wounded.

Reuter wires from Rome that the Italian losses since the beginning of the war have been 536 dead and 324 missing.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 4th —The Turks and Arabs yesterday made a fierce attack on the Italians erecting works at Derna and made repeated bayonet charges. The Italian reinforcements arrived and a hot engagement took place until nightfall when the Turks retired. The latter's losses are unknown. The Italian casualties were 150.

Reuter wires from Toronto on the 4th —Admiral Aubry in chief command of the Italian naval forces died suddenly on board his flagship.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 5th —The Italians lost 60 killed and 172 wounded at Derna on 4th March.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, Feb. 9

The special correspondent of the *Times* telegraphs from Tripoli the arrival of the auxiliary cruiser *Città di Catania* after the bombardment of seven ports and Arab encampments along the coast. Yesterday the steamer *Europe* disembarked a hundred Camel Corps men from Eritrea and the first contingent of the Askari infantry. More are following.

Commander Scalabrini is making arrangements for the re-opening of the schools in Tripoli on March 1.

Rome, Feb. 11

The arrival at Tripoli of a contingent of black troops from Eritrea was made the occasion of warm demonstrations of welcome by the Italian forces. The Eritrean askaris, with some hundred camel-drivers, paraded before General Frugoni and performed a kind of fantasia, which seems to have much impressed the native population. General Frugoni made a speech recalling the gallantry and loyalty they had already shown when fighting under the Italian flag and expressing the pleasure experienced by his soldiers in welcoming their comrades. It seems to be hoped that the presence of these African Mussulmans in the Italian Army may have a salutary effect on the Arabs and persuade them of the possibility of terms of good fellowship with the Italian invader.

Rome, Feb. 13

Sharp fighting is reported in a semi-official despatch from Derna of Sunday's date. The message runs as follows —

"Last night the enemy made two violent attacks on our south front, but were repulsed successfully. The first of the attacks was very fierce and was delivered shortly before 11 o'clock but was repulsed by a company of the Alpine Battalion garrisoning the newly erected Lombardia redoubt and a small tower adjacent to it supported by other companies of the same battalion, who hastened up, and by two bayonet charges delivered in quick succession twice drove back the enemy, finally putting them to flight. Meanwhile, however, other forces of the enemy had gathered on our extreme right and delivered two attacks on the redoubt called Az, but were beaten back after a fierce fight which took place near the Italian wire entanglements."

"Our success was in no small part due to the very efficacious fire of the five forts and to the use of dogs, which gave notice of the enemy's approach. Great assistance was also given by the searchlights mounted on the forts, although they became the particular and constant target of the enemy's fire. Hand grenades were thrown by the enemy, but they did no damage. Our artillery, as usual, did good service and poured in a very hot fire."

"By 2 o'clock on the Sunday morning the enemy had been completely routed on that side of our front, and at dawn traces of the heavy losses suffered by the enemy were discerned there. More than 60 dead and one seriously wounded man, besides fragments of limbs and bodies, were scattered over a large extent of ground."

"Our losses were three killed and 22 wounded, including an officer."

"Towards the close of this attack other forces of the enemy attacked the little Piemonte fort and the F and G redoubts, situated to the right of the Wady Derna. This force also pushed forward right up to our wire entanglements and auxiliary defences and from a range of less than 200 yards poured in a fierce fire, which, however, had no effect. Towards 3 o'clock this attack was also completely repulsed with the assistance of our artillery. On this side of our defences we had no losses. The conduct of the officers and men was admirable and all the force is in the highest spirits."

Fighting, though not of such a serious character as at Derna, is also reported in a telegram of to-day's date from Tobruk. (Reuter.)

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

The veil which has fallen on Tripoli is lifted now and then by belated news from the Turkish camp. Mr. F. N. Bennett, who represents the *Daily Chronicle* with both Bey's forces at Azizieh, records the fate of three infantry battalions, with details of cavalry and artillery, who endeavoured to clear out a small oasis on December 19. The column was hemmed in by a dense cloud of Arabs, and driven back pell-mell in its base with heavy loss. General Caneva has apparently forgotten to report this untoward event in his despatches from the seat of war, and Italy is still revelling in a fool's paradise. Mr. Bennett aptly remarks that she should have remembered the Biblical injunction to "sit down and count the cost thereof" before embarking on warfare. He might also have quoted Prince Eugene's pithy advice to the Emperor Charles VI of Germany who was meditating a war of aggression: "Your Majesty should first ask himself two questions: 'What do I want?' and 'What can I do?'"

Constantinople, Feb. 11.

There is reason to believe that the Council of Ministers, which sat late to-night, decided in principle to abolish the state of siege in Constantinople and to declare a limited amnesty after the conclusion of the elections. A Commission, composed of Talaat and Memduh Beys, Emrullah Efendi and Prince Halim, will, it is said, be appointed to decide who will benefit by the amnesty.

Vienna, Feb. 12.

The announcement in a Constantinople despatch to a North German journal that the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador made yesterday peace proposals to the Porte on the basis of a withdrawal of the Italian annexation and the establishment of a Turco-Italian condominium in Tripoli is a pure invention, or which the apparent object is to excite Italian suspicions of Austro-Hungarian policy, while providing the Turkish Press with something to reproduce in view of the Turkish elections.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Smyrna, Feb. 13

The political situation shows no change. The state of war with Italy continues, and in view of the little material prejudice thereby being caused to the natives, it cannot be denied that there is a feeling of grim determination gaining ground among all sections of the population to prolong resistance and to avoid a peace which does not safeguard Ottoman suzerain rights and religious supremacy over Tripoli. The dissolution of the Chamber and the approach of the new elections are arousing some interest among the better classes. Meanwhile, H. E. Nazim Pasha, Governor-General of the Vilayet, has been called to Constantinople by the Minister of the Interior, the term of his absence being uncertain. His duties are being carried on by the Military Governor, Ismail Fazil Pasha.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Bon Gardase, (Tunisian Frontier,) Feb. 13

I am on the road for the Turkish headquarters once more and your inquiries respecting the "veiled lady," who is alleged to have abstracted leaves from my notebook, have only just reached me. Please contradict the statement of the *Messaggero*'s correspondent, which is quite untrue.—H. C. SEPPINGS WRIGHT—*Central News*

[The Tunis correspondent of the Italian newspaper above referred to recently telegraphed a report according to which a certain mysterious veiled lady had been able to abstract from Mr. Seppings Wright's notebook pages containing information regarding the running of contraband to the Turkish forces in Tripoli. The improbability of the story was commented on by our Rome Correspondent in *The Times* of February 1.]

9th March.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT)

On the orders of the Egyptian Government, the Cairo police a few days ago seized several thousand copies of an Arabic pamphlet, entitled "The Golden Treasury," which had been printed in Cairo and were about to be shipped to Italy, whence they were presumably to be sent back to Tripoli for distribution among the natives. The work appears to be a violent indictment of Turkish rule, and the object of the Author, an Italian, to be to persuade the Arabs of Tripoli to accept the Italian conquest as the harbinger of peace and prosperity. The Government, having received information from a native source that the books had been printed and were about to be despatched, had the eight cases containing them seized as they were being loaded on to the van outside the offices of the forwarding agent. The grounds on which the Government based its action are apparently that the writings, being subversive to the authority of the Sultan, are seditionary literature. It is also possible that, in view of attempts which have been made since the war broke out to prevent inflammatory literature being sent to the Arabs from Egypt, the Government felt that it was only just to do the same when the position was reversed. The seizure has, however, called forth a protest from the representative of France in Cairo, as, the forwarding agents being a French firm and Consular authority not having been obtained, the action of the police is alleged to have been an infringement of the Capitulation.

News from Turkish Sources.

(FROM THE "TANIN")

(Specially Translated for the Comrade.)

ENVER PASHA, the Commandant and organizer of the forces of the Arab Mujahids fighting near Derna and Benghazi, who was before he went to Tripoli the Military Attaché in the Imperial Ottoman Embassy at Berlin, has been writing letters to an intimate friend of his in Berlin. These letters are being published by a German paper the *Lokalansager*. We print below the translations of a few.

10th November 1911.

"Warriors are coming to me like a volume of flood. High statured, fine favoured, serious visaged, pure hearted men. 'We have come' they say without any ceremony, and are true to me unto death. In a big meeting yesterday they assembled and swore that even if their Sheikhs waver they will stand fast till their last breath by Enver Pasha. Yes I am Pasha to these true, pure bred men. They may be sure that they will not find any cause to regret this decision of theirs. I live with them and share with them the state in which they are. Presently the Sheikhs come and swear their allegiance to me. 'For they venerate me as the son-in-law of the Khalifa. With this qualification I can count on their unbounded, unmeasured obedience and loyalty whereas the Enver who is given the name of the 'hero of liberty' is unknown here."

28th November 1911.

"This affront to our national honour has brought us to such a state of desperation that we scoff at death, and whoever may be among the fighters in my little army has one feeling, one hope animating him and us and keeping us together. 'Victory or death.' Every tribe is sending its warriors from grey bearded men to youths of 15 years. The difference of age is obliterated for they all come shoulder to shoulder with the same eagerness with the same desperate determination for war and *rehab*. These men are resigned and contented with faith in destiny. They think that a brave man dies before the enemy only once but the coward a hundred times. I wish you could see how they come to my camp. An old rifle on the shoulder, a string of cartridges on the breast, and a quantity of flour or, the camel in the little caravan, this they come in groups of ten men and two women. The women cook food but during the battle they also encourage their menfolk, carry ammunition for them, attend to the wounded and bury the *shuhid*. I wonder if humanity will move in our favour if it knew how we spent our last strength. But we don't expect anything. We have faith in Allah and our own strength and capacity."

29th November 1911.

"For attacks I have evolved a plan of my own of throwing up *tubus*, keeping in view the local conditions. This plan has so far succeeded. The Italians suffer great loss, while our strength is conserved (Here and elsewhere the addressee of the letters has suppressed portions before sending them for publication). For the first I am compelled to use my soldiers, specially my ammunition, with great economy, but gradually they are getting all right."

"A number of our Arab mujahids are even now armed with Italian rifles captured by us. We are continually capturing stores and ammunition also."

"I have instituted daily courses of instruction to teach Arabs who find rifles on the dead bodies of the enemy how to use them"

1st December 1911.

"I am tired to day. Our yesterday's attack on Derna was not successful. My men are full of firing enthusiasm, but are very little accustomed to discipline and regulation, which is essential to success, specially in night attacks. I was wounded slightly; but our losses are very little. I have to contend against and overcome innumerable difficulties and obstacles but this infuses strength in me. Eight days ago I was in S and traversed a distance of 70 kilometres in nine hours on a riding camel."

"Our road lay through a tract of country the Arabs of which are alleged to be friendly to Italians. At first the Arabs came to me cautiously but very soon they greeted me as the son-in-law of the Khalifa, went along some distance with me, and declared that they too entered into hostilities against the Italians and spoke of the cowardly soldiers of the enemy. I was amused at the reflections that the Italians were believing that they had won over these men."

"Had I money I could have done much, but I pride on the fact that I have succeeded in organizing an army here with not 5 paras (piece) in my hand!"

18th December 1911.

"Day before yesterday we had another bloody engagement. Emboldened, by a fire which was not replied to from our side, the enemy came along with a large force with four mountain guns, till it was at a distance of about 100 metres from us. Then our men opened fire. The enemy retreated but advanced again on the strength of reinforcements which had reached them but were again compelled to go back. Their fresh reserve again charged on us in force, but very soon took to heels. This engagement filled our heart with a sense of pride and pleasure at the thought that we with our old rifles were able to defeat an enemy far superior to us, both in numbers and in arms, after nine hours continuous fighting. I wonder if these facts find a place in European newspapers. I long to know very much."

31st December 1911.

"On the 28th a little before noon I received for the first time a consignment of arms and stores. I had not yet finished distributing them to my warriors when shells began to drop on us afresh."

"I saw the enemy advancing in a line from the Derna valley, not far from our advance guard. Its right flank consisted of four regiment and two batteries, left of one regiment and one battery, centre of two regiments."

"My two guns which had been mounted on *tubus* and which had been received recently by me, opened fire, and my infantry waited till the Italians were within 200 metres and then attacked."

"A forward movement of our right decided the engagement in our favour."

"The enemy retreated first in order, but very soon began to flee. Whereupon our left took up the pursuit, and I watched with a feeling of pleasure the human blood that was being spilt on the other side! It was funny the lack of decision of the commandant opposite who was directing the fight. Just as it happened in front of Tripoli; he sometimes sent his reserve forward, then called it back. We pursued the Italians, driving them into their wire entanglements, and captured from them 2 machines guns, 250 rifles, 2 guns, 30,000 rounds of ammunition and 2 boxes of shells. These have come very handy to us as well as ten camels who will draw my guns."

"The following were left on the field of battle by the Italians: 1 Major, one Captain, 5 Lieutenants and 200 privates. We wanted to let go a private who was taken prisoner, but he was very pleased with being a captive and began to assist us by taking up the work of cleaning the rifles captured by us. This success enhanced the hopes and confidence of my mujahids, and with the assistance of God we have faith in our complete success. When I came here I found 900 mujahids, to-day I have 15,000 fighters behind me."

The German Red Cross in Tripoli.

We have received from Mr. Ameer Ali the following account of the German Red Cross Mission for the relief of the Ottoman sick and wounded in Tripoli. "The mission organized by the British Red Crescent Society," he writes, "leaving Charing Cross at 9 A.M., on Wednesday, the 14th instant, has also a hospital for 60 beds and is supplied with all the latest surgical and medical appliances, not, we hope, inferior to the German organization, except for the absence of an X-ray apparatus, which the funds of the Society did not permit."

"The German Red Cross Society was enabled by the liberal contributions received from important banking houses and industrial companies to undertake with as little delay as possible the mission despatched for the relief of the Turkish sick and wounded."

Preparations were made for a hospital of 60 beds at the central dépôt at Neubabelsberg so as to have it in readiness as soon as the Society was in a position to despatch the hospital, and the provincial societies of the Association of Voluntary Sick Nurses were also communicated with to make a selection of volunteer hospital assistants and nurses.

"The mission, with the assistance of the various Red Cross societies, was soon complete. The equipment and stores were shipped on January 10 in the steamship *Perra* of the Levant Line and the mission sailed on the following day on board that boat direct for Tunis."

"The mission is to land at El Bisan, 24 kilometres from the Tunisian and Turkish frontier, whence it will proceed on camels, and it will be met on the frontier by a Turkish escort. Stores and rations for the staff as well as for the patients accompany the mission and preparations are made for three months" (*Times*).

Khedive and Red Crescent.

At the end of last week the Khedive, in receiving a deputation of the Egyptian Red Crescent League, which had come to thank His Highness for having taken the work of the Society under his patronage, congratulated the Committee upon the excellent services which the Red Crescent League was performing at the seat of war. This work, the Khedive said, did great honour to Egypt, and it was with pleasure that he watched the youth of the country labouring conscientiously and intelligently, not only in the interests of the moment, but also in the interests of the future, for, he concluded, there is at the present time the greatest need for Oriental peoples to look ahead and to work in unison and with sincerity.

Turco-Italian War.

The truth is now out about General Caneva's visit to Rome. It is told by the Rome correspondent of the Milan *Perseveranza* in a despatch to his journal. This despatch is reprinted in huge display type on the front page of the *Fronte*. It reads as follows:—

"When General Caneva came to Rome, at the invitation of the Government, to confer with the Premier the Ministers of War, Foreign Affairs and Marine, and the Chief of the General Staff, the disposition of the Cabinet towards the Commander-in-Chief of the Tripoli Expedition was not over warm.

"They have always had confidence in the strategic ability of the general and a high estimate of his political sagacity, but they thought that he combined these fine qualities with an excessive slowness and undue caution. In a word, the Government thought the general's tactics far too dilatory."

"In the very first interview that the general had with the leading personages of the Cabinet in Rome the following question was plainly and squarely put to him:

"Are you in a position with the means now at your disposal, and with all the other means which you might ask for and which the Government would not hesitate to give—are you in a position to provide that unequivocal and decisive victory of which Italy is in need, in order to impose an unconditional peace upon Turkey?"

"General Caneva did not hesitate to give the resolute answer, 'No.'"

Here the correspondent adds—"I do not know, and if I knew I would not say, what were the arguments used by General Caneva to demonstrate the soundness of his thesis. But it is certain that he firmly held to his belief in the absolute inopportune ness of an advance into the interior in search and pursuit of an enemy that knows how to put himself out of reach by reason of his great mobility."

"I cannot give to the nation that victory which is essential if peace is to be imposed upon Turkey. All that I for my part can answer for is the slow and gradual conquest of the whole territory of Tripoli and Cyrenaica. If you want a brilliant success you must seek it elsewhere than in Libya, because in a war of an essentially colonial character such as that which has been entrusted to me, no army could obtain a brilliant success—not at this moment, not in a month's time, not in a year, never!"

The War in Tripoli.

AN INTERESTING account of life in the Turkish camp at Azizieh (Tripoli) is given by the *Daily Chronicle's* correspondent there. On the arrival of his party at the camp, he says, they found themselves in the midst of a wonderfully busy scene. In a large open space surrounded by irregular buildings, squatted hundreds of Arabs

chattering like magpies and carrying on a brisk trade with officers and men. There appeared to be no lack of food for the Sultan's fighting men in Tripoli. On every side were sacks and baskets full of onions, potatoes, chillies, dates, lemons, eggs, rice, mutton, goat's flesh, sugar, and native bread; there was even a number of rather lean fowls, but no trace of coffee. Apart from tobacco, which was scarce and costly, I could see no sign of famine prices. Potatoes were selling at 3dbs for 2d., eggs 8d a dozen, meat about 4d. a lb. As far as food is concerned the war might last for years in the interior of Tripoli.

The market is bounded on the south by one of the big "konaks" or military quarters typical of Tripoli—a central courtyard filled with Arabs and camels and very filthy. The upper storey runs a large broad terrace loopholed for rifle fire and commanding fine views of the desert and the Gharian Mountains. The Turkish officers experience at Azizieh the very minimum of personal comfort. I never heard a word of complaint, and everybody seemed in a good temper and excellent spirits yet what a signal contrast exists between the condition of active service in the British Army and those which prevail at Azizieh. Here in a small room in the tumbledown konak sleep the Commander-in-Chief, Keith Bey, and Djevad Bey. The writing of numerous dispatches, the issue of daily orders, the holding of courts martial, the reception of Arab deputations have all to take place in this one apartment, which also serves as the mess for all the meals of the staff. If ever I saw compressed discomfort I saw it in that untidy room.

The borders of our camp have been continually enlarged since the beginning of December by the arrival of Arab contingents from east, south and west. A war drum would be heard in the distance, and gradually a column would appear over the gentle undulations of the desert. The Arabs advanced in ragged "fours," the result of the elementary drill provided by a couple of Turkish regulars who marched with them. At the head of the columns rode the Sheikhs, splendidly mounted, crescent flags, embroidered with Koran texts, waved in the air. Amid loud shouts of welcome the new arrivals would march round the camp, and then taking up their bivouac ground settle down in coloured masses "like garden beds," in the words of the Gospel narrative. At other times they ranged themselves in big semi-circles, with the mounted chiefs in the centre and the standard bearers moving to and fro along the lines. The spectacle was really magnificent in its display of elemental vigour and passion. Suddenly in resonant tones some Arab would chant the refrain, "We are warriors, we fear not death for our fatherland" and then the massed ranks raised their rifles and swords and shouted with one accord, "We are true sons of our father"—i.e., in colloquial English, "chaps of the old block." The enthusiasm was tremendous and the occasion worthy of a great artist's brush. Holman Hunt would have done justice to the wonderful grouping, the varied colours, reds, whites, browns, the yellow desert all around, and the sun blazing until the air quivered in the heat.

For some time after the turning of the Turkish left on the 4th December and the consequent removal of their headquarters to Azizieh, the Italians appear (continues the correspondent) to have been living in a fool's paradise of security. Officers and correspondents talked glibly of "no more fighting until we find ourselves in the Gharian Mountains." This belief received rude shock on the 19th December when a brigade under Colonel Fava set out for small oasis to clear out some alleged marauders. Long before daylight three battalions of infantry, a squadron of cavalry, three mule guns, and some Maximis left the trenches at Ain Zara. Some of the infantry belonged to the 11th Bersaglieri, whose captured transport wagons lie at Azizieh. The Turks at Fonduk Bengashin were well aware of the enemy's advance, and without delay the Arabs began to harass the Italian column, leaping from dune to dune and firing at every opportunity.

As the sun rose these attacks increased in number and vigour. The Italians were losing men and at length halted, and then began to retire. But they had miscalculated time, distance, and direction. At this time of year the sun disappears about 4.30, and within one hour all the ways of the desert are darkened. There was no moon, and in the blackness of the night, illuminated only by the flash of the rifles and the play of lightning on the horizon, the invaders altogether lost their way. Attacked on every side by invisible assailants, whose loud cries of "Allah Akbar" rose above the din of battle, the position of the Italians had become desperate, and the men began to give way. Colonel Fava at length managed to collect his troops on a hill which was immediately intrenched. The position was excellent, provided with good cover and a clear field of fire for the rifles and Maximis. But a band of 60 Fezzani, some of the keenest and most intelligent fighters among the Arabs, had by this time passed round the Italians left and cut off the hill from the north.

There was indeed by midnight only one possible outlet for the beleaguered Italians—a small opening on the west of the hill which the Arabs had failed to close up. At length encumbered with their

9th March.

dead and wounded incessantly attacked by the stealthy Arabs in front and rear, unable to employ their artillery to any effective purpose, the wretched Italians were overtaken by despair, and the great reconnaissance which had left Tripoli at daybreak to punish the Arabs ended in a veritable *débâcle*.

It is difficult to estimate the actual losses of the Italians in these disastrous engagements. In no modern campaign has there ever been exhibited so bare-faced a disregard for statistical accuracy as is found in Tripoli to-day. The Italians have persistently concealed the full extent of their serious losses. On the other hand the Turkish authorities are compelled sometimes to rely more or less on native reports, and Arabs indulge habitually in exaggeration which simply takes one's breath away. However, in the present instance, the struggling fight and final rout took place within a short distance of where I was, and Turkish officers who had means of discovering the enemy's losses with some degree of accuracy estimated that several hundred of the Italian infantry and gunners had been killed and wounded. At any rate, 200 rifles were actually collected and brought in. Ammunition, boots, helmets, and hats stripped from the dead or found on the field of battle were exposed for sale in the market.

The Turkish casualties were 11 killed and 10 wounded. The latter were conveyed to the base hospital at Azizieh, and amongst them was my former servant Mohammed. This man, utterly useless as a servant and otherwise objectionable, had redeemed his past by volunteering for service with the Arab levies. A bullet had pierced his thigh, but he seemed little inconvenienced by the wound, despite which he had managed to carry away from the fight as his share of the loot an Italian rifle and a soldier's haversack containing 60 cartridges in packages marked "Solemit Capua". An interesting item among the spoils was a large case of medical stores and appliances valued at £150 and sold by an Arab for a few francs.

The Italian Chamber.

(FROM THE "TIMES" ROME CORRESPONDENT)

The order of the day for the reopening of Parliament will be published to-morrow. As far as can be learnt the Chamber, after the customary formalities and commemorations of dead colleagues, will be presented at once with the decree of the annexation of Tripoli and Cyrenaica and invited to pass it as law. But, in order to narrow any possible discussion, there will be no formal communications from the Government, and the debate will be confined strictly to the mere fact of annexation and a few attendant consequences.

The approach of the date fixed for the reopening of Parliament has stirred both the Italian Government and its Opposition into active life. The Government has summoned to Rome the generals in command in Tripoli in order to concert measures against its foes at home, as well as against those in the open field, and its foes at home, balked of their first intention to denounce the Government for neglect to consult the nation through its Parliament, have settled on new plans of campaign after delivering their souls of the dislavour with which they regard the Tripoli enterprise and all its consequences. The speeches of the Socialist Deputies at Bologna were not without interest. So far the anti-war party is composed of leaders without followers. The country has thrown itself into the war with an extraordinary enthusiasm and unanimity, and the voices of Turati, Bissolati and other malcontents appeal to deaf ears. But popular movements are never very long-lived in Italy, and when the inevitable reaction comes—though even after the conclusion of a peace which leaves Italy with all that she asks—the Socialists will get a hearing again, and their arguments will be pressed home with greater effect.

It is notable that not even the most uncompromising insist upon the withdrawal of the army of occupation and the cessation of hostilities. They accept the accomplished fact, while blaming the Government for having accomplished it, and only ask that its consequences should be cut as short as possible. Bissolati, and his far more moderate followers, are ready even to find excuses for the Ministry, but then they have their eyes still fixed upon the democratic legislation they have been promised, and fear, if they abandon Giolitti, they may also have to abandon his proposed electoral reform and the State monopoly of life assurance. Turati and his thoroughgoing majority are ready to abandon all. They cannot undo what has been done, but in punishment they would pull the Ministry down. The democratic parties in the State, they say, have been grossly betrayed by the Government. The war represents everything against which the Extreme Left, and the Socialists in particular, have been fighting for years—a colonial policy, eminently undesirable for Italy, increase in her military expenditure, loss of friendship with other nations and international complications of every kind, waste of money and men in unprofitable enterprises, and the prospect of greater waste in the future. The Socialists would be untrue to themselves if they permitted a Government guilty of such blunders to live.

To this Bissolati and others retort by asking what Ministry would succeed Giolitti if they pull him down. Better, since the matter is past mending, to keep him in power and at least extort from him the fulfilment of his promises.

The irreconcilables have carried the day, and the majority of the Socialist Party in Parliament stands pledged to combat the Government and all its works, even when its measures are framed to meet Socialist approval. For the moment Signor Giolitti may contemplate the prospect of finding enemies on the Socialist benches without any great anxiety. They are very few, and it is not likely that their voices will be very clamorous in urging upon their country views which are just now the reverse of popular. He may be spared, therefore, very close and detailed criticism of the conduct of the war or of the capacity shown by his military advisers. For this he will have reason to be grateful, for it is not likely that the visit of General Caneva has brought him much comfort or any hopes of more rapid progress of the Italian arms in Tripoli. General Caneva seems to believe in a waiting policy, which, if it makes but slow advance, takes the fewest risks possible, and as long as the Government share his views they must be content to exhort the country to patience.

The opening of the Italian Parliament will enable us to form some judgment on the attitude of Italian public opinion towards the policy of the Italian Government. Of course, while the country is at war many critics will feel bound by patriotic considerations to restrain their criticism, and except from the professed Socialists we are not likely to hear many attacks upon the action of the Government in plunging into an unprovoked and unnecessary war. Other speakers are likely to accept the war as an accomplished fact, but to demand why the Government, when it decided on seizure of two Turkish provinces, neglected to prepare for the conquest of those provinces. The contrast between the aggressiveness of Italian policy and the supine nervelessness with which the war is being conducted can hardly fail to provoke pungent criticism of the Government. The outburst of enthusiasm which was so marked a feature of the first few days following the outbreak of hostilities seems now incapable of being revived. Parliament will probably insist on knowing exactly how matters stand in Tripoli and Cyrenaica, and how it comes that a great modern army, equipped with all the resources of civilisation, has been unable to make any headway against a handful of poorly equipped Turkish regulars, cut off from supplies, and supported by a few thousand half-armed and ill-disciplined Arab levies. The Government will probably be called to account for the falsification of its hopes regarding the attitude of the Arabs, whom it plainly expected to join the Italians against the Turks. Probably, too, it will be expected to explain its attitude with regard to the *Mannuba* and other incidents that have caused so much trouble with France and to make some statement on the extraordinary incident at Malta, where two Arab prisoners were found in chains on board a ship on its way from Palermo to Tripoli.

It will be interesting to see what effect the opening of the Parliamentary Session will have on the conduct of the Italian operations. General Caneva and the other commanders have been summoned to Rome and have discussed the whole situation with the Government. It would undoubtedly save the Giolitti Ministry much embarrassment if a little energy could be infused into the Italian leadership. A real victory or even a real beginning of the long deferred advance into the interior would strengthen the position of the Cabinet. We may assume that considerations of this kind were put with some force before the military authorities, but whether to any purpose or not it is as yet impossible to say. According to some reports General Caneva maintained his view that caution, more caution, and still more caution were the three essential conditions of ultimate success in Tripoli. To this the Government may well have replied that there is moderation in all things, even in caution, and that energy and resolution have sometimes been found useful elements of military leadership. In the meantime the Italians, in their anxiety that progress should be slow and sure, are not moving at all. At Tripoli there has arrived a curious reinforcement for the Italians in the shape of a contingent of Askari from Eritrea. These African troops are Moslem by religion, and the Italians hope the spectacle of the good fellowship between them and the Italian soldiers may have a useful moral effect on the Arabs. At Derna a vigorous assault by the Turks and Arabs has been repulsed after heavy fighting, of which we have so far only received the Italian account. A piece of news that will be of interest to our readers is that the British Red Crescent Mission, headed by Mr. Cuthbert Dixon-Johnson, Dr. Bernard Haigh and Dr. C. E. H. Smith, left London on Wednesday on its way to relieve the Ottoman sick and wounded outside Tripoli. A sum of about £2,400 has been raised for its expenses, and it carries with it stores and drugs for three months and hospital tents capable of accommodating seventy patients. Almost the only other item of news relating to the war is that Colonel Niazi Bey, according to a Reuter telegram from Port Said, was discovered at El Arish trying to make his way into Cyrenaica disguised as an Arab, and was sent back to Constantinople.

—Near East.

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

Reuter wires from Teheran that owing to the removal of the guns at Enzeli by the Russians the Persians were unable to salute the new Ambassador Emin Bey on his arrival on Wednesday. The Ambassador was indignant and drove to Resht and telegraphed to the Porte asking whether he should return to Constantinople or proceed. It is stated that the Persians at Resht recently endeavoured to obtain a gun but the Russian Consul prevented them. The Persian Government is distressed at this humiliating incident.

Reuter wires from St. Petersburg that the ex-Shah has left for Baku on a Russian ship. The Persian Government has granted him a pension of £7,500.

The *Pioneer* says there is no change in the position of affairs in Southern Persia. It is understood that Swedish officers from Teheran will proceed forthwith to enlist men from the Gendarmerie at Shiraz.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT)

Brussels, February 10.

The Minister of Finance denies that M. Mornard has telegraphed, as alleged, to the Ministry of Finance denouncing the disorder in which he has found the Persian finances. If M. Mornard has made any such communication the Minister of Finance is completely ignorant of it. He has merely received a telegram from M. Mornard requesting the services of eight additional Belgian officials, in view of the departure of Mr. Shuster's staff. It is believed at the Ministry of Finance that M. Mornard finds himself in complete agreement with the British and Russian Ministers at Teheran.

Brussels, February 13.

M. Peers attached to the Brussels Mint, has been appointed Director of the Mint at Teheran.

We are informed that the Persia Committee have addressed a letter to Sir Edward Grey protesting against the putting of any pressure on the Persian Government to continue to pay a pension to the ex-Shah on condition that he leaves the country for the reasons set forth in the paper published in the *Times* of 9th February. The Committee further consider that the return of the ex-Shah to Persia should be made impossible by a declaration on the part of both the British and the Russian Government that in no circumstances will they ever countenance his restoration to the Throne. The Committee further desire the withdrawal of all foreign troops, contend that any new Treasurer-General should not have been involved in the disputes which have taken place in connexion with the administration of the Treasury and should possess the confidence of the British and Russian mercantile communities, suggest the appointment of a foreign expert as Auditor-General of Finance, including the Customs, and are of opinion that no influence should be exercised over the Persian Government to conclude a loan until the new Majlis has been convoked and a new Financial Adviser has been appointed.

Teheran, February 12.

An authentic account which has now been received from Kermanshah shows that the Government expedition under Yar Mohammed Khan after 24 hours' heavy fighting obtained complete possession of the town on the 10th February. Salar-ed-Dowlah, however, again escaped.

Teheran, February 13.

The Russian Consul at Astrabad has had a personal interview with the ex-Shah and has communicated to him the Persian Government's offer of a pension and an amnesty if he leaves Persian territory for ever.

The ex-Shah's definite answer apparently has not yet been received but little doubt is entertained regarding its satisfactory nature. He will probably reside in Europe, but not in Russia.

Debate on the Address.

House of Lords.

THE MARQUESS OF CREWE — The noble marquess mentioned the affairs of Persia. Two points are, I think, worthy of special mention. In the first place we have seen how much more deeply distracted the situation in Persia has become by the attempts of the ex-Shah of Persia to return and to obtain a footing in the country. The ex-Shah has had throughout a certain degree of following in Persia itself. We are convinced that the best hope, if not the only hope, for the restoration of order is that the ex-Shah must leave the country. We can in no case recognize him in any form after the complete mis-government and corruption which was associated with his former government. Therefore it must be the desire of friends of Persia that he should retire or be retired from the country as soon as possible. The noble marquess spoke with a somewhat needless degree of pessimism of the future of Persia. He spoke of it as a disappearing monarchy. I hope that is a needlessly gloomy view to take. The existing Government there is, we believe, as determined as any Government has been to maintain the independence of Persia. But its members fully admit and are evidently prepared to act on the opinion that it is useless, and worse than useless, to ignore the fact of Russian influence in Northern Persia, and desire to act as far as possible in consonance with that opinion. The second point on which I wish to say something is the continued need of obtaining land for Persia by which an improvement could take place in the government. Well I am glad to say that we have been able to arrange for a small immediate advance to Persia or its immediate provinces, and I hope that that may be a prelude to the raising of a larger loan which will enable the Persian Government to start more fairly on the restoration of order.

The Marquess of Lansdowne. — Is the advance a British advance or a joint advance?

The Marquess of Crewe — It is a joint advance of equal amount from Russia and ourselves. The noble marquess naturally mentioned the south, in which our interests are prominent. We are bound to remember that all through these disturbed times we have received a number of representations from those who, whether British or Indian subjects of his Majesty, are interested in Persian trade. Some of our ladies, I think, have not fully recognized that it is impossible for us altogether to ignore those representations. His Majesty's Government are strongly averse from direct interference in Persian affairs. From the Indian point of view anything like direct interference is thoroughly objectionable. In the first place we have no desire to send Indian troops to Southern Persia, because it is not the purpose for which the Indian Army exists, and the actual difficulties which would confront our forces there are, owing to the nature of the people and of the country, always likely to be severe. But, in the second place, we always have to bear in mind the peculiar position which Persia holds in the regard of the Muhammadan community of India. That alone makes us thoroughly averse from appearing to interfere, unduly in the internal affairs of Persia. Therefore, although we have been accused of sending Indian troops to Southern Persia, we have desired to confine the sending of those troops simply for the various Consulates, and we have not permitted them being used for the ordinary purpose of escorting trade caravans. They have been simply the Consular guard of the ordinary character, though somewhat stronger than in ordinary peaceful times they would have been. What we particularly hope when the financial situation is more regular is that the Persian Government may be helped to make the southern trade routes safe, which to anybody who knows the character of the great and in some cases almost semi-independent tribes who live or move along those roads is a task which requires not merely force but some diplomacy. A desire has been expressed for information about the proposal for the trans-Persian railway to India. I always understood that was a project which from many points of view must require very close examination and careful consideration on the part of anybody who acts for Great Britain, quite apart from the question of the special route. The whole question is of very serious importance from the Indian point of view, and it is certainly not one about which we ought to give a hurried decision. The whole subject is still in the region of absolute inquiry. Neither we, nor any other Power, are pledged to any particular form of undertaking, and I can assure the noble marquess that we shall continue to watch most carefully the further stages which the project may reach and zealously examine all the details connected with it.

9th March.

House of Commons.

MR. BONAR LAW—THE next subject to which I wish to refer is that of our foreign relations. The House will have noticed that the longest paragraph in the King's Speech deals with China. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) It is very interesting. The Speech expresses this hope, which I also share, that the crisis in that country may end "in the establishment of a stable form of government in conformity with the views of the Chinese people." (Laughter and cheers.) If the Chinese get "a stable form of government in conformity with the views of the Chinese people" they are greatly to be envied—(cheers)—for it is a form of government which is not enjoyed now by the British people. (Cheers.) I should like next to say a word about Persia. I need not say that I do not intend to imitate the kind of attacks which have been made on the Foreign Secretary by some of his own supporters (cheers) and by, I think, the majority of his own newspapers. And let me say in passing that I congratulate the right hon. gentleman most sincerely on the very high honour which has been conferred upon him. (Cheers.) I do not, as I say, intend to imitate that form of criticism. Indeed, during my connexion with the House of Commons I never listened to any debate which seemed to me to be more amazing than that of hon. members below the gangway on foreign relations. Their speeches were divided into two watertight compartments. In one of them they accuse the right hon. gentleman of having adopted a policy which might have landed us in war with Germany. The other compartment consisted in attacks equally violent because he did not adopt a policy towards Russia which would have inevitably landed us in war with that country. I do not intend to imitate that kind of policy. But I am bound to say that I still adhere to the remark I made in the Foreign Office debate, that where secrecy is not necessary it is undesirable, and I do hope the time has come when more information can be given us about the position of Persia. Though I express this hope, I shall at once accept the statement by the Government that there are reasons which make it impossible to give it. I fully recognize it; the policy of the right hon. gentleman, as far as I understand it, is right. There are no means that I can see of dealing with Persia except jointly with Russia. But I should like to know how that joint action is getting on and how Persia stands. I should like to know where the

Russian troops are, how many there are, and what prospect there is of their being sent away. I should like to know also whether there is any truth in the rumour of a joint loan for Persia to be issued and guaranteed by Russia and this country. There are also rumours of a railway to go through Persia. If there is anything in that, and if it is possible to give us the information, I am sure that the House would like to have it, because we must all recognize that such a railway is not merely important from the point of view of trade interests and its effects on Persia, but, still more important, its possible effects on our Indian frontier. To these questions I should like, if possible, to have information, but I do not press the Government for it if they say that they cannot give it in the interests of the public service.

MR. ASQUITH—What the right hon. gentleman said in regard to Persia was very much more worthy of his position and responsibility. The policy of the Government with regard to Persia was most clearly defined by my right hon. friend the Foreign Secretary in our debates in this House so late as December last. The policy then laid down by my right hon. friend remains the policy of His Majesty's Government to-day. We are most anxious to see in Persia the establishment of a native government standing on a stable footing, and the preservation—which we believe to be essential for such government, in our own interest and in the interest of the world—of the understanding between ourselves and Russia. The right hon. gentleman has asked very properly about the position of the Russian troops. The position at the present moment is this. A not inconsiderable number of Russian troops have already been withdrawn from Tabriz, and we are given to understand that the withdrawal of the whole is not only in contemplation, but, barring accidents and mis-adventures, is in process of being carried out. (Cheers.) As regards the loan, it is quite true that we have agreed to become parties to an Emergency Loan of £200,000 to Persia, of which £100,000 will be provided by Russia, £50,000 by the Government of India, and the remaining £50,000, of course, subject to the approval of the House of Commons, by His Majesty's Government. That is absolutely essential if the Persian Government is to be in a position to maintain an effective administration, to restore order and protect travellers and trade, and, indeed, to discharge the elementary functions of government. That will, I think, be supplemented hereafter by a much larger measure of finance.—"Times."

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پیلک ان کے کالوں کو بہت پسند
کریں -

بھائی اتم صنگھ - ان کے
رکارڈوں سے پیلک بخوبی واقف
ہے - یہ دو رکارڈ سلینی کے ہیں
ہو بہت می پسند کئے جائیں گے -
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کے درباری کولہ میں - بہت
زبردست اور بالکل آداز ہے اور
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Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 11. Anna 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, March 16, 1912.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1.

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cheered the King and Queen on their escape. There was renewed enthusiasm when the King later drove in an open motor to visit Major Lang in hospital

Suffragettes.

The Suffragettes brought up for trial at the sessions have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from four to six months and in some cases to hard labour. Two of them on promising not to repeat their conduct were bound over. A hundred others were sent to the next session

China.

A telegram to the *Times* from Nanking says that the Cabinet assembly has consented to the inauguration of the president-elect in Peking and also to excuse Yuan-Shi-Kai from coming to Nanking in view of the troubles in the North.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 10th.—Yuan-Shi-Kai has been inaugurated as Provisional President in the presence of the representatives of all the provinces and sections of the community. The ceremony was an imposing one. Yuan-Shi-Kai wore military uniform and others present wore uniforms or frockcoats. The presence of the veterans and younger leaders provided a scene typical of the Chinese transition

Yuan-Shi-Kai in his speech at his inauguration said "I shall endeavour faithfully to develop the Republic, increase the welfare of the country and cement all the five races into one strong nation. I shall retire when the National Assembly appoints a permanent president.

Two yellow clad Jamas presented scarves to Yuan-Shi-Kai. The Legation were not represented at the ceremony.

Tangshaoyi has been appointed premier.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 13th—The army from Kansu which has hitherto been regarded as mythical has defeated the Government troops and is marching on the Kalgan railway. It consists of ten thousand well armed men and is commanded by General Sheng Yun, who says he is coming to restore the Emperor. Envoy of Yuan-Shi-Kai have gone to meet General Sheng Yun and explain the situation to him

Morocco.

A French column lost two killed and nineteen wounded in a fight lasting all of the 9th instant with the Zemmur tribesmen in Morocco.

An anti-foreign outbreak has occurred at Marakesh, a German and a Swiss having been wounded. It is reported that troops fired killing several Moors before order was restored.

Delhi.

Captain Swinton, Mr. Brodie and the architect for Delhi Mr. Edwin Lutyens, will sail on board the "Mantua" for India on the 29th instant

Moslem University

There is again fresh activity in respect of the collection of subscriptions for the Moslem University and the outlook is full of promise. Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal has taken the lead and given a fresh annual grant amounting to a donation of one lakh and seventy-five thousand rupees. This is in addition to her subscription of one lakh already announced. The Trustees of the Wadia Fund have given Rs. 25,000 and a handsome donation of not less than a lakh is expected from the Junagadh State.

The Week.

Home Rule.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Asquith announced that owing to the exigencies of Parliamentary business, it was impossible to introduce the Home Rule Bill before Easter. He hoped to introduce the Budget and Welsh Disestablishment before Easter.

The South Pole.

Reuter wires from Christiania on the 8th.—Aftenposten and Tidsskriftet have received the following telegram from Hobart Amundsen reached the South Pole between the 14th and 17th December. All well. It is certain that Captain Amundsen reached the Pole but pending the *Daily Chronicle's* narrative no details are available. It is not true that Captain Amundsen announced that Scott had arrived at the Pole.

The King of Italy.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 14th.—A man fired several shots at the King of Italy this morning. The King was not injured. The assailant was arrested.

Their Majesties were en route for the Pantheon to take part in the memorial service on the occasion of the anniversary of the birthday of King Humbert. They were escorted by Cuirassiers under the command of Major Lang when a youth named Dalba fired three times at the Royal carriage in the Via Lata. Major Lang was wounded and fell from his horse and had to be conveyed to hospital. Dalba was immediately seized and almost lynched. It is believed that the act is not the result of a plot but that of an individual anarchist. The crowds lining the route deliriously

16th March

The Comrade.

The Moslem League.

II

IN HIS Presidential Address in the last session of the Moslem League, the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca also dealt with the mismanagement of Moslem endowments designed mainly for public benefit and asked for a proper inquiry into their general purposes and manner of administration. This is an old resolution of the League and was repeated this year with as much fervour as before. The Bombay Legislature had a Bill introduced on this subject by the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahmatullah last year, but in the Imperial Legislative Council the reply of the Hon. the Home Member to the Hon. Maulvi Shams-ul-Huda was far from satisfactory. We hope the representatives of the Mussalmans in the Council would persist with questions and resolutions and even introduce Bills. It is not only by opposing the wishes of the community which they are supposed to represent or by keeping silence that Moslem members can serve their co-religionists. The question of *Wakf-al-awla* demands legislative action, and we hope the Hon. Mr. Jinnah's Bill would be modified into one declaratory of the true personal law of the Mussalmans and passed in that form. Mr. Jinnah has not evidently courted even the support of his co-religionists, and it would be a great disappointment and would lead to much harm if his Bill was dropped merely because of some objections to its details.

On the subject of the treatment of Indians in the British Colonies, the Nawab and the League were as ardently assertive of the rights of Indians throughout the Empire as any other individual or political body, and we are glad to note that in the discussion on the resolution moved in H.E. the Viceroy's Council by Mr. Gokhale in favour of a stoppage of indentured labour, all Muhammadan members voted with him. Is it not a matter of regret that the Indian Government should be impotent to prevent the recent expulsion, after receipt of purely nominal compensation, of Indian residents of the Township of Vrededorp in the Transvaal where these Indians have traded unmolested for many years, or that the Imperial Government itself should be unable to prevent or punish the levy of an extortionate poll tax in Natal on unindentured Indian labourers and their families which drives a large number of Indian women to a life of shame and of men to crime or desertion of their families? Is it to an Imperialism so debased and sordid that our allegiance is invited? We have heard a great deal of the South African side of the question, but in reality the question does not concern one Colony alone. It concerns all and is one and inseparable. The Hon. Mr. A. M. Jeewanjee of East Africa has supplied facts concerning that Colony which constitute an unanswerable criticism of Lord Selborne's special pleading. There the presence of the British as well as the development of the country is due to Indians, and yet they are being squeezed out by the later white settlers, and the best places of residence which the Indians possess and use, which show that there at least their standard of living is not low, are a thorn in the side of the white settlers. The fact is that in spite of the divisions of race, country and creed the coloured races are being welded together by the stern realities of the situation, and if such a forced union comes to be based on hate rather than on love, the Colonials even more than the Europeans would be responsible for it and its evil consequences. It is to prevent the formation of such a Syndicate of Hate that every loyal subject of His Majesty should address himself to the question, and this cannot be done if respect is paid too long to Colonial prejudices and the freedom of the Colonies.

Another important question which engaged the attention of the League was the admission of qualified Indians into the ranks of Commissioned Officers of the Indian Army. Last year the League had for the first time pressed this demand in favour of the scions of ruling and other noble families. But it was wisely extended this year to all classes of His Majesty's subjects, for it is not desirable to confine such Commissions to a small class some members of which would rejoice in nothing more than an elegant military uniform, and avoiding the close application needed for a military career and its undoubtedly hardships and privations, would merely play at soldiering. In an informing article in the *Contemporary Review*, which breathes courage and confidence and a true regard for justice and the demands of statesmanship, rather than the morbid sentimentalism which Sir William Lee Warner curiously confounds with sympathy, Major-General H. B. Jeffreys, C. B., has dealt with the question admirably and deserves the gratitude of the whole country, and specially its martial classes. At present the Indian Army comprises 40 regiments of cavalry and 154 battalions of infantry, each with 17 British and 16 Indian officers. The former are, one commandant, 4 squadron commanders and 12 squadron officers in the cavalry; and a similar allotment in the infantry, reading double company for squadron. The Indian officers are divided

among the squadrons or double companies. Formerly they all rose from the ranks and seldom attained commissioned rank with less than 12 years' service and were, with few exceptions, naturally and inevitably men of low social status with little education and small ambitions. "In order to attract a better class of officer," says General Jeffreys, "and in some measure to provide an outlet for men of family with martial instincts or traditions, it was decreed some years ago that one vacancy in four should be filled by direct commission, and these two systems are still in force side by side." The palliative, according to the writer, is worse than the disease. The sepoy who looks to the chance of promotion to give him better position, better pay and a good retiring pension finds that one quarter of the prizes of his profession are gone, while the man who secures a direct Commission creates jealousy among older officers who have risen from the ranks, and if at all ambitious, as he must be if he belongs to the class intended to be benefited, he feels sore at his inability to rise even to the position of double company commander.

The contrast that this state of affairs presents to a not very remote past would be evident if it is remembered that in the army raised by Clive there were only 3 white officers to a battalion, as against the 17 of to-day. If this was the practice of the past what is the theory of to-day? We are all familiar with the Royal Proclamation of 1858, and fifty years later Lord Morley said that "the merits of individuals are to be considered irrespective and independent of race and colour." What, then, debars the Indian from rising to a high position in the Army and subordinates the Indian veteran to the youngest British subaltern? As General Jeffreys says, "there must be weighty reasons for the continuance of a system so repugnant to fair play and liberal progress, and so at variance with our usual policy of encouraging independence in other parts of our dominions." The reasons can only be the inefficiency of Indians, and the danger of another Mutiny. It is obviously better to let a British General speak about these matters than do it ourselves, and we reproduce his arguments.

"There is no inherent reason," says he, "why the white man should be braver or a more efficient leader than his black or brown brother. History abounds with proofs of courage on the part of Asiatic and other coloured races," and General Jeffreys has referred to the courage and leadership of many coloured races in diverse countries and at different times. He then turns to "our declared policy to raise the native Indian, to educate him, to put down the old methods (not unconnected with the stick) of asserting our superiority of race, and generally to fit him to take part in governing his country." He refers to the satisfaction, even though it is partial, of the Indians' ambitions in the Civil Service, and in the professions of law and medicine, and he concludes that the profession of arms "cannot indefinitely be denied to him." But the injustice of the present position is still further accentuated by the contrast with recent developments in Protected States. He writes:-

The area of these States amounts to about three-sevenths of that of India, and in them we find their armies being demobilised and contingents being provided who are styled Imperial Service Troops, and are destined to take their place in the battle line beside our own Army; and these troops are officered by native gentlemen of their own States, receiving, it is true assistance and guidance from a few selected British officers. The situation therefore is that, in the Native States, the country can follow honourably the profession of arms, and can rise to high position in it, whereas in British India the same class cannot even hope to command a squadron or a double company.

Concerning the second plea, the danger of another Mutiny, General Jeffreys has made it clear that "the practical exclusion of Hindu and Muhammadan gentlemen from the Army, an exclusion which is absolute as regards command and the staffs," is only one of the three great existing military safeguards against Mutiny. In addition to it, we have the non-existence of Indian Artillery, with the exception of 12 mountain batteries, and the mixture of races in the army. All but two of the 40 cavalry regiments are "mixed," this being carried so far that some of the squadrons even are not homogeneous, and no less than 20 different classes are represented. In the infantry, apart from 20 Gurkha battalions and 30 others which are maintained on a "class" basis, 104 "mixed" battalions contain companies enlisted from 24 different categories of Indians. Discussing with great insight and sobriety of judgment the political conditions of to-day, General Jeffreys concludes:-

We are forced to ask ourselves whether we are not making too much of this bogey of Mutiny and whether we should not as regards this question of the native army begin to govern India on more liberal lines. We preach equality of race and pretend that it is our wish to elevate and instruct those under our rule, and to provide them with employment commensurate with their fitness for responsible positions. In Egypt, the native officer has a career open to him and can rise to command. In South Africa the world has wondered at the spectacle of a conquered people being given full self-government a few years after their defeat, including entire control of such local forces as they care to raise. Can we wonder if in India the class of men, who holds his own with us in a gallop at a *wig* or in a hotly contested polo match, and in a native State can rise to military command, grows discontented, and asks how long he is going to be made to feel that he belongs to a subject and inferior race?

Who can deny that General Jeffreys is not a safer adviser than the mutiny-mongers when he says that "we should look in the future to ruling that vast country through the affections of the people, and through what they feel is their best interest"? Is that rule possible with "a mercenary army," or should the people participate in the defence of their country as fully as in its administration? This question Bacon has already answered "For to think that an handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly." General Jeffreys echoes the sentiments of the entire country when he says that "had the King-Emperor at the recent Durbar seen fit to grant this concession to Indian sentiment and aspirations, the boon would have been received with enthusiastic gratitude. . . . No step would arouse such passionate loyalty among the natural leaders of India's fighting men as the removal of the rate disqualification in the matter of rising to real military command, under which they now suffer." Who shall say, in these days of a nice Balance of Power and the constant international friction to which it gives rise, that General Jeffreys is a false prophet in hazarding the warning that "the time may be nearer than we think when we shall need that loyalty, for we are indeed 'an handful of (white people) and our dominion is vast'?" A local contemporary says that while it recognises the reasonableness of this argument, the concession will be made only if there is a demand. And yet our esteemed contemporary is shocked if an agitation takes place. Is it aware that interpellations and resolutions on this subject have been discouraged by the highest authorities so that the demand itself is not likely to find a voice? The Moslem League has, however, voiced it twice. Shall our contemporary wait till the much maligned Congress also shouts?

In addition to the ordinary discussion of resolutions, the League had to elect its office bearers and Council for the next term and we are immensely relieved to know that H H the Aga Khan, who had hitherto so ably, selflessly and, if we may say so, democratically guided the deliberations and activities of the League, has accepted re-election as its President. Apart from the many other undoubted qualifications of His Highness for this onerous and high office, we can find few in the Moslem community who can tolerate honest difference of opinion to the extent that he can, and while dictatorship may be possible, leadership in its best sense is impossible except on the basis of toleration of adverse opinion and successful persuasion of those that differ from each other to accept some reasonable compromise. Among the Vice-Presidents two notable appointments have been made, one the re-election of the veteran leader, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, who had himself wished to retire but whom his community can ill afford to lose, and the other the election of the Hon. the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad, whose great services in connection with the Moslem University merited grateful recognition. We are, however, sorry that due attention was not paid to the proportion which the number of Vice-Presidents from each Province must bear to its importance and population, and however much we may admire the virility and energy of the North, we are bound to say that other parts of India have been unduly neglected in this matter. Owing to the sudden demise of the Honorary Secretary only a few days before this Session, there was not enough time to think of a proper substitute, and it was decided to postpone the election of a permanent office for a time, and Mr Wazir Hasan, formerly Joint Secretary, was requested to remain *sub pro tempore*, as at present. Owing to the lateness of the hour the election of the Council of the League was also postponed, but may be expected to take place before many months have passed.

Unfortunately only two days could be devoted to the Session and a crowded or rather congested programme had to be gone through. But no consideration came in the way of a full and frank discussion, and it could not be said that any point of view remained unheard. Considering everything this Session was in itself a great success, but in respect of its having roused Bengal and brought it into closer touch with the central organisation it was a unique success. We must admit that hitherto the connection between the parent institution and its progeny was not so intimate as it should have been but would it be right to throw all, or even the major portion of responsibility on the Central League? The constitution of the League has a representative basis, and it effectively prevents the Session of the League from becoming the demonstration of a mob. One has to be a member of the League of his Province before he can have any chance of being elected as a member of the All-India League, and in well-managed and living Provincial Leagues themselves membership can be secured only through the membership of some District or Town League which elects its representatives for the Provincial League. We readily understand the desire of a good many people to take an active part in the deliberations of the All-India Moslem League when once it has come to their very doors. But we cannot concede that they have any right to take such a part after having neglected their Provincial League, which alone could have returned them, or after having neglected or refused to be elected as a member of

the All-India League. Bengal has been allotted a large number of seats in the latter, but if people do not care to avail themselves of these seats it is improper to call the League all sorts of names and run down the very merits of its constitution. It must always set its face against the manufacturing of "Patriots while you wait." Considering that the electors are none too exacting, the number of vacancies great, and the fee only Rs 20, which is payable in quarterly instalments, and generally covers the hotel expenses of the members attending a session, we would have thought that people would have sought election on these easy terms long before turning critics. We have, however, no quarrel even with indolent critics, so long as they are honest. But if people try their utmost to wreck an institution from the outside, and after failing in their attempt, discover that their influence inside it is meagre in the extreme, no one would waste his sympathy on them if they wail in the wilderness.

Happily there is a growing body of honest Moslem workers in Bengal who do not seek salvation in the Cave of Adullam, but come forward to seek assistance from their brethren no matter whence they come and to render them assistance whenever they seek it. While the wreckers have this time received their deserts, and the indolent are beginning to rub their eyes and be up the honest workers have been brought still closer to their co-chiromist of the North, and the work so excellently begun by the Moslem University Deputation and the last Provincial Educational Conference has been well extended by this Session of the League. We trust the years 1911 and 1912 would mark the commencement of a new and happier era for the Mussalmans of Bengal. The time for sulking in one's tent or constructing the proverbial separate mosque with a brick and a half has gone, and a community that cannot close its ranks, and steadily and unflinchingly march ahead is doomed to day. We are hopeful of better things for the Mussalmans of Bengal and we trust our hope will not be in vain.

The Lords on the Announcement.

Had we been desirous of creating an agitation against the changes announced at Delhi we would have had no reason to apologise for reverting to the subject again. Experience has taught us that a word is not enough even to the wise, and the essence of successful agitation is repetition without end. But we have no desire to create an agitation. Nevertheless, though humble in our own person, we yet belong to a profession which has certain responsibilities and obligations just as politicians of the higher and the middle classes have in England. We have no wish to arrogate to this profession pretentious titles such as the Fourth Estate, but we cannot help saying that in India, at least, if the Government is, so to speak, one Estate and political associations and legislative bodies form another, the third is undoubtedly the Press, and while the Government may choose to be reticent and a politician can easily avoid criticism of a Government measure, the third factor in the political life of the country cannot possibly evade its obligations. Even if it could, no purpose would be served, for a blank page or two in the place of the expected comment would be a greater reflection on the policy and character of the Government than the most trenchant criticism. If, then, Lord Lansdowne could honestly say "We were bound to comment upon the action of His Majesty's Government. We should have been unworthy of our position if we had failed to do so," we, who are denied the right of Government to be reticent and of politicians to avoid expression of opinion, were still more bound to comment upon the action of His Majesty's advisers and should have been far unworthy of our position if we had failed to do so for fear of a possible loss of official approval. We, for our part, did not fail to do so, and while we are wholly unconscious whether we ever possessed any official approval to speak of, and if so, whether we have lost it now in any measure, we are at least satisfied in our own mind that our duties have not remained unperformed.

We repeat that if we revert to the announcement to-day, it is not because we wish to create an agitation against the changes. We wish bygones to be bygones and are anxious to start with a clean slate. But it is essentially necessary to insure that the slate is clean. Now, the Mail paper, which publish an account of the Lords' debate initiated on the 21st February by Lord Curzon go to show that the slate is anything but clean, and what we write ourselves is nothing more than an effort to pass a sponge on the words scribbled by some eminent peers who still guide, directly or indirectly, the administration of this country. Unless this is done there is a grave danger that the very acts and procedure which we have now condemned would be repeated, and we would once more be required to express approval of or at least acquiescence in them. We are not prepared to accept Lord Ampthill's opinion as correct that "if the object of raising the subject in the House was to prevent the course followed by the Government of India being established as a precedent, he would ask how it could be expected that anything they said would affect the judgment, discretion and responsibility of future statesmen." We trust that however anxious the statesmen of

to-day may be to "stand to their guns, if the "guns" represent an error, they will not be as unrepentant as Lord Crewe says he is, nor fail to wince in spite of Lord Morley's assertions that his withers were completely unwrung.

Taking the speech of Lord Crewe, we are inclined to agree with him to some extent that throughout the long, elaborate and powerful speech of Lord Curzon "his tone was that of prosecuting counsel," and we think that it did not "carry as much conviction as it should have done because in some places there certainly was "the well disciplined exaggeration of the practised advocate," while every stick was good enough with which to belabour the revokers of his Partition. But we cannot agree that the unconstitutional, or, at least, unusual character of the procedure of carrying out and announcing the changes can be excused on so feeble a plea as this, that "you can hardly suggest any form of announcement which could be made at the Durbar which might not be a subject of dispute and even of discontent to a certain number of people in India." We are surprised that after having expressly admitted that the changes announced were some of the most momentous ever undertaken in the history of the British Raj, Lord Crewe should have felt it sufficient to answer that "even the most crude and Oriental form of announcement, that of mere largess, is open to the possible objection that its distribution may cause discontent." Surely the discontent of the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal is not exactly that of some unlucky member of a slavish crowd demoralized by doles, whom chance or his own infirmities deprived in the scramble of a share in the shower of small change. But even if this be an apt comparison, Lord Crewe cannot escape the charge that in the largess distributed so haphazardly and with such Oriental profusion, he took no precaution against the monopoly of malcontents and the disappointment of the loyal and contented returning empty handed.

Another point in his speech worth noting is, that although Lord Crewe was aware that "it had been suggested that a number of elaborate special arrangements ought to be made by which they would secure power in various bodies throughout the Presidency, and secure a distinct portion of public office," he failed to "correct the balance against the Muhammadans" by any measure more expeditious than the slow process of education. We had ourselves laid the greatest stress on this, but we also recognise that the house would die while the grass grew. Unless the balance against the community is immediately corrected to some extent, there is a danger that the scales may grow rusty and may remain unduly inclined against the Mussalmans for ever.

Lord Reay's participation in the debate was more academic than of any practical value, but it served to show how much even those Englishmen who have remained for years in this country are given to generalise about India. We do not know who supplied his lordship the unique and positive information on which he based the statement that "there was no doubt that the new redistribution had given general satisfaction in India." If the 18 million Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal and more than 30 millions of their coreligionists in other parts of India are a negligible quantity, then indeed the redistribution has given general satisfaction, but not otherwise. His successor in the governance of Bombay was not equally sweeping and positive, for Lord Harris was careful to say that "the alterations in the outline of Bengal...had been received, after all, with satisfaction by prominent persons in Bengal." But in reality the two statements are equally harmful to minorities and unfortunate communities. If Lord Reay does not even know that to the 75 million Mussalmans the redistribution did not give general satisfaction, Lord Harris was apparently satisfied with the "satisfaction of prominent persons in Bengal." It this does not put a premium on discontent and agitation we know not what else could do.

Lord Harris has chosen to follow Lord Crewe in the fallacy which it allowed to pass unchallenged, in spite to have so-reaching and unexpected results. He refers to "the evidence of the profound reverence for authority which was displayed after the Durbar, when thousands of spectators raced across the arena and threw themselves in humble prostration before the throne," as if that could in any way be His Majesty's advisers when accused of tendering wrong advice about the administrative changes, and of utilizing the personality of the King Emperor to cover the unconstitutionality of the procedure. Lord Crewe had in a most unjustifiable manner taken to the advisers of His Majesty the credit that belonged to His Majesty himself, and now Lord Harris finds sufficient excuse for all that has been done in the rushing crowds that came to kiss the steps of His Majesty's Throne. The first effect that is likely to flow from such reasoning is that people in India would in future feel some hesitation in expressing their heartfelt gratitude to His Majesty on an occasion even so unique as the Royal Visit, fearing lest it be utilized as an estoppel when they criticise His Majesty's advisers. This will tend to weaken the very sentiment to which Lord Harris refers with such evident approval. In the next place, those that represent the people, namely, the educated classes, will in future be compelled reluctantly to discourage the ardent demonstration of loyalty such as the people made after the Durbar if they

find that it is taken by the authorities to stultify the representations they may have to make in the best interests of their constituents. This would manifestly be a great evil, for in a country like India, with its ancient traditions of royal rule, anything that would prematurely disillusion the masses about the position of the King Emperor is sure to weaken the reverence for authority. While we sincerely believe this, we cannot help saying that if popular demonstrations of emotional loyalty are not accepted, so to speak, without prejudice, it would be the painful duty of the advocates of the people to warn them of the consequences of such expressions of loyal feeling. What is the use of Lord Crewe's defence that "the kind of criticism which has been suggested by the noble lord and by some others has not entered the mind of the Indian people as a whole"? No doubt the stability of British rule in India depends upon the affections of "the Indian people as a whole," and on the popular sentiment which actuated thousands of spectators to race across the arena and make obeisance even to an empty Throne. But any attempt to ignore the fact that it is only through their accredited representatives that the Government can reach the people, and that reason wears better than emotion and must form the bed-rock of loyalty is likely to endanger British rule itself. It is because we believe that rule to be rationally the best that we can have to day, in spite of its many shortcomings, and because the accredited representatives of the people are just as loyal as the people themselves, that we would earnestly appeal to the powers that be not to create new risks by ignoring these important and obvious considerations.

But the speeches in that debate which have forced us more than others to revert to the subject are those of Lord Macdonnel and Lord Morley. Both call for adverse comment, but whereas we read in Lord Macdonnel's speech nothing that we had not expected, we must say we are profoundly disappointed and surprised in the case of Lord Morley. With that speech, however, we deal elsewhere. Lord Macdonnel, who believes even against the judgment of the present Government of India that the world was created no earlier than the 16th of October 1905, and sceptically asked Lord Minto "if the noble lord would give the date of this subterranean agitation" that existed before the announcement of the Partition, once gave expression to the idea that the Partition was the greatest blunder since the victory at Plassey—we hope the victory itself is not regarded by the noble lord as a still greater blunder—and with the obscurant characteristic of his lordship, even more than of the Indian Civil Service generally to which Lord Harris very outspokenly alluded, Lord Macdonnel is not prepared to attach weight to any argument which may be urged against his conviction about the "greatest blunder." His capacity for argument is as unlimited as that of any other member of that Service, even though his capacity to listen to the arguments of others is even to day just as limited as it was when his lordship treated his subordinates in India like schoolboys in a charity school. We are glad to note that Lord Morley regards Lord Macdonnel as "a man of special competence on the subject," but the noble viscount could not have forgotten the occasion when Lord Macdonnel took the palm for indiscretion and subsequently treated arnichar philosophers who learnt statesmanship by reading and writing books with the contempt that forms such a large portion of his lordship's stock of feelings. Lord Macdonel had on that famous occasion boasted of having played on the harp the strings of which are the hearts of men, but we would be considerably astonished if that harp has even the single string of Watts' "Hope" to-day, unless of course he has had it re-strung with the aid of his bureaucratic tirades against Indian officials.

We said we are not astonished at what Lord Macdonel has said, but in one respect this remark needs qualification. Whatever the failings of his lordship, he was never accused of theatricality. But he appears on the stage to-day in a new role and maintains that unless the announcement was made the Durbar "would have missed its object." We presume other Durbars would be held in India, and the new crown which India has added to the regalia of her Sovereign would be seen in this country on other occasions as well. If, then, such announcements are essentially necessary to insure that Royal Durbars do not miss their object, are we to believe that the capital of India would be shifted on every such occasion, and the boundaries of the area inhabited by a third of India's population would be re-adjusted every time?

For our part, we have always believed that in spite of the sufferings of Eastern Bengal, it would have been more expedient on the whole to have originally partitioned Bengal in the manner in which it has now been done. But that would not justify us in agreeing with the palpably unfair criticism of Lord Curzon's partition which is contained in Lord Macdonnel's speech. As a matter of fact that criticism bears on it only too many signs of being also deliberately unfair. Lord Macdonel spoke on the day following the speech of Lord Curzon and had had every opportunity of studying the words of that speaker. But in spite of this he gets up next day and makes two contradictory and mutually destructive statements about Lord Curzon's motives in partitioning Bengal, both of which happen to be

untrue. At first he said, "You went the wrong way to work. You began with Assam," and when flatly contradicted by Lord Curzon who repeated what he had said on the previous day, that "we started not from Assam but from Bengal itself, and my main object was the relief of the palpable and admitted mismanagement of Bengal," the noble lord, with his characteristic obstinacy, asserted lamely that "I am justified in saying that the enlargement of Assam was one portion of the noble lord's policy." In the same breath he had the audacity to utter another and grosser misstatement, that "I understood the noble earl to say yesterday that his policy with regard to Eastern Bengal was determined by the consideration of giving to the Muhammadans a unity." If this is not a deliberate misstatement it betrays a frame of mind which certainly does not tally with fair criticism. When did Lord Curzon say in his speech that the particular line drawn across Bengal was "determined by the consideration of giving to the Muhammadans a unity"? "If it was not Assam it was the Mussalmans, if it was not the Mussalmans it was Assam." This is what Lord Macdonnel's argument amounts to, and if this is the unlimited capacity of the I.C.S. for argument, we are rather sorry for the Service that constituted the harpatrings of Lord Macdonnel.

As regards the Mussalmans and Hindus of Eastern Bengal, we prefer to quote Lord Macdonnel's remarks in full before we comment on them so that there may be no suspicion of misrepresentation. He said.—

The partition of Bengal conferred political predominance on the Mahomedans and for the first time in the history of Anglo Indian civil administration partisanship—he used the word in no offensive sense—had been manifested by the Government of India in dealing with the subject races. That spirit was a very dangerous one to be manifested by the Government of India. The creation of antagonism between Mahomedans and Hindus was one of the most radical and serious difficulties they had to contend with in India, and the creation of a province with the special object of giving predominance to Mahomedans in a country that was essentially Hindu was calculated to produce throughout Eastern Bengal that particular difficulty that Indian Governments most desired to avoid. Nobody admired the true Indian Mahomedan more than he did. For the last six years of his official life he lived among them and was on friendly terms with nearly all of any importance in his province. They were a race that anybody could invite to one's table and could accept invitations to their houses. But who were the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal? Were they the descendants of the invaders who came into Upper India under Timur? By no means. They were the aboriginal inhabitants of Eastern Bengal who, after the Mahomedan invasion in the 13th century, willingly accepted the Mahomedan creed. From that time up to our conquest they had lived among their Hindu neighbours undistinguishable from them, so far as the records showed. He had lived among them for three years and got to like them. Although extremely fanatical, they were a fine body of men, but the most ignorant people that he had met in the whole of his Indian career. He recognized the educational efforts that had since been made among them, but were they the men to be given political predominance over the clever and intellectual Hindus? Such a policy was destined to produce the most injurious consequence to our rule. The ultimate effect of the noble earl's policy would be the extinction of the Bengali Hindus as a political unit in the Indian Empire. There was every reason to believe that the Bengal mind was growing to accept that possible consummation as a fact certain to occur, and the conviction thereby produced in his mind excited the most bitter feelings of animosity and revenge, and those feelings found expression in outrage and assassination. It was his firm belief that that state of things would have increased and grown worse as the effects of the policy of partition made themselves more plain, and in his opinion no more happy event had ever occurred in our Indian history than His Majesty's declaration in the year by which the current of thought of an entire people was changed from discontent to loyalty. . . . He considered Earl Curzon's partition policy as one of the great mistakes which had been made in the history of our government of India. Millions of people in Bengal regarded the partition as a breach of a promise contained in the proclamation by which Queen Victoria took over the direct government of India. The words of the proclamation were "In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best reward."

The Mussalmans would no doubt be duly grateful to his lordship for his admiration for "the true Indian Muhammadan," and the "character" he gave him. But it is doubtful whether all this would alter by a jot the "character" which the noble lord himself acquired generally for his manners, or make the Mussalmans endorse his statement that "for the last six years of his official life he lived among them and was on friendly terms with nearly all of any importance in his province." To use his lordship's own words, it was during those six years of his satrapy that "for the first time in the history of Anglo-Indian civil administration partisanship"—and we know of only one sense in which the word can be used—was manifested by so important an official in his dealings with "the subject races." If the creation of antagonism between Muhammadans and Hindus is one of the most radical and serious difficulties we have to contend with in India, the linguistic disturbance that he sought to create in a province which was essentially Moslem in its culture and literary taste, and the inquiries that he set on foot to show to the Hindus that they had not had their proportionate share of Government leaves and fishes, was calculated to produce that particular difficulty which Indian Governments most desired to avoid. It is indeed the irony of fate that Lord Macdonnel should get up in Parliament to accuse Lord Curzon of partisanship and descent on the virtues of impartiality.

But whatever else may or may not be objectionable in his remarks, we deprecate most emphatically the distinction between "true Indian Muhammadans," meaning, we presume, "the descendants of the invaders who came into Upper India under Timur," and "the aboriginal inhabitants of Eastern Bengal who, after the Muhammadan invasion in the 13th century, willingly accepted the Muhammadan creed." It is the glory of Islam that not only were the successors of Timur and his band of invaders humanized, but that the men who but for Islam, would have been among the savages, the untouchables and the depressed in Eastern Bengal were given a message of hope and emancipated from the thrall of caste. To-day they are equals of those who trace their descent from the greatest of the Great Moghals, so far as Islam is concerned, and given those educational efforts to which Lord Macdonnel alludes, but for which we never heard him appeal in connection with Eastern Bengal, they would soon claim actual as well as legal equality with "the clever and intellectual Hindus" who have secured, for good or evil, the advocacy of his lordship.

To talk of "the clever and intellectual Hindus" ever growing to accept the "possible consummation" of extinction "as a political unit in the Indian Empire" as "a fact certain to occur" is not only to talk nonsense, but also to talk that which the speaker himself believes to be nonsense. To Lord Macdonnel it may be enough if His Majesty's declaration in Durbar changed the current of thought of an entire people from discontent to loyalty. For our part, we are sceptical of this, and the Calcutta Deputation against the Dacca University and the appointment of a special educational officer for Eastern Bengal has not gone to convince us of our folly. But it matters little to Lord Macdonnel if the current of thought of another "entire people" was turned in the opposite direction, from loyalty to discontent. Lord Ampthill may still believe that "the people of India had assented—in fact cheerfully assented—to the changes, and it was their opinion that really mattered." He may continue to think that "there was no evidence that the people of India were discontented." But such comfortable belief does not alter the fact that if the Mussalmans are to be included among "the people of India," they were *not* discontented and they had assented neither cheerfully nor otherwise. They had, as the authors of the changes admit, exercised great self-restraint, but that only means that there was something within them which needed restraining, and it is needless to add that it could not have been cheerful assent. They have patiently waited for the announcement of some compensating advantages for the loss of "predominance" in Eastern Bengal, and hitherto they have no definite knowledge as to what that compensation, even if educational, is to be. Lord Macdonnel, in supporting the anti-Patti unionists, quotes with evident feeling the Good Queen's Proclamation that "in their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best reward." But we trust Lord Hardinge does not believe with Lord Macdonnel that this noble Proclamation was of limited application. We hope that in Moslem prosperity he would also find an element of strength, in Moslem contentment at least some little security, and in Moslem gratitude, we shall not say reward—for a community so humble cannot reward one so high—but certainly some slight satisfaction.

Lord Morley and the "Settled Fact."

We have always had an overpowering faith in the Liberal principles of Lord Morley and, to use his own phrase, we have tried to kindle our own modest rushlight at his lamp of temperate and practical Liberalism. We felt as keenly as anyone else in this country the dangers of the repressive policy to which Lord Morley gave his unwilling assent, but we never accused him of being "that abject and despicable being, a philosopher," nor condemned him for having gone against "the principles of a lifetime." But we confess his speech on Persia in reply to Lord Curzon in which, as the *Pioneer* remarked, "the two antagonists appeared to have exchanged the foils, astonished us, and if Lord Curzon ever thought of revenging himself on the noble viscount for his subtle sarcasm, he appears to us to have an excellent opportunity in the speech of Lord Morley on the reversal of the Partition and the bearings of the Constitution and customary procedure on the Announcement at Delhi."

To begin with, Lord Morley agrees with Lord Ampthill that "the discussion (of the changes) would be ineffectual as the motion of the noble earl could produce no result in the way of a change of policy," and yet, presumably as a concession to the self-same "principle of a lifetime," he admits that "the matters involved in the two policies are fairly topics for parliamentary debate." In the next place, Lord Morley, somewhat used to the acquiescence of Lord Minto, finds his outspoken utterance, now that he has secured his freedom, "particularly disagreeable," because he agrees with Lord Curzon and—for the benefit of the Bengali newspapers we may add—the Nawab of Dacca, that "such a policy could but depreciate the reputation of British rule in India," and that as having been the last Viceroy of India and "as having lately been intimately

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connected with its public affairs he felt that he was not entitled to keep silence." In reply to his criticism Lord Morley easily brushes aside the Lieutenant-Governors as people to whom no particular reverence was ever paid by either, and then politely tells the small group of ex-Viceroy, that nothing would have been gained "by asking their opinion upon a point which depended not upon old history, nor upon old arguments threshed out, but upon the present actual situation." Now, how does this dictum fit in with the change of the capital? On his own admission that was a question "which had been before the people of India, officials and others, for generation after generation." So it comes to this, that one question was too old and the other too new to need consultation. As Lord Lansdowne said, in this matter Lord Morley was far more autocratic than Lord Crewe himself, and the shaft must have gone home that "if you want autocratic sentiments, go to a Liberal Minister."

But when he comes to deal with the uncting of his settled fact that Lord Morley seems to have put on the complete armour of the Tory Knight. He said —

"My noble friend was made Viceroy in November, I became Secretary of State in December. We were therefore a new Government. I am sure the noble earl (Lord Minto) would be the first person to admit that, a great party sweep having taken place in Great Britain, and a Government of a different tone and complexion having come into power, it was all important that nothing should be done to lead people in India to suppose for a moment that there was going to be any great sweep or reversal of policy. There was another reason — namely, that it would be wrong, partition having only been in operation for six months or less, wrong and rash for us at once to reverse an operation the effects of which we had had no opportunity of forming a judgment upon. There was a third reason. My noble friend and I were engaged upon a project of Council reform. That was a project which was regarded by a great many people as dangerous, as hazardous in the extreme, as opening the door to all kinds of mischief. It was a reform for the successful carrying out of which we were bound to have with us so far as ever we could the good opinion and the friendly aid of the Indian Civil Service and of Anglo-Indian public opinion. If they had seen that we were going to reverse Lord Curzon's policy, that we were then going to launch out on this difficult and arduous voyage, we should have run the risk of having our whole course and prospects seriously damaged. Friends of my own were very angry with me for many months for not taking immediate steps for reversing that policy. That, if you like, would have been concession & clamour, if we had reversed partition in December 1905. There was a well known Member of Parliament who wrote a letter and said that if they would be tenacious in keeping up the clamour they would squeeze me into advising my noble friend opposite to give up. That is the story of the failure to reverse, and if there is any charge of inconsistency in abstaining from reversing partition in 1906, 1907, and onwards, and now accepting the policy, which is not a reversal but a modification of the policy of partition, my withers are at all events completely unwrung."

To deal with each of these four reasons *seriatim*, we should like to ask what "first principle" made it undesirable "to lead the people of India to suppose that there was going to be any great sweep or reversal of policy"? Was it not the desire to impress on India that she was outside Party politics and that every British M.P. was a member for India? Now, even if a George Hamilton could be pardoned for this empty sentiment, it is unforgivable in a John Morley. With all its faults, the English Party system has been accepted as the best compromise in politics and hitherto stood the strain of circumstances. To place India outside that system is to keep the British constituents hopelessly unenlightened about their great dependency, and to regard every M.P. as the member for India is to have the chosen representatives of that electorate even more ignorant than M.P.s are as a rule. South Africa was a plank in the Party platform, and it is to this fact that South Africa owes the repatriation of the "Chinese Slaves" and the grant of self-government. Paradoxical as it may seem, for India, a precipitation into the vortex of Party politics is like reaching the haven that she sought.

As to the second reason, the desire for more experience of the Partition before reversing it, we should have thought Lord Morley at least to be immune from the malady of such shallow reasoning. Is he waiting even now to see if the re-partition of Bengal is a failure before he advises the Cabinet to revoke it also? If so, there is a rich harvest to be reaped by the agitators against the new changes. The only ground for doubt is that Lord Crewe has not yet declared it to be a settled fact, for it is declarations of this nature which, like guarantees of integrity and independence, give assurance that the Liberal Government contemplates just the reverse of what it says. We should have thought that momentous changes such as these would first be considered carefully and in consultation with all interests involved, and then carried out; but here we have an instance of one hasty Partition undone after six years' trial, and a more hasty Partition carried out after still less consideration and with no

consultation whatever, between which and its revocation there is nothing but "the irrevocable word of the Sovereign." A logical conclusion of this would be if the High Courts began to deliver judgments in cases preparatory to the taking of evidence.

As regards the third reason, we do not know how to characterise it. It now appears that Lord Morley was all the time convinced that he regarded the Partition, along with Lord Macdonnel, as a great blunder, while he was rebuking such members of the democracy as desired to rip up a settled fact and reproaching Lord Macdonnel himself for taking the palm for indiscretion. In spite of the fact that a minute ago he said that he was waiting to see the effects of the operation, he now assures us that he had already formed his judgment, and although he recognized the Partition to be a mistake, he persisted in that error in order to bribe the Indian Civil Service and Anglo-Indian public opinion in favour of what a great many people regarded as a project of reform which was dangerous and hazardous in the extreme and which opened the door to all kinds of mischief. This confession of throwing a sop to Anglo-Indian sentiment makes us wonder whether the safeguards devised for the representation of the minorities were also bribes offered for the time being to Moslem sentiment and are as likely to be withdrawn at a suitable moment as the boon of the Partition. It is reasoning of this nature that presents Lord Morley and his compromises in a light in which he is seen to the least advantage. To us it appears that when that "abject and despicable being, a philosopher" descends to the level of tricky politicians and throws temporary sops to interests which deserve something more than that in sheer justice, he gives some point at least to the epithet which he uses for himself in mere mockery. His nature becomes something like that of Macbeth,

"It is too full o' the milk of human kindness,
 To catch the nearest way thou wouldest be great,
 Art not without arithmetic, but without
 The illness should attend it. What then wouldest highly,
 That thou wouldest hony a wouldest not play false,
 And yet wouldest wrongly win."

In this case, Lord Morley has used some of the tricks of the trade, but has not known how to hide them under the sonorous phrase of the practised politician, and whether his lordship's withers are wrung or unwrung, he may be sure few will trouble him any more about "the principles of a lifetime." He has descended to the common plane of the opportunist and he must be content to receive no more than the reward of a successful opportunist and no less than the contempt for the opportunist that fails. For the purposes of the law of libel politicians are "all honourable men," but it was not in that sense surely that a critical public gave him the name of "Honest John."

As regards the fourth and the last of his reasons for the reversal of the Partition at the present juncture, that in 1906, 1907, and onwards the reversal would have appeared as a concession to clamour, he reminds us of the simple swain who had to go to the law courts as the defendant in a breach of promise suit to escape from the clutches of a designing young person. When after great expense and much worry he had won the case, a pleading letter was received from the unsuccessful plaintiff, appealing the time more to love than to law. In response to this epistle, the defendant who had succeeded in withholding his hand from the plaintiff now lost his heart to the appellant, and within three days of winning the lawsuit went to a Registry Office and married this designing person. That seems to be the situation of Lord Morley, and we congratulate the veteran politician from Bengal who went to England last summer on the success of his emotional appeal.

* دل کے رم لامون از طویلہ حوالاں
برہش بیک نکلے دیوبند مال پورے *

(The heart that I had saved from beautiful youths, an ancient person of innumerable winters snatched away with a single glance.)

Whatever the ethical aspect of Lord Morley's opportunism, we could not conceive that it would lead him into such devious paths in the realm of intellect also as it seems to have done. If one could not go to Lord Morley as a fountain-head of moral ideas, one was at least sure of getting his intellectual thirst satisfied at the spring which had its sources in the political philosophy of Burke and Mill. But what are we to say of his remarks "upon the Constitutional point"? He asks, "What is exactly the Constitutional point, and tells us that Lord Salisbury said, "I hold that the Monarchy should seem to be as little Constitutional as possible," adding for himself that he understood what Lord Salisbury meant, but that it was a doubtful proposition. That is more than we can say of Lord Morley's own dubious phrase, for we have not the remotest notion what he means. He tells us that "we are now dealing with what is undoubtedly delicate Constitutional ground," but we would have been inclined to compliment him on his skating over thin ice if we had not been somewhat doubtful of his having put on the skates at all. He seems to us to remain on *terra firma*, but while he is stationary himself he carries us also no farther. Does he believe that on this Constitutional point

anybody who turned to him for enlightenment could be satisfied with a general quotation from Bagehot that "it would create great surprise if people were told how many things a Sovereign could do without consulting Parliament"? He repeats what he had said a year ago about the Secretary of State having the last word in every question that arises and the very first word in every question that in his view he thinks ought to arise, and he asks us to accept this as the final doctrine. We have already accepted its finality, but to us it appears to be only remotely relevant. How does it answer our question to ask another, "What has the Government of India to do"? Are we to think that it was Lord Morley himself who had dictated the creation of a new heaven and a new earth to the Government of India, instead of being advised himself by those in touch with "the present actual situation"? The sum total of Lord Morley's dissertation on the Constitutional point is, that in his announcement His Majesty said, "We are pleased to announce to our people that upon the advice of our Ministers and after consultation with our Governor-General in Council we have decided," and so on, and Lord Morley confronts the questioners with the query of the Sphinx, "Is not that exactly what the Constitution demands?" After reading all this in clear cold print we are constrained to say that, if this is light we should prefer some smoke. It reminds us of nothing so much as of the "non-committal reply" which Mark Twain says he once wrote as the Secretary of a Senator in answer to some painfully direct questions from his enraged constituents who wanted to know whether their representative was leading them. If politics robs an honest man of his sincerity and reduces a clear thinking philosopher to an unconscious humourist, the less we have to do with politics the better. Lord Morley's books have been a source of pleasure and knowledge to more than one generation of students of History, Political Philosophy, and Literature. For the sake of their beneficial influence we devoutly wish that no publisher would include in his published speeches those which he has just delivered on Persia and the Announcement in the debates initiated by Lord Curzon. These, all persons who are charitably inclined would only too willingly let die.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND COLLECTIONS IN INDIA.

Name of place.	Name of person in charge of the Fund	THE WEEK'S PROGRESS.			PROGRESS UP TO DATE		REMARKS
		Amount Collected	Amount forwarded to Turkey.	To whom forwarded and through what Agency	Amount Collected	Amount forwarded	
Adami, Bellary Dist.	Qazi Qadir Muhi-ud-din Sahib.	Rs. 100 0 0	Rs. 100 0 0	Vakooob Hassan Saif Eq. Secretary, Muslim League, Madras.	Rs. 200 0 0	Rs. 200 0 0	
Karachi	Seth H. A. Haroon.	Rs. 5 0	Rs. 5 0	.....	Rs. 55 10	Rs. 55 10	

Short Story.

Vicissitude II.

THE LAWYER'S CLIENT.

MR. ALI HOSSAIN was spending the long vacation up at Mussourie. He had been having a very nice time indeed. He had not been accompanied by the partner of his joys and sorrows, and although far be it from us to suggest that he was not all that a model husband should be, still it must be confessed that an occasional holiday *en garde* was not absolutely abhorrent to him.

He had really had a most enjoyable time and was beginning to feel very sorry that the speedy opening of the law courts was bringing it to an end.

The Charleville had been particularly gay this season, and Mr. Ali Hossain had been largely in demand. In tennis tournaments, bridge parties, picnics, dances, amateur theatricals he shone. The ladies at the Charleville, of whom there was a fair sprinkling, all found in him a most charming cavalier; the men voted him a good fellow. There had in fact been nothing at all to mar his enjoyment. But all good things come to an end, and unfortunately unless the briefs were attended to and clients satisfied, such holidays would no longer be possible.

The gong for lunch sounded and gradually the huge dining room filled up. All the tables were soon occupied with the exception of one near the entrance, which had been placed there in addition to the usual tables evidently. It was beautifully decorated with huge

crimson roses and maidenhair ferns. Mr. Ali Hossain and his three friends occupied a table just behind it, and were speculating on the why and the wherefore of the unusual decorations, when three newcomers entered the room and took their seats at this very table. An elderly man, who looked as though he were their father or uncle, and two very pretty girls of about 17 or 18 comprised the party. Mr. Ali Hossain had ever a keen eye for beauty and he could not help being struck by the two charming damsels. One was a blonde of the petite mignonne type, the other was a tall and slender brunette. It was hard to say which of the two was the prettier, but Mr. Ali Hossain always admired fair beauties more and cast many furtive glances in the direction of the strange table. He could not help noticing the stern and silent demeanour of the masculine member of the trio, and without being unduly conceited, he also flattered himself that the other two who were facing him cast several glances at his table, glances not devoid of interest. He hoped that the newcomers were not mere casual visitors for lunch, but that they were residents in the hotel, and that he would soon have an opportunity of making their acquaintance.

At the end of lunch the elderly gentleman rose and followed by the two girls left the room. As they passed by Mr. Ali Hossain half fancied that the fair-haired one lagged a little behind and almost lingered a few seconds near his table. She seemed to be hesitating about something and the absurd idea flashed across his brain that she wished to speak to him. He almost fancied a look of entreaty in her eyes. The thought was too ridiculous, however, and he dismissed it at once as such, and was presently absorbed in a deep discussion with his friends on an intricate bridge problem. Later on in the afternoon as he was dressing for tennis, one of the hotel servants brought him a note. Tearing it open he read

"You will be astonished at my writing to you, but I am in great distress and need your help very urgently. That is my only excuse for venturing to take this step. I have heard much of your reputation as a lawyer and when I saw you to-day I felt certain you could help me, and I am sure I can trust you. Will you help me? If you will please send me a line in reply (this man will give it to me safely) simply saying 'yes', in that case I will lunch with you to-morrow at the Criterion at 1 o'clock. There I will tell you all my trouble. I need not sign my name as I saw you noticed me to day."

"P.S.—Please tear this up at once. I trust you not to say a word to any one."

Mr. Ali Hossain, as we have mentioned before, was a very popular young man, furthermore, his friends had not left him in ignorance of this fact. He had always been very kindly treated by the fair sex and he was much too gallant to refuse to aid beauty in distress. Besides it was surely his duty as a lawyer and a gentleman to respond to her entreaty. He was almost sure he had read entreaty in the girl's eyes. Without hesitation he took a sheet of notepaper decorated with his crest and monogram and wrote on it one single word "yes". Putting it in the envelope unaddressed, he sealed it carefully, and handed it to the man, who salaamed quietly and left the room.

Mr. Ali Hossain went off to play the final in his tennis tournament in the highest of spirits.

That evening he was besieged with invitations for the next day, unfortunately all between 12 and 4. Picnics, lunches, bridge, tennis, all seemed fixed for that particular day at that particular time. Mr. Ali Hossain regretfully declined them all, pleading sudden stress of work, which would keep him confined to his room all day. He was so much in demand he had some difficulty in evading all the kind invitations, but eventually managed to do so.

The next day at about 12-30, Mr. Ali Hossain started out for a walk. He seemed rather cautious to avoid people and chose an un-frequented path which after rather a circuitous detour brought him near the Library. He looked round to make sure he was unobserved and hastily crossed over to the Criterion. There he was received by the Manager who knew him as a good customer and hastened to carry out his instructions for a private room, a recherché lunch and, particularly, table decoration of crimson roses. In a few minutes all was ready and Mr. Ali Hossain sat down complacently with the morning paper and a cigarette.

One o'clock struck, half past one, a quarter to two. Mr. Ali Hossain gave a sigh over the proverbial dilatoriness of the fair sex. At 2 o'clock he began to feel decidedly hungry, and a little bit angry also. He heard the manager's voice: "This way, room No. 6. Yes lunch is ready. The gentleman has been waiting some time—over an hour." Footsteps were heard approaching. Mr. Ali Hossain got up and went towards the door with a most charming smile on his face. "It doesn't matter at all my dear young lady," he began. The words were cut short—"Took you in this time, old man," guffawed his three friends who stood in the doorway. "We'll do justice to your lunch." "You scoundrels!" gasped Mr. Ali Hossain.



The Council.

BY THE HON. MR. GURU

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please"

— As You Like It

February 26th (contd.)

HAVING destroyed the purity of castes by a generous admixture of the other colours of the rainbow in the bluest of blue bloods, and making a present of the bar sinister to not a few coats of arms, Bhupen Babu turned his destructive attention to the rites of marriage. Who talked of Sacrament? Where was the Sacrament in Gandharb where an exchange of garlands made the wife a *galav ka har* (a garland round the neck) to the husband? Where was the Sacrament in the Swaymvara where the maiden constituted herself into a Board of Examiners and ploughed the competitors ruthlessly, allowing no marks of grace to a single candidate unless he hit the mark and secured at one and the same time a bull's eye and the maiden's hand? Panditji wondered with great trepidation whether Bhupen Babu was going to refer to those ancient euphemisms for Section 376, I. P. C., which existed long before the artificial ceremoniousness of the Age of Consent. But even Bhupen Babu must draw the line somewhere and he drew it at a well-known though little respected Commandment. However, littered the floor of the House with his Library of Law and Epic Love, citing instance after instance and piling up precedent on top of precedent.

Next he came to the interesting topic of divorce, and several persons moved uncomfortably in their seats. What if his Bill would introduce the institution of divorce into Hindu Society? "Is divorce such a great calamity after all?" One thought Bhupen Babu was in a confessing mood and would dilate on personal predilections. But for "once he was impersonal and deftly turned the current of his eloquence in the direction of a pamphlet recently issued, giving instance of law cases in which the miseries of women came to light. And in a burst of noble indignation that would do credit to the most militant suffragette, Bhupen asked, "Is the polygamous husband always to have things all his own way?" The Council wondered what would come next! Would Bhupen Babu push things to their logical conclusion and—polyandry. Instead of that he merely detailed Manu's saving clauses describing how wives could dispose of damaged goods. According to Hindu law about remarriage, woman's disabilities cease just at the time when man's begin. "If man became infirm or otherwise disabled a woman could marry again." On the other hand, the Hindu Petrucho need not taunt the Shrew. If the Hindu Katherine has a sour tongue she can be put away like a sour mango. Not satisfied with so ancient an authority as Manu (Verse 71 Chapter IX.), brought in Herbert Spencer as a witness to support monogamy, and Islam to justify divorce. Appropriately quoted Dr Winter as an authority on warm social relations, and described for the benefit of all "the potent stimulus to connubial happiness," ending up with the useful dictum that "licentiousness is not synonymous with loose marriage relations."

Lest Mussalmans should accuse him of treating them as a negligible quantity, turned his attention to them and singled out his best friend, a certain nobleman who is alleged to have made a certain remark on the receipt of a certain decoration. His objection, that the Bill would prevent the possibility of having more than one wife, was one which "at my time of life

it is not possible to respect." Evidently the Harem of Bhupen Babu not like the customary Committee of a few members "with powers to add to their number." But surely even if the Blood Heat of Mid Summer had passed the meridian, something could have been made of Dr Winter's "potent stimulus to connubial happiness." Turning from Eastern opponents of the Bill to Western supporters, quoted from Sir Roland Wilson. But although Roland's horn was blown so loud that even at the first blast it cracked, the Moslem army was not in the least panic-stricken. Cited the example of a Hindu who had married an unnamed Moslem Governor's daughter, but who on being refused admission into the pale of Hinduism became the greatest of iconoclasts. Not very clear whether Hindus or Mussalmans expected to regard this as "a consummation devoutly to be wished."

At last finding his Little Mary almost a pancake for want of nutritive contents, thought of lunch and his peroration. The picture of patience on a monument smiling at failure, he referred sadly to "the fate of all reformers to meet with ridicule and contempt." "At present ignorance and superstition prevailed, but when the time comes and my friend the Mild Hindu's Bill is passed (*Mild Hindu smiles irredundantly*) my Bill would be better appreciated."

Sobraon, the Pantaloons, welcomed the approaching conclusion, though it came so late as to appear to have missed the train of reasoning, and the Pandit heaved a sigh of relief. Bbupen met this provocative joy with a parting shot and drew a cordon of splendid isolation round them supplied by the Vishnusmriti that "in the Kaliyuga everybody is a Sudra except the Brahmin," and from that remote antiquity jumped to the *Civilization of Buckle* in quoting horrible punishments of Sudras mixing with Brahmins.

But it was the Burly Raja who was the omega, just as he had been the alpha, of his satirical remarks. "My friend on the right" had borrowed the language of criminal intelligence in describing the Bill as a bomb. But bombs were not going to be reserved for the C.I.D. if he could help it. "All who sheltered themselves behind the buttress of prejudice and ignorance were always afraid of some extraordinary commotion which might overthrow the little Protective Works that they set about themselves." For his part, he preferred such Productive Works as Civil Marriages, though he confessed that he himself was but "a faint and weak worker in a difficult cause."

Just as Bhupen Babu sat down faint and exhausted, Dashing Boy, more dashing than ever, jumped up, and looking neither to left nor to right, commenced to dash through eight pages of closely printed oration in support of Bhupen Babu, all because "Parsi opinion generally is unsavourable to the Bill." But "the Bill does not specially affect us—Parsis. Monogamy and divorce are familiar to us." Wonder whether familiarity has bred contempt for the former and an increasing affection for the latter. However, Dashing Boy loves nothing better than first principles, and commenced this long lesson to the Council with the A. B. C. of legislation. "Marriage affords the best guarantee of good morals and purity" thought the Dashing Boy, while some others may have regarded it merely as additional security, and the old bachelors in the Council wondered what they should do to secure a character. Since the election of Dashing Boy a new era had dawned in India. "The days of Petitions to the Legislative Councils are past." Is not Dashing Boy in the Council and is not all right with the world since then? "A non-official Member

in close touch with Orthodox Hindu sentiment has introduced the Bill." (*The Pandit moved still further towards Baby Brunyate to avoid the defiling touch of heterodox sconoclasm, and Burly Raja rejoiced that he was just then calling on the Moslem Dowager and the Pandit.*) "A representative Indian has brought forward the Bill" ("What a misrepresentation" thought Orthodoxy.)

Referring to the changes in the social conditions of Hindus, said that "Caste hangs loosely to-day about the Hindu." (Almost as loosely indeed as his *dhoti*) "The *purdah* is being gradually lifted." (No simile available) "Hindu ladies of Bengal have been married to Punjabis, Madrasis and Europeans" (Oh, the great advances of Bengal and the Forward Policy of its leading women!) "Even Muhammadans have evinced a desire for marital relations with Hindus. Last year I happened to see an advertisement in the *Bengaluru* newspaper by a Muhammadan zamindar for the hand of a Hindu girl" (*Excellent Matrimonial Agency No bogus photographs Interviews arranged in Botanical Gardens or the Museum Correspondence strictly confidential Plain sealed covers Either a small commission charged in case of the complete satisfaction of our clients or name registered for a year's supply of the paper at ordinary rates. Telegraphic address, KUTNEE, CALCUTTA.*) Among others, the Arya Samaj, which "has again undertaken to revere back into the fold of Hinduism all penitent backsliders," wanted extension of marriage area for the sake of its neophytes. But if all the neophytes are merely "back-sliders," why not let them slide back into the non-Hindu fold instead of making them slide into extended matrimony? Referred to "the difficulty of getting suitable husbands for their girls" felt by Hindu fathers "Necessity is helping the cause of Social Reform." Indeed "Necessity" is wonderful. She is generally supposed to know no law, and yet here was Bhupen Babu forcing one to satisfy "Necessity." But although everyone had heard of "Necessity" as "the Mother of Invention," few had thought of it as "the Father-in-law of Social Reform."

"Marriage" said Dashing Boy, "was one of the most solemn acts of Man." But he did not complete the description. Marriage also happens to be one of two things to Woman. It is either even more solemn to her, in fact nothing less than a funeral, or a screaming face played only as a curtain-raiser. Naturally a man "objects to disown his religion even for the sake of his fiancee." In fact his creed is quite as sacred to him as his cigar to Kipling

"A woman is a woman, but a good cigar is a smoke"

Dashing Boy did not forget the point of view of the orthodox Hindu. But "the operation of forces noted above" (*The Council broke up at the resting but saw naught*) "Must incline young people to consult their own wishes in the matter of marriage and not to be determined for them by their elders in the customary fashion" This was characteristically Dashing Boyish. A monument to Dashing Boy must be erected at Gretna Green to perpetuate his memory, and it should preferably be in the robes of a male Flynn: "We must take human nature as it is and must be prepared for attachment among young people thrown together by the force of circumstances" "Force of circumstances" is rather good, but a bit longish name for the prospective mother-in-law.

Quoted great jurists in support of his contention and specially Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, who said, "How can we sow the seed and refuse to recognise the crop?" But it escaped him that Orthodoxy opposed the sowing of the seed on just the same ground, for it refused to recognise in the crop the reaper of a rich harvest of intestate succession to the sower's collaterals and ascendants

The next argument was the want of purity of blood in Hindu Society. Referred to "mongrel classes" and wanted more of the breed. "Why speak of marriages only? Hindu Society has been tolerant of even liaison, and large classes of Hindus have grown up with a recognised social position out of amours" The prospect of similar fecundity was too tempting for the Dashing Boy. With evident envy said that "it is this tolerance, this elasticity of social rules which assured to Hindu Society the remarkable vitality which has impressed non-Hindus so much" A very impressive vitality indeed, and a still more impressive elasticity and tolerance. Threw new light on pilgrimage to holy places by computing on the authority of Mr. Parekh that as many as 200 families of Bhatias had intermarried with "Hardwar maidens" The Ganges is useful not only for loving but also for loving.

Turning to the Mussalmans, pronounced the *fatwa* that "strict adherence to Islamism does not prevent Muhammadans marrying non-Muhammadans." Could anything be more impressive than the fact that "Even Moghal Emperors took to themselves Hindu wives"? This may be good precedent for *Islamists* and *Islamists*, but Islam without the *asw* is still much too conservative. It has not yet permitted the worship of kings because Akbar was so worshipped, nor sanctified the use of intoxicants because Jehangir took as much wine as his namesake Jehangiri Menouanjit Daruwala

quaffs to-day. Concluded at last with characterising the opposition as "the Shibboleth of unmeaning conservatism," and as a sign of his own freedom from ordinary conventions such as grammar, talked glibly of a bogey of discreditable marriages that "was strutted out" with the same "disagreeable frequency" which was displayed by people in using "strut" intransitively. But hoped that Government would "guide the Bill through the Council with their accustomed sympathy and firmness" so well exhibited in the rejection of his Resolutions about the abolition of the Cotton Excise Duties and the remission of Income Tax below an income of one hundred pounds a year.

While this speech of absorbing interest and comprehensive magnitude was being dashed through, Councillors found opportunity of calling on each other. Visits were paid by vital Thackeray to Sir Orator Merton, by the Mild Hindu to Sir Guy and the Pandit, by St Vincent to Regie and the Sage, and by the Burly Raja to the Mild Hindu, the Pandit, Sir Guy and the Moslem Dowager. While this *Mizay pursi* was going on, the Sharp'un snatched his forty winks, and King Arthur bowed his head, as if in prayer like the King in *Hamlet*, and snored his orisons. Saunders was transplanted on the wings of Dashing Boy's opiate oratory and was united with his province in the fond embrace of sleep. The opportunity was too tempting for the free disposition of Fremantle, and he ensconced himself in the Visitors' Gallery in the midst of the ladies.

After Lunch

Having fortified himself with a substantial lunch, the Burly Raja brought his heavy guns into play on Bhupen Babu's Bill and the "reformers." As one who had advocated the relaxation of many a meaningless social custom among the Hindus, as one who had changed the fettters of many an Indian bondswoman into the gold bangles of the emancipated, as one who, very much alive and occasionally kicking, was yet dead opposed to early marriages, as one who practised what the others only preached, he could not, with any instinct of true Hinduism left in him, possibly advocate a something-with-an-awfully-unpronounceable-name to be spread in the country for the benefit of an infinitesimal minority (*punctuated by a shrug*) or a special class (*another shrug*) or for the benefit of a handful of love-sick Indian youths seeking legislation of their indiscreet romantic marriages. (*This time the huge shoulders were lifted above the aristocratic head and suddenly dropped from that giddy height.*) If the declaration was "unnecessary," why was it "unnecessary?" This tremendous question was sent forth like a cannon-ball and the atmospheric disturbance consequent on the discharge of such a volume of voice was like the crack of doom. It reverberated against the walls of the Council chamber and returned with fourfold fury to the assembled listeners. The batteries of Bhupen were silent, for Bhupen Babu had had some inkling of this and had taken cover in his solicitors' "pretty little parlour." When the echoes of this tremendous ejaculation had died down, Burly Raja once more comtemplated the destruction of "swift-winged reformers," and disciples of Sir Henry Maine who had even outrun their preceptor.

Referring to other objects and reasons, characterized the promotion of inter-marriages among various sub-sections of a caste and between members of the same caste inhabiting different provinces as comparatively modest. But if they had no immodesty, they did not create any necessity either for this Bill. "There was no need seeking the aid of the legislature at all." After the commotion caused by Burly Raja's question, there was now complete quiet. A "hush" went round the Council and every listener strained his ear to catch the aristocratic, almost the royal reason that made the Bill unnecessary. And it was not in vain that the Council eagerly awaited the advent of a great, an all-compelling and eternal truth. "There was no need seeking the aid of the legislature at all. Such marriages have my fullest support." Everyone looked at his neighbour and penitently whispered, "How foolish of me not to have thought of that. Eh?" Having so sorely humbled the audience, Burly Raja went on, pushing his advantage still further. "Seeking its help of Government for such a purpose not only betrays impatience, but impotence" This abashed the advocates of the Bill thoroughly and the next sentence made their humiliation complete. "Those who have desired to introduce such intermarriages have taken recourse either to the Hindu law or to the Special Marriage Act, welcoming their consequences stubbornly." Would not the reformers have the manliness to extend a "stubborn welcome" to the consequences of their unions? Seeking advantage of the famous dilemma with which Omar, the Caliph, is alleged to have met a question, Burly Raja bowed his head and charged his opponents, lifting some on one horn and some on the other. Intermarriages are either valid, or invalid according to Hindu law. If valid, legislation is needless. If invalid, the marrying couple are not Hindus and the declaration is harmless. This dumbfounded all, and there was a vacant look on each face as if a master magician had cast an overpowering spell on them all.

16th March.

Dealing with the Brahmos who supported the Bill, asked them what were Abdul Ghaffar, Jalaluddin Mian, and Mr. Maitland. They were as much Hindus as the Laplanders or the Zulus. To identify Brahmoism with Hinduism was like mixing salad oil with vinegar. And yet the salad bowl was not at all unlike Hinduism with its tasteful variety, its oily Bhupens and vinegary Burly Rajas.

After dealing with "persons with superfine conscientiousness" and laying down the law that even tolerance may amount to wickedness—Dashing Boy had already laid down the converse proposition that wickedness should be tolerated—came to discuss the alleged results of intermixture of races. Doubtful how far it was scientifically true that it conduces to mental and physical improvements, but was certain that it was the rigid rules of Hinduism against such intermarriages that had preserved the Hindus as a distinct race. "The high self-sacrificing spirits depicted in the splendid Epics, the undaunted courage and unparalleled patriotism of the Rajputs (from the days of the Great Battle between Kuravas and Pandavas to the world renowned Mahabharata of Overton Hall) the heroine of the Mahastryas (no connection with Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Damodar Hari Chapkar and the more recent Savarkar, you know) were all products of the nation. I do not know if any other nations on the surface of the globe have showed better moral or physical progress." And here the broad Kshattriya shoulders were straightened, the chest swelled out and thrown well forward, and the proud aristocratic head tilted a little, all combining to create an effect unseen on the surface of the globe, but resembling what the world had imagined some K. C. S. I., from Mars would be. But there was to-day an unusual modesty about the whole picture. "I do not say that there is no room for improvement, for I know trimming and pruning is required," and significantly shook his head which appeared too large for such Martians shoulders. As for caste, it goes with civilization. In India it means the special vocation of special classes. In some places wealth and honours are the standard of measurement. For reasons wholly impersonal the Burly Raja refrained from saying which was better. Would the Bill destroy the so-called "pernicious caste system?" The Act of 1872 had failed to do that, and history, like Bhupen Babu, had a cruel way of repeating itself. In this Province of patent medicines that subsidised the Bengali journals even more liberally than the Government subsidised the *Solar Samachar*, the Bill comes up to the Council with a promise of innumerable benefits. "With all the emphasis that I can command"—and he had commandeered the entire supply of the land—Burly Raja appealed to the Government to throw out the Bill. And being sure of the throwing out, could comfortably say that if the Government allowed this motion then I shall certainly begin to believe that nothing is sacrosanct in these days. No, not even the Burly Raja.



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CORRESPONDENCE



The Neutrality of British Subjects.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR.—A question is puzzling me and I turn to you as the source of all journalistic knowledge for information.

The Turco-Italian war has circumscribed the freedom of action of neutrals, among whom are, of course, included the subjects of His Imperial Majesty King George V. The Government of India republished from the *London Gazette* the declaration of Neutrality of the British Government which further contained instructions for the guidance of British subjects. The Government were perhaps apprehensive that the declaration was in danger of being forgotten so they took the step of publishing the declaration a second time warning their subjects, at their peril, against transgression of injunction of neutrality. So far so good, and I am not aware of any subject of His Majesty, in India at least, who has contravened the requirements of the declaration. But everyone knows of one British subject—and that too an Englishman and an officer of the regular army of our King—who flagrantly disobeyed the injunctions of the declaration and went to Tripoli, joined the Turks, fought the Italians and covered himself with glory. This, I need not say, refers to the now famous ex-Lieutenant Montagu. Except that he forfeited his lieutenancy, Mr. Montagu was not in any way called upon by His Majesty's Government to explain his conduct. Now what I wish to know is this. Does any penalty attach to such conduct of open defiance of the declaration of neutrality? [I am not discussing the ethics of such conduct, and I might here as well say that my sympathies are entirely with the Turks and I pray for the success of their arms. I only want to know the law.] Or is it, like suicide, a crime in which attempt is punishable but the commission is not?

Risaldar Major Muhammad Khan and Mr De Souza, Head Clerk, Commissariat Department, would very much like to know how the law stands, for if Muhammad Khan will only lose his and Mr De Souza his appointment and its perquisites by following the bent of their minds, the one thinks of at once joining the forces of Nesciat Bey, and the other, who ranks a Captain in the Volunteer forces of India and is a very devout Roman Catholic in addition, is anxious to place his services at the disposal of the intrepid General Caneva.

AIN-UL-ADDIN ALI.

[NOTE.—We are not prepared to accept the responsibility of being "the source of all journalistic knowledge" which has been thrust upon us by our correspondent, as greatness is thrust upon some and intervention upon others. But so far as our information goes it is at the service of our readers. The declaration of neutrality to which the correspondent refers warns His Majesty's subjects against breaches of the Foreign Enlistment Act, and against the supply of arms and munitions of war to the belligerents. But every subject of His Majesty is free to volunteer his services for either belligerent, and Risaldar Major Mohamed Khan can share the ragged misery of Nesciat Bey's force as a volunteer, though not as a commissioned soldier, and Mr Head Clerk DeSouza is at liberty to exchange his pay and perquisites in the Commissariat Department on the same terms for the illuminating rays of the resplendent sun of glory of the intrepid General Caneva. Lieutenant Montagu was only a volunteer, we believe, just as the ex-Viceroy Lord Minto was a volunteer fighting on the side of the Turks in the battle of Shipka Pass in the Russo-Turkish War. However, it has come to our notice that the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal has issued a secret circular enjoining on his subordinates complete abstention from showing any sympathy with either belligerent and from contributing funds for the relief of war sufferers on either side. If this is true, there seems to be some need in the Department, for private instruction on the subject of neutrality, and we trust the Government would appoint a Director for the purpose. If not, we hope the Department would publish the circular it has hitherto kept secret.—ED. *Comrade*.]

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

In the House of Commons Mr Acland in reply to Mr Barton said, the British and Russian Ministers at Teheran had sent a message to Salar-Ed-Dowleh at Kermanshah strongly recommending him to leave Persia on conditions offered by the Persian Government. His Majesty's Government realised fully the serious trade conditions in Persia and the Persian Government was taking such steps as were possible.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT)

Teheran, February 15.

In spite of repeated announcements that fresh elections are shortly to be held, I am able to state that there has never been any question of an immediate revival of the Majlis. All sober politicians recognize that the Constitutional experiment is for the present over although a future revival is not impossible.

Hitherto Tabriz, Resht, Isfahan and Meshed have been the strongest adherents of the Majlis, but they are no longer in a position to foment any effective agitation, while the South has for long been totally indifferent to the Constitution, and for the matter to the Central Government. No official communication either for or against the Majlis has, however, been made by the British and Russian Legations, nor has the question been the subject of negotiations between the two Governments.

The technical difficulty that, so long as the Constitution is neither legally abolished nor suspended, the Majlis alone can authorize railway or other concessions or loans is not, I understand, regarded seriously by the British and Russian Governments. A precedent exists in the concessions granted by the ex-Shah after the bombardment of the first Majlis, although then, as now, new elections were promised. The validity of these concessions was not questioned later on, because they were supported by the British and Russian Governments.

A more real difficulty lies in finding some way of enabling the Treasurer-General to check the plundering tendencies hitherto common to all Cabinets and most high officials. Mr. Shuster always refused the Cabinet's requisitions for money for non-existent troops and other well-known devices for lining the pockets of the grantees by saying that the Majlis had not authorized this expenditure. This resource is denied to M. Mornard. It is believed however, that by relying on the extensive powers which the Majlis originally conferred on the Treasurer-General, together with the active and continual support of the British and Russian Legations, he will be enabled to exercise an effective control.

Teheran, February 15.

The Anglo-Russian Note embodying the new programme of policy was presented to the Persian Government to-day. It is very modest in character.

The Russian Consul at Astrabad has renewed his representations to the ex-Shah, but the latter desires money to pay his followers and objects to the reduction of his pension.

Teheran, February 19.

The Anglo-Russian Note offers Persia £100,000 from each Government for immediate expenses at 7 per cent., the capital to be repaid from the next loan as a first disbursement. In the meantime all the surplus of the Northern and Southern Customs is to be devoted to the repayment of interest and principal. This sum is to be spent under the control of the Treasurer-General with the approval of the two Legations. In return the Legations desire an undertaking on four points from the Persian Government—namely (1) conformity with the principles of the Anglo-Russian Convention; (2) the dismissal from the army of the *tedass* and all irregulars as soon as the ex-Shah and Salar-ed-Dowleh leave Persia; (3) that there shall be a discussion with the two Legations concerning the organization of a small regular effective army; (4) an arrangement with the ex-Shah for his departure and pensions and an amnesty to his followers.

The stipulation regarding the military reorganization appears to refer to the reduction of the present army and an increase of the Cossack Brigade under Russian officers. Nothing is said concerning railway construction nor of arrangements for a future loan.

Teheran, February 19.

Amir Musakkam, the Bakhtiari Khan whose loyalty to the Government is not above suspicion, having failed to induce the Minister of the Interior to release a reactionary who had been arrested, sent a body of Bakhtiari forces to bring the Minister to his house, where he was insulted for not complying with Amir Musakkam's wishes. It is officially stated to-night that Amir Musakkam has been exiled and will leave Teheran to-morrow (Reuters.)

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

St Petersburg, February 29.

Conflicting reports come from Northern Persia. The newspapers announce a movement in favour of Muhammad Ali at Meshed and in Azerbaijan province. If any such movement exists the Russian Consuls have failed to communicate a hint of it to their Government. On the other hand, the ex-Shah's household at Odessa have been apprised that he will return to Europe in a fortnight.

The Government of Teheran has not yet accepted the Anglo-Russian terms regarding the disposal of the money which the two Powers are ready to advance.

Mr Parker (Halifax, Lab.), on behalf of Mr Ramsay MacDonald (Leicester, Lab.), asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether he could state the number of Russian troops, including Consular guards, now in Persia, and how many had been withdrawn owing to the acceptance by the Majlis of the Russian Ultimatum of last November.

Sir E. Grey—I cannot give exact numbers, there are said to be about 4,000 troops at Tabriz, 2,800 in Khorasan, 4,000 between Resht, Enzeli and Kavvin, and smaller bodies distributed at other places. With the exception of Kavvin all these places are comparatively close to the Russian frontier, two regiments were withdrawn from Kavvin last month, and it is expected that a further withdrawal from there will soon take place.

Mr Lloyd (Staffordshire, W., Opp.) asked on what previous occasion Russia withdrew from Persia.

Sir E. Grey—I understand there was a withdrawal. I will make a statement to-morrow.

Mr Parker on behalf of Mr Ramsay MacDonald, asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether he proposed to issue among Persian papers those relating to Mr Shuster's financial administration sent by the British representative at Teheran, and also those relating to the appointment of M. Mornard to the Treasurer-Generalship, and when Persian papers might be expected.

Sir E. Grey—The papers now in preparation, which I hope to lay next month, will include reports by His Majesty's Minister at Teheran respecting Mr Shuster's services under the Persian Government. They will not bring the correspondence up to a date sufficiently recent to include the question of M. Mornard's appointment, but this subject will be covered in further papers which will be laid without avoidable delay.

Mr Morrell (Burnley, Min.) inquired whether M. Mornard was now appointed permanently and whether the Foreign Office had agreed to his appointment.

Sir E. Grey—I will ask for notice of those questions.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Odessa, February 18.

An Astrabad dispatch of the 17th instant says that the Russian Consul at that place on the previous day communicated to Muhammad Ali Shah the condition of the Teheran Government, approved by Russia and England, for his immediate departure from Persia, with a pledge never to return, and the grant of a pension of 50,000 tomans, his future domicile to be either in Russian or British territory, as the Royal exile may elect. On Saturday the ex-Shah replied to the Russian Consul's official communication with a counter-demand that he should, instead of a pension, receive a lump sum of 20,000,000 tomans, out of which he would pay off and disband his army. This exorbitant demand will not, of course, be complied with, and it is stated here to-day that a short period of grace will be granted to Muhammad Ali to accept or refuse the conditions offered by the Teheran Government. In the latter case he will be forcibly expelled from Persian territory by the Russians, with the consent and approval of England, and under those circumstances it is understood he will be interned in Russia under police surveillance. In urging this preposterous claim Muhammad Ali assured the Russian Consul that his prospects of regaining the Persian throne have recently become extremely favourable, and he has no doubt whatever of his eventual success.

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if he be not interfered with by the two protective Powers. The Russian Press regards this as a mere idle pretension put forth with the object of obtaining a larger "moral solatium" for the "abdication" of his rights and his retirement. The Russian Government is naturally desirous, if possible, of avoiding the extreme measure of arresting Muhammad Ali Shah.

Maxim Gorki on Persia.

The following letter has been received by Mr. Frederick Whelen (honorary secretary of the Persia Committee) from the distinguished Russian writer, Maxim Gorki —

I am of opinion that the actions of the Russian Government in Persia are nationally harmful to the Russian people, quite apart from the fact that they are inhuman in relation to the Persian people. I am doubtful whether it would be possible, by means of courts-martial and by executions, to secure the Persian commercial market for Russian capital, and I am convinced that the Russian Government is creating, by its senseless brutality, a new and irreconcilable enemy in Persia for the Russian people. Moreover, the conduct of the Russian troops in Persia is serving to strengthen the spread of Orthodox Pan-Islamism, which rejects the creative ideas and principles fostered in Europe, and in this way the Russian Government's actions are injurious to the interests of European culture.

Further, while the colonial policy of contemporary Europe, inasmuch as it is not ideally humanitarian, undoubtedly retards the growth of humanitarian ideals, yet England, even when importing opium into China, together with that poison took into the country ideas of constitutionalism and individual freedom.

We see to-day that while China has not been destroyed by the smoking of opium, it has, on the other hand, been stimulated to greater vigour, and is being revolutionised by the healthy and creative ideas of the West, and is now rebuilding its crowded ant-hills on an European basis, and is uniting itself to Aryan culture. From this example, one among many, we are convinced of the vital energy for good inherent in the creative ideas of European culture, and in the capacity of Englishmen for furthering those ideas. We see, also, that while English capital is forcing its way into Persia, English public opinion recognises the necessity for establishing a Committee for the protection of Persia, and that in England, not only is there a society for the study of Eastern culture, but also a special society for studying Persian culture.

I ask myself what things of great price, what principles of European culture have been taken by the Russian Government into those realms which they have seized in Central Asia—Khiva and Bokhara—what creative influences of value can Russian Sovereignty sow in old Iran (Persia).

Russia will take a great deal of vodka into the Persian markets, but I cannot see what ideas useful to the Persians the Russian bureaucracy can possibly introduce. Finally, I think that the seizure of Persia has been due, not so much to the interest of Russian capital as to the desire of the dynasty of the Romanoffs to give to their people a new extension of territory, and by so doing to commemorate the 300th anniversary of their own establishment in Russia. This tercentenary, as is well known, is fictitious, and this gift will develop into a source of misfortune for the Russian people, for it is impossible to believe that Persia will reconcile herself to the enslavement which threatens her.

MAXIM GORKI

The Integrity of Persia.

Mr. Ponsonby (Stirling Burghs, Min) moved the following amendment to the King's speech in the House of Commons —

"But we humbly represent to your Majesty that the failure of your Majesty's Government to take effective steps to preserve the integrity and independence of Persia in accordance with the terms of the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 constitutes a grave menace to your Indian Empire and to the best interests of this country." He said that the state of affairs in Persia was causing a great deal of apprehension in many minds, and he thought that an early and convenient opportunity should be taken for the Foreign Secretary to make a statement on the subject. He warmly congratulated the right hon. gentleman on the high distinction which had been conferred upon him by the King. He had been a critic of the right hon. gentleman's policy in the past, and on certain points he was a critic of the right hon. gentleman's policy still, but this fact in no way interfered with his great appreciation not only of the right hon. gentleman's rare personal qualities, but also of his great sincerity and of the high-minded and disinterested motives that had always guided him in public life. (Cheers.)

In defining his attitude and that of some hon. friends in respect of Persian affairs, he deprecated the criticism of the Foreign Secretary

in his speech at North Sunderland on 20th January as it affected a section of the Liberal Party. Instead of being wishful to interfere with the affairs of other countries he said that their plea throughout had been non-interference. They asked that Persia should be allowed to work out her salvation for herself without the interference of other Powers, and in other foreign questions their point of view was to restrain interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Before the Anglo-Russian Convention was concluded in 1907, all through the 19th century, we had made various engagements with Russia agreeing to respect the integrity and independence of Persia, and this further instrument confirmed that idea, but the Persian Government supposed that it threatened her independence and really was a step towards partition. In order to allay that fear our Minister at Teheran in September 1907 made a statement which was handed to the Persian Foreign Minister, giving a clear interpretation of the spirit of the Convention. When this question was last debated the House was told that the Foreign Office had no knowledge of that document; but he had since sent his right hon. friend a copy and there was no doubt that it was perfectly authentic. Sir Cecil Spring Rice in that statement said that Sir Edward Grey had informed him that he and M. Isvolsky were completely in accord on two fundamental points—first, that the two Powers would not interfere in the affairs of Persia unless injury was inflicted on the persons or property of their subjects; and, secondly, that negotiations arising out of the Convention must not violate the integrity and independence of Persia. Nothing, he maintained, could be more explicit than that statement, or afford a clearer interpretation of what our intentions were.

Passing to the events since the Convention, the hon. member said it was the revolution in Persia which was really the starting-point. Persia was going through the almost superhuman task of establishing an entirely new form of Constitutional Government. At such a moment friendly nations would show their friendship best by standing aside and not interfering with the internal affairs of the country, but it was at that time that Russia first began to show activity. After a Government had been established the position appeared to some still rather hopeless, but fresh hope was raised by the appointment of Mr. Shuster as Treasurer-General. Had he been given a fair chance there was not the slightest doubt he would have succeeded in putting Persian finance in order. (Hear, hear.) He had seen Mr. Shuster and heard him speak. He had expected from all accounts to see a self-advertising and overbearing man, but he found himself listening to a fair minded and moderate man, and his statement confirmed his worst apprehensions, not only with regard to the action of Russia towards Persia, but also with regard to the humiliating position of acquiescence adopted by this country. When the Russians saw there was a chance of a strong Government being established, they immediately made a set against Mr. Shuster and he was hounded out, two charges being made against him, one with regard to the appointment he made to a certain post and the other that he had circulated in Persia a letter he had written to the *Times*. On those two flimsy pretexts he was hounded out of Persia and M. Mornard was appointed his successor. He would like to know whether his right hon. friend could tell the House whether M. Mornard's appointment was permanent, whether the Government approved of the appointment, whether they had received any report as to the past reputation and competence of M. Mornard, and whether he was a suitable person for the post. Persia had given in to Russia on two occasions when ultimatums had been issued, and had grovelled in the dust before Russia, and one would have thought that Russia would have been satisfied. (Hear, hear.) Russian troops were at present occupying North Persia, and though some might have been moved he did not know that any had been withdrawn from Persian territory. There was a great deal of ground for suspicion that the Russians still favoured the return of the ex-Shah, and some of his most prominent supporters had been appointed by the Russians to high posts. The Mejjiss had been swept away and there had been the atrocious act of the hanging by the Russians of one of the most prominent spiritual leaders in Persia. The national schools were closed, and all attempts to stand up for freedom, constitutionalism and patriotism were being stamped out, while people were being tyrannised into submission to the Russian Government. The right hon. gentleman had said at Manchester that what they had hoped to achieve by the Anglo-Russian agreement had been achieved, and that on both sides that agreement had been kept absolutely. He could not agree with the right hon. gentleman there. There could be no question that the agreement had been broken. If they put the present state of affairs in Persia before a fair-minded citizen of any country he could not believe that he would say that the independence and integrity of Persia had been respected. The Russian Government had acted perfectly consistently. They had gone on with their encroachments little by little, disregarding any very mild protests which we might make, and little by little they were carrying out their policy of expansion. We were not only backing them up by failing to

remonstrate in Persia, but we were helping them to establish themselves as a first-class Power, and everything was being done by the Government to help British capital to flow into Russia, for without money Russia would not be able to continue her activities. The right hon. gentleman had referred at Manchester to the good relations existing between this country and Russia. There was no question about that, and he for one had the greatest admiration for the Russian people. When the right hon. gentleman had gone on to say that those good relations were assisted and helped by absurd visits he failed to understand what he meant. It was most disrespectful to the House of Commons to use it as a pawn in the diplomatic game, and through outside agencies, without consultation in the recess, to get up a Parliamentary visit. Good feeling between this country and Russia was not to be established by pleasure trips of that sort. (Hear, hear.)

He learned from the *Times* of yesterday that a joint Note had been submitted to the Persian Government. He did not know whether it was accompanied by any threat, he supposed it was, and that if the Persian Government did not concede the four points set out in the Note it would be subjected to further pressure. The four points represented, in his opinion, a further attack upon the integrity of Persia. The offer of a loan to Persia should not be accepted unless its acceptance were ratified by the Majlis. (Hear, hear.) The case which he submitted was not based only upon a sentimental desire to see justice done. Apart from sentiment, our national honour was at stake. It was a question also of expediency and of our commercial advantages in Persia. Strategically this country was undertaking a very foolish responsibility. Every one knew that the most vulnerable points in the defence of our Indian Empire could be approached by an advance through Persia. Our interests in the Persian Gulf were threatened. At the same time the massing of troops on the Turkish frontier was taking place, and these troops—the number of whom was unknown—were a menace to Turkey, and might cause further complication in which this country would be involved. He considered that the peace of the world was being endangered by the Government's policy. If partition were brought about we should have a long frontier, continuous with that of Russia, and the Government would have to ask for more money for troops, and we should be in a perpetual state of apprehension in that part of the globe. There was no question of fighting Russia. Surely we could persuade Russia to keep an engagement without fighting her. There was not the remotest desire on the part of Russia, nor even of the Russian Government, to fight this country. (Hear, hear.) All that was required was a little stiffening on our part and some show of determination on the part of the British Government to see that engagements were carried out. (Hear, hear.) It was difficult when one saw sentiment, honour, justice, expediency, strategy and the prestige of this country all in one balance to conceive what the Foreign Secretary found to outweigh them. He believed that our relations with Germany were at the bottom of this difficulty as of so many other difficulties. He hoped that the influence which was bringing about better relations with Germany would be taken advantage of. (Hear, hear.) He pleaded that some of the fresh air and light of democratic opinion might be allowed to penetrate into the stuffy darkness of diplomacy. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Morrell (Furnley, Min.), in seconding the amendment, said it was not based upon hostility to or disagreement with the Convention. He had never criticized it, and did not propose doing so. What he and his hon. friends objected to was that the Convention had not been fully and faithfully carried out. (Hear, hear.) When the hon. member for Leicester quoted an interpretation of the Convention a few days ago the Secretary for Foreign Affairs said the document was unknown to him.

Sir E. Grey (Northumberland, Berwick)—Quite true. The official and authorized interpretation is in the Blue-book, but that is not the document the hon. member quoted.

Mr. Morrell supposed that when Sir C. Spring Rice presented that document to the Persian Government he was acting under instructions from the Government at home.

Sir E. Grey—He was not acting upon instructions from home. The only instructions were sent him some days later.

Mr. Morrell said somebody ought to have informed the Secretary of State of the existence of this document handed by Sir C. Spring Rice to the Persian Government, because this document, which was not communicated to the Foreign Office or to the House of Commons, concerned the honour of this country. It was a most extraordinary instance of official ignorance. Let the House look at the contrast of the condition of affairs in January to that in November. There was the Constitution destroyed, two ultimatums presented, the Shah, who had been driven out of the country returned with disorder and civil war, supporters of the Constitution condemned and executed without trial, and violent reactionaries wreaking vengeance on the people. These things would leave an indelible impression on the minds of the Persian people, and we were accomplices and jointly responsible for what

had occurred in Northern Persia. (Hear, hear.) The two ultimatums were approved by the Foreign Secretary, and how would the Persian people regard England? A profound impression had been made on Moslem opinion throughout all Islam. From the speech of the right hon. gentleman at Manchester there appeared to be a slight improvement in the situation, and this he attributed to the public interest aroused in Persian affairs, and the severe condemnation of Russian action in a letter from Maxim Gorky did not stand alone among distinguished writers. The hon. member concluded with specific questions to the Foreign Secretary. What steps were being taken towards the withdrawal of Russian troops, what information had the Foreign Office of proceedings at Tabriz, would Great Britain join with Russia in insisting upon the payment of a pension to the ex-Shah, a pension he had forfeited by his return, whether Great Britain supported the appointment of M. Mornard, whether the Russian Government had waived the claim of an indemnity, and whether there was any intention to call the Majlis together, or what proposal there was for establishing Constitutional government? He hoped the Foreign Secretary would make it plain that if the entente between Great Britain and Russia was to continue it could only be on a footing different to that of the last few months and on terms more fair to the Persian population and more consonant with the honour of this country. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. M. Sykes (Hull, Central, Opp) could not support the motion, however he might sympathize with its motive, in view of the fact that it was difficult to assume that the terms of the Treaty had been actually broken. There was not sufficient evidence. The fact that Russian officials and soldiers in Persia had inflicted punishments in a severe, and in our view an inhuman, manner was no proof that punishments were undeserved and occupation unnecessary. But certainly the present situation contained the seeds of grave danger for the future. (Hear, hear.) If we did not take certain definite lines of action we might have grave cause to regret our inaction six or seven years hence. He drew attention to the tendency to ignore the question of the Baghdad Railway. There was no overlooking the fact that two Great Powers with whom we are on friendly terms were both, necessarily from an economic point of view, gravitating towards the Persian Gulf. Russia, with an enormous population and immense resources, with ice on one side and a desert on the other, sought an outlet along the lines of least resistance to warm water. He was sure the way was being made for the Russian avalanche sliding down, either from economical pressure or from the military point of view, eventually to the Persian Gulf. On the other side there was Germany suffering from over production and an enormously increasing population, with a small seaboard, going down through Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf along the line of the Baghdad Railway. It would be a very serious situation indeed if India, a poor country in spite of Durbar, had suddenly to face two concentrated Powers at the head of the Persian Gulf—one Power which was able to make the sacrifices which built the fortifications of Port Arthur, and another Power which was able to make the sacrifices which built the great German North Sea Fleet. If that occurred we should certainly have to face a serious military and economic situation, because behind it there would be the enormous resources of Mesopotamia, itself a country capable of bearing a vast population. On the other side was India, in a state of poverty and hardly able at present to meet her military expenses. Supposing the present tension in the North sea died down, as everybody hoped it would, it would be a very difficult thing to approach the English people and ask them to make further sacrifices in order to cover India by sea and to meet further building which might take place at the head of the Persian Gulf. The time had come to consider that eventual development very seriously indeed. It was possible to avert the danger, but we must come to a clear understanding with Germany as to our policy in Persia. He hoped we should participate in the railway (hear, hear), and to such an extent that we should have a full say in regard to it. Side by side with the Baghdad Railway he hoped we should have an understanding with Russia if possible, so that even if the Persian Empire should go to pieces, at least there should be a strong independent native State established at the northern part of the Persian Gulf, which it was absolutely essential should not be under the control of any foreign Power, or ourselves either. (Cheers.)

Mr. Dillon (Mayo, L., Nat.) had only one fault to find with the amendment, that it said nothing about the interests of Persia or the honour of this country in relation to the Persian people. The gross failure of the Anglo-Russian Agreement to protect the independence of Persia not only threatened the commercial interests of England and the interests of India, but it was really a deep wound inflicted on the honour of England as well as a horrible injury inflicted on Persia. The whole history of the treatment of the Persian question was an object-lesson as to the mischief done by the secret methods of diplomacy. He defied any one to read the speeches of the Foreign Secretary and say they gave full and frank information as to the situation in Persia. They were mainly

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concerned with broad general statements of policy and defence and explanation of Russian action

The Foreign Secretary in his speeches had devoted himself to the task of justifying, explaining away, and endorsing the action of Russia in Persia. Two theories had been consistently put forward by the right hon gentleman. The first theory was that had it not been for the interference of Russia at the siege of Tabriz the Nationalists in Persia would have been defeated and the Shah would have been still master of Persia. In his view there could not be a greater misrepresentation. The right hon gentleman forgot altogether that the Persians unaided overthrew the tyranny of the late Shah, and while carrying through the revolution their Assembly had been bombarded and their leaders dispersed and killed by Cossacks. Had it not been for the interference of the Russian troops the revolution would have been carried out. The second theory of the Foreign Secretary was that while his own supporters and other hon members appealed to him to maintain peace in all parts of the world, yet they were urging him to a policy of war with Russia. The right hon gentleman indeed conveyed the impression that the only alternative before him was either to assent without remonstrance to all that Russia imposed or declare war upon her.

What was the present situation of Persia and the policy of the Government? He had listened with amazement to the statement of the last speaker when he said that this was not a time for great pressure or strain. The strain was greater than it had ever been, because the country was now told that a Joint Note had been presented within the last few days by Russia and Great Britain to the Persian Government. Was not the House entitled to see that Joint Note immediately in order to learn what the policy was to which they were being committed, and also to see the reply of the Persian Government? The House was being left very much in the dark on this subject. The *Times*, which was exceedingly well-informed on these Foreign Office questions, published on Tuesday the main points of the Note, and after reading them he asked any hon member to say how much remained of the independence of a country which was compelled to swallow the terms of this Note, supposing that the *Times* was correct. What vestige of self respect and independence remained to the Persians if these arrangements were accepted? The Majlis, which was a very good attempt, taking all the circumstances into account, to establish a decent democratic Government in the country, and nobody could deny that it was a vast improvement, had been broken up by Russia, and they were told by the well informed paper the *Times* that a revival of it was extremely unlikely. The Foreign Secretary had said that he recognized that it was the duty of the Russian and British Governments to set the Persian Government once more on its legs and keep it there. He did not know any Government more disqualified from doing that than the Russian Government. (Hear, hear.) To complete the picture, Persia was going to get a loan of £200,000, half of which was to be lent by this country at 7 per cent so that we were not above making an honest penny out of the difficulties of Persia. (Hear, hear.) This all meant the end of the independence of this ancient people, who with all their faults, had had an illustrious history, and in his opinion it was a disgrace to this country that it had had any part in opposing their efforts to set up a system of civilized and free government. (Hear, hear.)

Colonel Vate (Leicestershire, Melton, Opp) said that in this matter they had to eliminate sentiment and consider, from the practical point of view, how the interests of this country were affected. Russia had insisted on her interests being respected with the result that her trade had increased, her legal claims in Persian Courts had been respected, and the roads in Northern Persia had been kept safe. In the south, on the other hand, the roads were absolutely unsafe and British trade had been reduced to a standstill. There was an absolute state of disorder, the Persian Government was absolutely powerless and, as a corollary the independence of Persia was at this moment a fiction. (Hear, hear.) It was to the Anglo-Russian Convention that they must look for the maintenance of its independence and integrity. Only the intervention of the two Powers had saved Persia from being torn in pieces. Sanction had been applied for for the construction of new railways, which would benefit both Persian and British commerce, and he saw no reason why those railways should not be mentioned without delay. If a trans-Persian railway was constructed it was important that there should be a clear run for British goods from India. The gauge should be the same as that on the Indian railways, at any rate as far as Isfahan, the capital of Southern Persia, for if not British goods would be at so great a disadvantage as compared with Russian goods that they would be ousted altogether.

Mr. H. Mason (Coventry, Min) said great interest was being taken in this question in other countries. He had returned recently from a visit to Washington, where he had found that great interest was being taken in the independence and integrity of Persia, both by the members of the Government and by the people of the United States. The feeling was one of sorrow that Great Britain

was not maintaining her high traditions in support of a nation struggling for freedom. While he was there he was given a copy of a document drawn up by the Foreign Relations Committee containing a resolution empowering the President to communicate with Russia and Persia requesting them to refer the differences between them to the Court of Arbitration at The Hague. That resolution was only awaiting time to be brought forward seriously in the House of Representatives and the Senate. That would be done when they were convinced that sufficient support would be forthcoming both from members there and from members here. It was of vital importance to us to maintain an independent State as a buffer State for our Indian Empire. The state of Persia now was very different from that when Mr Shuster was got rid of. There was a difference in the credit of the country. Before Mr Shuster's dismissal there was a proposal for a loan at 5 per cent. to be issued at about 96½, which would probably cost Persia about 6 per cent. Now that the two Great Powers had taken charge of Persian finance they had compelled her to rescind a trumpery £200,000 at 7 per cent. The original loan would have increased greatly the trade of the rest of the world with Persia. He wished to ask the Foreign Secretary by what right he could make a loan of £100,000 to Persia even at 7 per cent without the matter coming before Parliament. Greater democratic control of foreign policy was needed. The genius of British policy was and ought to be a love of freedom, but this country was unable to make her voice heard or her protest of any value now because she was fettered by alliances which were alien to British sentiment. It was impossible for a freedom loving country to work in partnership with Russia unless sooner or later one Power had to give way to the other.

Mr. Lloyd (Staffordshire, W., Opp) remarked that the amendment dealt with the attitude of Russia towards Persia and not with the attitude of this country. Apparently the mover of the amendment meant to censure the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907. From a political, apart from a commercial, point of view Persia had suffered nothing which she would not have had to endure in a tenfold greater degree in the absence of that Agreement. If there had been no such Agreement and Russia had taken the action which the hon member imputed to her, he could not conceive it possible that any one would have asked the British Government to get the Russian troops out of Northern Persia. Having the Agreement, this country could at least ask Russia to respect the terms of the document. (Ministerial cheers.) If the Agreement were closely adhered to by Russia and Great Britain its existence would be for the benefit of Persia. The presence of Russian troops in Persia was unsatisfactory, and the moment that order was restored his Majesty's Government should ask Russia to take her troops out of Persia and not to interfere with financial or other affairs in Northern Persia. (Hear, hear.) The manner in which foreign advisers were forced upon the Persian Government was unwise, and the association of the British Government with that of Russia in regard to the compensation question, advances by Russia, and the ultimatum was very unfortunate. With regard to the Trans-Persian Railway scheme, he thought the prospect of the introduction of a third and perhaps a fourth Power into the affairs of this troubled zone would be likely to increase friction. He hoped that unless the railway could be made under more favourable conditions that it would not be made. Personally, he opposed this amendment because he believed it would damage the relations so happily instituted between ourselves and Russia.

Sir G. Robertson (Central Bradford, Min) said both the mover and seconder of this amendment were labouring under a distinct fallacy in thinking that Northern Persia for 50 years past ever had been under anything approaching to an independent condition. (Hear, hear.) All that time North Persia had been absolutely in the grip of Russia. The Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 seemed so entirely beneficial to us that he should like to know how our Foreign Secretary induced the Russian Government to enter into it. This Treaty was of enormous advantage to us, and it was the only possible hope for the independence of Persia. In his opinion the Government of St Petersburg was *bona fide* anxious to keep to its Agreements. He hoped that by tact and forbearance on the part of His Majesty's Government the Agreement with Russia would be maintained. There was good prospect of that. He was anxious for the maintenance of Persian independence and fervently hoped that the result of the debate would not in any way imperil the excellent position we held with Russia in joint determination to maintain Persian independence.

Mr. A. Herbert (Somerset, S., Opp.) said that some time ago he might have felt more agreement with hon. members opposite than now he did. It was not desirable to be perpetually interfering with specialists in any undertaking, and it was most unwise in a situation where there was great tension abroad, crisis after crisis, and foreign relations strained—most unwise to call to council people who had not intimate knowledge of the facts of the case. It was impossible for him to have a thorough knowledge of what happened in Persia last year, and he looked forward to the fulfilment of the promise of the Government of information.

Persia had not had the help that might have been expected from a Liberal Government, and if the condition of the people had not altered from the time when he was there, it was not so admirable as some hon. members believed. Ever since 1865 we had been fighting a kind of rearguard action in regard to Persia, and, as in such actions, with unsatisfactory results, and remembering what the difficulties had been in the past, it must be admitted that the new policy of the Government had not been unsuccessful. Those difficulties occurred because Persia is the neighbour of Russia, and, though neighbouring British possessions, is not a neighbour of English people. Persia would have fallen to pieces, Russia would have more quickly proceeded to Teheran, and British interests would have suffered more severely but for the policy of the Government. He was not always in favour of the policy of the Government, for reasons it would now serve no useful purpose to go into. Inferences were drawn from statements made in the House that were not always justified. If he seemed to speak unsympathetically from the point of view of hon. members opposite he should not be misunderstood. It was a fine thing that there should be a feeling in this country that His Majesty's Government might have done more for the independence and integrity of Persia. There was in that feeling the real spirit of chivalry in a democracy anxious to hold out a helping hand to a people striving to reach the ideal of democracy through the gates of Constitutional freedom, but speaking impartially, it must be said that a Constitution in Europe and in the East were very different things. The word was not understood in many Eastern countries. It could not be pretended that Persia was yet fully educated in the knowledge of what a real Constitution is. You cannot alter the heart of a man by giving him a political ornament and calling it a Constitution. You can not bring the people of Persia to perfection by giving them a Constitution, any more than you can relieve the misery in this country by breaking or suspending the Constitution here. Persia had for centuries been under the worst system of oppression the world had ever known. Half the people were fanatics and half were extraordinarily apathetic, and it was impossible to teach them what a complicated European Constitution meant or to get their affection for it. Under no circumstances did we mean to fight for the improvement of Persia. The annexation of the country or a guarantee for a Constitution which would mean occupation would be a wild, adventurous policy he was certain no member would advocate. (Hear.)

Sir E. Grey, who was received with cheers, said—I should like to begin by thanking my hon. friend the member for Stirling Burghs, who initiated this debate, for his courteous references to myself, and I can say with equal sincerity with regard to him that the purity of his motives in public life and the public spirit animating the action he takes are well known to us all. (Hear, hear.) He a little resented some criticisms I made upon criticisms made upon my own speeches in a speech made to my constituents last March. But my hon. friend need not have been so sensitive about these criticisms. I was addressing my constituents, and as I have nothing to say to my constituents that I am not willing that the whole world should know I have no objection to my speeches being reported. But speeches sometimes have a somewhat personal interest between myself and my constituents, and a local rather than a general interest. In this case I was dealing with certain criticisms upon my action which had appeared in a local newspaper published in my constituency. They were extracts partly from articles which I had not seen before, and I explained that having seen those extracts and my constituents having all read them, I would deal with them, as I had not time to make research or see the whole of the articles from which they came. It was with those I was dealing. I knew my knowledge was partial. My hon. friend the member for Stirling Burghs has put on the cap, and I can only say unless he is the author of the extracts which I was criticizing at the time he need not feel aggrieved about anything which I said.

Now, coming to matters which have been dealt with in the debate, I take first of all the question of this document given by the British Minister at Teheran. That document was drawn up by the British Minister in an unofficial form. On the face of it you can see that it is in unofficial form. He regarded it as so unofficial that he did not send it home at the time, and that is why I never saw it. A few days after he drew it up instructions were sent by me from the Foreign Office as to the explanation which was to be given to the Persian Government of the Anglo-Russian Agreement. Those instructions were the official authoritative explanation. They were given some days after that unofficial document. They were accepted by the Persian Government. They were regarded by me as the only authoritative official interpretation for which I was responsible, and I object entirely to this official interpretation being put on one side and entirely disregarded and this unofficial document referred to as the only official interpretation. That is not fair. I do not blame the British Minister for what he did, but I do resent its being supposed that it was done under special instructions as an official document. It is full of quotations from the Russian Foreign

Minister, and that I should have had an official document drawn up basing myself on statements made by a Russian Foreign Minister, and that I should have quoted these without their context and without communication with the Russian Minister and have drawn them up as an official document, of course it is not the case. (Cheers.) In general substance it does not differ from the official interpretation except in regard to one sentence at the end, which states that the object of the British and Russian Governments in these friendly negotiations "was not to allow one another to intervene." I believe the British Minister in drawing that up did not intend it to bear the construction which has been put upon it. But the construction which has been put upon it is that we undertook some obligation to guarantee in a way we had not done before the independence and integrity of Persia. That is the construction which has been put upon the words, and which it may be contended the words naturally bear, but it is not the construction he intended, and it is not the intention or construction that ought to be put on the Anglo Russian Agreement.

I never regarded that Agreement—and I would not have made it if I had—as an extension of our responsibilities. I regarded it as a limitation of our action rather than an extension, and as a corresponding limitation on Russian action also. It was a mutual Agreement limiting the action of the two Governments—the Russian and the English Governments respectively. That was the main object and purpose of the Agreement. To-night what has been discussed in the House? The Anglo-Russian Agreement? Not as a whole. There has not been a word about the Afghanistan part or the Tibet part, and the whole thing hangs together. Have the articles of it been discussed? Not one of the article. Has the preamble of it been discussed? Yes, partly, the first part. The whole of the attacks made on the Anglo Russian Agreement have dealt solely with the first paragraph of the preamble—the one-third part. That is what I mean by saying that the focus and perspective is distorted. We must look at the Agreement and at the articles of the Agreement as a whole. When I said at Manchester the other day what the object of the Anglo-Russian Agreement was, I defined it as having been to secure (I forget now the exact words I used) that the British and Russian Governments, respectively, should not disturb their interests and their frontiers in Asia. And that has been absolutely kept—on both sides. The Russian Government have done nothing since that Agreement was made to disturb the Indian frontier, to intrigue so as to make disturbance on the Indian frontier, to push railways towards it, or to do any of those things which they undertook in the Agreement they would not do. And we in the same way have observed the terms. When I said that it had been absolutely kept it was to that, the main object of the Agreement, I was referring, and it is absolutely true.

My hon. friend says that what has happened under the Anglo-Russian Agreement has damaged us strategically. If any of the articles of the Agreement had been broken, if Article 2 had been broken, or any of the other articles, then you would have had a case for saying that strategically our position was worse than it is. The operative parts of the articles have not been infringed in any way. How have we been damaged strategically by the Agreement? The Indian frontier is not conscious of it. The Indian Government is not conscious of any strategical damage. Russian influence no doubt there is in Northern Persia, but Russian influence was there before the Anglo Russian Agreement was made. The fact of Russian influence being dominant in Northern Persia is no new thing. Any one who will take the trouble to look again at the speech in which I explained the Anglo Russian Agreement to the House in 1908 will see that I assumed as one of the premises on which the Anglo Russian Agreement had been made that the Russian influence in the north of Persia was already there and had been there for some 20 years, and that under successive British Governments not one of them had made it their policy or made an effort to prevent Russian influence being dominant in the north of Persia. The question of whether we are strategically worse off depends on the use which is made of Russian influence in the north of Persia, whatever difficulties there may have been with regard to Persian internal affairs, whatever disputes there may have been, has not been used in any way to make the Indian frontier strategically worse. (Hear, hear.) It has not been used, as it would have been in the past, to prejudice our strategical position. It has not been used in that way and it is not being so used now.

I do not mean to push that so far as to say that it should not be the subject of comment in the House that Russian troops are in Persia and have lately been largely increased in numbers. That, of course, is a matter of comment and has been dealt with frequently. The presence of Russian troops in Northern Persia has been due to various causes, into which I need not now enter. The hon. member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) seemed to resent my giving any explanation of anything which the Russians do in Northern Persia. Whenever I have given those explanations I have been strongly pressed to protest against something or other, but I have no desire to give explanations if it is not desired that explanations should be given. But I am, of course,

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bound to explain to the House what the position of Russian troops in Northern Persia is. Russian troops have been sent there owing to various disputes which have arisen, but they have not been sent there, as I am informed, in order to effect the permanent occupation of the country. They have been sent there at various times during the last few years, and on one occasion at any rate they were withdrawn after they had been sent from Kazvin. In July, 1909, after the revolt of the Bakhtiari and Nationalists at Teheran the Russian Government, in order to guard all nationalities at that time landed a regiment of Cossacks, a battery, and so forth, which went to Kazvin. In November of that year we were told that 300 of those men were to return to Russia. In December, 1909, 600 or 700 were withdrawn, and on 23rd February last year all those troops were withdrawn from Kazvin except the Consular guard of about 50 or 100 men. That is an instance of troops having been sent and then withdrawn. Any one who has had experience of the sending of British troops to occupy places temporarily will realize how difficult it is to withdraw troops when they have been once sent to occupy. The fact that troops were once sent and then withdrawn ought, at any rate, to be noticed in this House as evidence that the sending of Russian troops into Northern Persia has not been from any premeditated design for the permanent occupation of the country, but due to causes which we hope will be temporary. Again, troops have been sent to Kazvin. My hon. friend who initiated the debate pointed out that Kazvin is a really important place, and that the other places did not threaten Teheran, the capital, nor the heart of Persia, and are comparatively close to the Russian frontier. Kazvin, no doubt, is on the direct route to Teheran. From Kazvin there were some of the troops withdrawn a little time ago, and we understand that the rest are soon to be withdrawn from Kazvin also. With regard to other places there is another factor to be borne in mind. Russian troops are not the only troops in Persia at the present time. There are Turkish troops over the frontier of Persia. They have been there for some time, and the contention of the Russian Government has been that the presence of the Turkish troops in Persia is for protecting strategical interests, and no one can deny that they are justified in putting forward that contention. The Turkish troops began going over the Persian frontier under the old regime in August, 1905—I am not sure about the month—and they have gradually advanced further and further, and no doubt the presence of Russian troops in Northern Persia may have led to still further advances of Turkish troops. That is the situation at the present time. The Turkish troops have advanced far in the direction of Tabriz, and the Russian troops in some places have been advanced, no doubt as strategical movements, because the strategical position has been changed to their disadvantage by the presence of the Turkish troops. That is an element which has to be borne in mind. If the strategical position of Russia is threatened, or is likely to be prejudiced by the advance of Turkish troops, Russia is entitled to claim that she must be a judge of her own strategical interests and of what measures are necessary to protect them.

With regard to Persian independence, I notice one very important admission of the Hon. Member who began the debate. He admitted that there had been Russian influence in the north of Persia before the Agreement, but he said that the Persian revolution destroyed that influence. I have been told from other sources that the Persian revolution destroyed Russian influence in the north; but any one who reads the Anglo-Russian Agreement ought to consider whether it was really consistent for us to take upon ourselves the support of the Persian Government in the destruction of Russian influence in the north of Persia, which existed before the Anglo-Russian Agreement was made. It was there when the Anglo-Russian Agreement was made. When you speak of the independence of Persia you must bear in mind that the independence of Persia was one which was already conditioned by Russian influence in North Persia at that time. Does any one suppose that we could have worked the Anglo-Russian Agreement in this way—that we should say to Russia that the Persian revolution had destroyed your influence in the north, that you must not attempt to regain that influence, you must make no effort to re-establish the influence you have lost, and that we on our side must maintain the absolute security of the Indian frontier which is guaranteed to us by the Anglo-Russian Agreement? You cannot work the Agreement in that one-sided way. To say that diplomatic despatches and representations, and so forth, based on that assumption, should have been the ordinary course of events in the north of Persia is absolutely futile. It would put an end to the Anglo-Russian Agreement, and to say that Russian influence in the north should be destroyed as a consequence of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, and that we should retain all the advantages guaranteed to us in respect of the Indian frontier is an untenable position.

I come down to the present situation, and I will take some points in detail. First of all, there is the ex-Shah. We ourselves have taken up a strong line about him, and we have said that we could not recognize him again. It has been very exasperating to us, not on account of abstract considerations connected with the Persian

Government or the Russian Government, but in our own interests. The ex-Shah went back into Persia, and one consequence of his going back was that the Bakhtiari forces which had been in the habit, though in an irregular way, of keeping order on the southern roads, were drawn upon to resist the ex-Shah. The Persian Government was crippled in its struggle with him, and our trade suffered because the roads were blocked. I regard that as sufficient justification for us to say that we would not recognize the ex-Shah; and the first object of importance at the present time is to get the ex-Shah out of the country. Criticism has been made as to his pension when he leaves the country. Not for the first time in history do we find that a pension has been given not on grounds of merit. (Laughter.) He has to be got out of the country. If the Persian Government had been strong enough to turn him out by themselves there would have been no question of pension or anything else. But they are not strong enough to turn him out; how is he to be got out? I wonder how many persons who take a strong line about Persian affairs have studied the map of Persia. North Persia is out of our reach, we cannot send a force there to turn him out. Are we to go to the Russian Government and to ask them to turn the ex-Shah out of Persia? Are we to be at one moment pressed to ask them to withdraw their troops in order to protect their trade routes or interest which they consider to be in danger, and at another moment to ask them to send forces into Persia at their own expense to do something to suit our purposes? Of course we cannot, and there are no means I can see of getting him out of Persia unless he is got out on terms. (Laughter.) He is out of our reach. As far as we are concerned we have done what we can to discourage the ex-Shah by saying that we will not recognize him and a warning has been given to him now through the Russian Consul that his case is hopeless and that he had better leave the country.

Undoubtedly certain terms have been offered him to leave, and in connexion with this subject I had better give the provisions of the loan. I have not the actual Joint Note about the loan, but I have a telegram sent on 2nd February setting forth the lines of it. As soon as I get the exact terms of the Note and the Persian reply I shall be glad to communicate them to the House. There is nothing that they are roughly to this effect—that the British and Russian Governments will advance to meet immediate requirements £2,00,000 jointly, the proceeds to be spent under the supervision of the Treasurer-General, and our share of £1,00,000 to be devoted as much as possible to the Gendarmerie in the South.

Mr D. MASON.—At what rate?

SIR E. GOLY.—It will be at the agreed rate of 7 per cent. Someone has said that the loan is small. Of course it is small. We do not want to undertake loans ourselves, but we want to see the trade routes opened to the south, and we have limited the loan to the smallest possible amount necessary to meet immediate emergencies and to enable a start to be made with the preservation of order on the southern routes. It is not intended as a loan to finance the Persian Government as a whole. That we hope will be done by a larger loan through the ordinary financial channels as soon as it can be arranged. The advance is made as an exceptional thing of very limited amount to meet special emergencies connected with the southern roads. As the two Governments are sharing in the loan it had to be made at an agreed rate of interest. Some Hon. Members ask me about the security in Persia. The loan to be useful ought to be made quickly, and we have not had time to go into the questions of security very closely. But we have said that it is to be made on what security is available and to be the first charge on the large loan we hope Persia will be able to raise soon through the ordinary financial channels when the situation in Persia has improved. It is not a very serious liability in amount, but it will, of course, have to come before the House. The next thing was to inform the Persian Government that the ex-Shah should be requested to leave Persian territory and that neither he nor his adherents should receive encouragement or support from the Russian Government or ourselves. The text of the communication has been left to the two representatives to draw up, and the amount of the pension and the conditions on which it has been granted are being arranged. The third point deals with proposals of a general amnesty to be proclaimed, and when the ex-Shah has left Persia the Russian Government are to dismiss their irregular forces. The fourth point refers to a readiness to discuss with them a scheme for a small army. An hon. member asked whether the army would be put under Russian officers. I have said nothing in this telegram about Russian officers, but it may be that they will be employed under the Persian Government. It is no new thing. For years and long before the Anglo-Russian Agreement, Persian Consuls in Teheran were under Russian officers. Never for a moment would the Russian Government consent to see their officers employed under the Persian Government dismissed and officers of another nationality substituted for them at Teheran. The fifth point is that the Persian Government should be requested, in a form to be decided upon by negotiation, to conform to the principles of the Anglo-Russian Convention. It is a very necessary provision, because if we agree

that there are certain parts of Persia in which we will not push our respective influence, it is essential that the Persian Government should not upset it. One of the reasons which gave rise to the difficulties at Teheran was undoubtedly the appointment by the Treasurer-General of the Persian Government of a British subject at Tabriz, 80 miles from the Russian frontier and within the sphere of Russian influence. If the Persian Government is to continue its business undisturbed it is essential that it should conform to the Articles in the Anglo-Russian Agreement, and should not give concessions contrary to the spirit of the Agreement, or make appointments of Russians in the British sphere or of British in the Russian sphere. There is no harm or indignity in asking the Persian Government to conform to that practice stipulated for in the Anglo-Russian Agreement, which prevents friction between the British and Russian Governments.

Now as to trade. It was a perfectly true criticism to say that our trade had suffered recently more than the Russian trade. It is true that Russia has sent forces into the north of Persia to control the routes. They are engaged in taking caravans on some of the trade routes in Northern Persia. If we could have done it for ourselves in the south of Persia the Russians would not have made any objection to our doing in the south what they had themselves done in the north; and it would have been within our rights. I admit that the reason why our trade in the south has been impeded and even blocked to an extent which has not been the case with the Russian trade in the north is that we have not ourselves taken the measures in the south which the Russians have taken in the north.

I frankly say that I think we have done right in deciding not to take steps to control these trade routes. If we had, we should have had to send between 1,000 and 2,000 men to begin with at least and, as hon. members know, the force you send at the beginning in such a case generally turns out to be far too small, and having sent you are told that unless you send a considerable number more the whole object for which you sent these men will be sacrificed. Then you are told further that you must occupy a certain point or points to secure your object. Having occupied these points you will find that your occupation is going to be of no use and that its object will not be attained unless you occupy some point further in which you are told it is absolutely essential you should occupy. That is the very reason why we have been reluctant to undertake the control of roads in Southern Persia. It would have put us and on the Indian Government, because I suppose we should have had to share the expense, an expense which might have been very great, and might indeed have been so great as to exceed, not the profits, but the gross value of the whole of the trade involved. Suppose we had let ourselves in for an occupation of Southern Persia and had undertaken the responsibility of providing for order. I admit the trade has suffered, but, on the whole, the Government have, I think rightly, hitherto decided not to send a force into Southern Persia to control the roads, but to do all we can to co-operate both with the Persian and the Russian Governments in inducing the ex-Shah to leave the country—that will react most favourably on the southern roads—and to secure for Persia a small advance of money to devote to organizing a gendarmerie for the southern roads and in getting Swedish officers to organize that force. In this we are doing the best we can for Persia, and we hope that these measures, inconvenient though the interruption to trade may have been, if they succeed in a few weeks or a month in restoring order to Southern Persia, will make it clear that the policy we have adopted has, in the long run, secured its object, with far less expense and far less risk than would be incurred in the occupation of the country.

Then I was asked to say a word about railways in Persia. I can say very little about the trans-Persian scheme, which is still in this stage—certain financial groups, on their own account, are making a study of what the prospects of a railway would be, how it could be financed, and so forth. All we have said hitherto is that we are favourable to a railway in principle, provided certain conditions are eventually observed. Till the study of these groups has resulted in showing that some particular scheme is favourable, there is really nothing to report. So far as we are concerned I think we are right in not opposing railway development in Persia, because, sooner or later, it must come; indeed, you have no right simply for your own interest to pursue a policy of opposing railway development. In the long run you would not succeed. I think that our proper policy is not to discourage or to oppose schemes, which may be put forward for the development of Railways in Persia, but to give such encouragement and support ourselves as will secure that, if and when a trans-Persian railway is made, it should be made under conditions as to breadth of gauge and as to routes taken which are satisfactory to the Indian Government which are most concerned. (Hear, hear.) We have been in close consultation with the Indian Government as to conditions and they have stipulated for certain *prima facie* conditions to be accepted if and when a group decides that a railway is feasible. I cannot say how much international capital may or may not be involved. That is a stage further ahead; but if and when a railway is pronounced feasible, we shall then, of course, review any scheme that is put before us in the light of the conditions stipulated for by the Indian Government and in consultation with them.

One important and definite question I was asked with reference to the terms of M. Mornard's appointment as Treasurer-General. The reports I have from our present Minister at Teheran are quite favourable to M. Mornard, and, indeed, it would be difficult to find anyone else at this moment who has the experience and knowledge of Persian affairs which it is necessary to have to transact the business of the post. Indeed, I think that to attempt in the present state of affairs to send any one there with no knowledge or previous experience of the country would be to set that person a very hard task indeed. I think the experience M. Mornard has had is valuable in the present crisis and will enable him to take hold of the business. The reports as to M. Mornard personally that we have from our Minister at Teheran are quite favourable. Of course everything had to be done in a hurry recently and the appointment at present is temporary, the question of a definite appointment being kept in suspense.

Mr. Morrell (Burnley, Min.)—Can the right hon. gentleman tell me whether the Persian Government protested against the appointment?

Sir E. Grey—I would ask my hon. friend to give me notice of that question. The Persian Government, I think, do not at all grudge the appointment of M. Mornard at the present time, but whether they did at any stage make a protest or not, I cannot say without notice. The appointment, though temporary, may become permanent, and, at any rate, it is the best that can be done at the present time. I have no reason to say that it will turn out other than satisfactory.

Now generally, if we are to intervene in Persia, we must base our intervention on British interests. It is impossible for us to undertake in different parts of the world, when disputes arise between other countries, to be the arbiters in those disputes and to pronounce judgment upon their merits. In this case, a dispute between Russia and Persia in the north of Persia, where admittedly we have acquiesced in the establishment of Russian influence in previous years, we cannot undertake—I cannot undertake to be continually giving accounts of all that happens and pronouncing judgment upon what has taken place. I have not got the information, in the first place, and we must, if we are to pursue a policy which is within our compass, a reasonable policy, base our intervention in Persia on British interests. I deprecate the constant attacks that are made in this House as to what has taken place and is taking place in the north of Persia, which are based upon the absolute truth of every statement which is adverse to one side, and which ignore the statements which are adverse to the other side. I am not in a position very often to have any information in regard to some of the statements. Even if I had, I do not consider it is my business to investigate all the circumstances on each side, and then to say exactly what is true. But what I deprecate is that everything that is adverse to Russian action should be accepted and that everything which is evidence of provocation to Russian interest should be ignored. Russia in the north of Persia finds it necessary to take certain measures to protect her trade or her strategic interests. Those are not necessarily a breach of the Anglo-Russian Agreement. Look at the second paragraph of the preamble, which begins—“Considering that each of the Powers, Great Britain and Russia, has for geographical and economic reasons a special interest in the maintenance of peace and order in certain provinces of Persia”—with a preamble like that, you cannot say for a moment when either country takes steps to intervene in a particular region in Persia where it has been admitted by the preamble to have special interests, for the protection of interest it considers in danger—you cannot consider that as necessarily a breach of the Anglo-Russian Agreement. There are certain things under the Anglo-Russian Agreement which would be a distinct breach and which would have to be taken up at once. A breach of Article 1 and Article 2 of the Agreement about Persia is, of course, a thing which would be taken up a breach of Article 1 by us or a breach of Article 2 by Russia would be taken up at once by one or the other country. In all the criticism which has been offered in this House in respect to the Anglo-Russian Agreement, only once that I remember has there been any reference to the really operative articles of the Agreement or any allegation, at any rate, that any one of these had been broken. When that is the case, when one of these articles is broken, then, of course, strategic interests would be involved and must be protected.

Mr. O'Grady (Leeds, E. Labl.)—Where do the Persian people come in this case? (Hear, hear.)

Sir E. Grey—We have never undertaken the responsibility for the Persian people. Are we to make ourselves responsible for people in Central Asia? (Hear, hear.)

Mr. O'Grady—Are they to be wiped out? That is all.

Sir E. Grey—No, no. That is the sort of statement that makes debate impossible. (Cheers.) What is in effect being pressed upon us in debate?

I am pressed to take up questions on behalf of Persia in the north of Persia, and it amounts to this, that I am in effect being

asked to prevent Russia from regaining and retaining that influence in northern Persia which she had before the Anglo-Russian Agreement. (Hon. Members.—"No, no") The hon. gentleman for Stirling Burghs (Mr Ponsonby) admits that the Russian influence which existed at the time of the Anglo-Russian Agreement has been destroyed. Russia has to regain and retain that influence and the criticism passed on me is that I have not prevented it. That is really what it comes to.

Mr Ponsonby—All our efforts since the time that Russian influence was damaged in the north have been to help Russia to regain that influence and make it stronger than before.

Sir E. Grey.—That is not the question that has been pressed upon me. I have been pressed to protest against certain things, to take action to prevent Russia doing certain things. The effective part of the attack is that I have not prevented that influence being regained and retained.

That comes from the very quarter which, when this Government first came into power, would have been the very first to denounce the Government if we had said that previous Governments had acquiesced in Russian influence in the north of Persia, and that we intended to do so no longer and were going to adopt a forward policy (Cheers). Of course the permanent Russian occupation of Northern Persia and the overthrow of the Persian Government at Teheran would alter the situation. It would greatly offend Mahomedan feeling, and no doubt the Russian occupation of Teheran, and the overthrow of the Persian Government, and the substitution for it of Russian government at Teheran would alter the situation. But Russia has assured us, that is not her intention. In the first place she has not sent troops to Teheran, or attempted to occupy Teheran, and in the next place she has told us that whenever she has sent troops into Persia they have been sent for a special purpose and will be withdrawn when that purpose is served and when the situation admits of it.

Of course I do not say the situation as regards the future is free from difficulty with regard to Persia. It is not a very easy matter to keep the Persian Government on its feet and to get order re-established throughout Persia by Persian resources alone. That is what we wish to see done, what we are trying to do, and what, with patience, I think we shall succeed in doing. Without the Anglo-Russian Agreement there would be no chance of anything of the kind. Without the Anglo-Russian Agreement we should have the same jealousy and suspicion of Russian action and British action respectively which existed before the Agreement was made. That certainly would have led to far worse consequences than at the present time. Whatever Russia has done in the north of Persia has been done with the sole regard to the effect of Persian action on affairs in Persia or her interest and not for fear we should take advantage of the situation against them. If there had not been that confidence between the two Governments the action would be very much more extensive, because in the old days each Government was working against the other at Teheran not merely to protect its own interests, but to try to prevent the other from taking advantage or supposed advantage of the situation. If that motive still existed the interference would be on a much greater scale. What should we have done? We should have no security that we should not have found ourselves some day face to face with the fact that Russian influence in the north of Persia had led to concessions for a railway towards our frontier. How should we have protected ourselves against that? We should have been driven, not because our own interests required it, but because we were afraid of a change in the situation to our disadvantage, to assert our authority in those parts of Persia which it is specially necessary for us to watch in regard to our Indian frontier. Then you would really be on the way to a partition of Persia and a joint frontier. I trust anything of the kind will be avoided, that there will not be a partition of Persia, that we shall be able to keep intervention in internal Persian affairs within much narrower limits than we could have kept them if there was apprehension either on the Russian side that we were going to work against their interests in Persia or on our side that they were going to work against us. If it were a fact that we were working against each other the intervention that would then take place would be very much greater. It is natural that the House should expect papers. I gave instructions some time before the House met that papers should be got ready, but it is necessary to send them to Teheran and to send certain parts to St Petersburg to be examined in the Embassy and Legation there before they can be presented to Parliament. I am having that done as quickly as possible, and papers which are being prepared will be laid, I hope, about the middle of next week. They will come down to a certain date because I shall not be able to have papers beyond that date, but I have given instructions that a further set of papers shall be prepared bringing events down to a later date, as I said in answer to a question the other day. I will have the papers pushed on as fast as possible, and will have them laid before Parliament down to as late a date as possible.

Mr. O'Grady urged that it would be advantageous to British interests that the Foreign Office should help to secure the

restoration of the Majlis and the Constitution in Persia. He complained that the Secretary for Foreign Affairs appeared to resent the attempts made by hon. members to obtain information relating to Persia.

Sir E. Grey said that remark was unfair, in view of the number of questions which he had answered, including supplementary questions, which used not to be allowed in regard to foreign affairs. If he had given the impression of which the hon. member spoke it was not because he resented inquiries, but was probably due to the embarrassment caused by the number of questions and the difficulties to which they might give rise.

Mr. N. Buxton (Norfolk, N., Min.) said he had been pained to hear from more than one Englishman in Persia how extremely unpleasant it had been for them to view the loss of British prestige in that country during the last few years. The Entente might not have damaged Persian interests, but its distortion, which in the last two or three years had amounted to a certain subservience to Russian interests, had been damaging to Persia. During the last three years Persian history had been a symptom and by-product of the German situation, which had affected British policy in many other parts of the world, and notably in Turkey. Turkey had an extremely urgent interest in supporting the independence of Persia, and Great Britain had not been able to support Turkey in that policy because it had been thought that the primary consideration of our diplomacy must be to win the friendship of Russia and other Powers against Germany. As a result of the recent improvement in Anglo-German relations it might be hoped that that consideration was removed, and that His Majesty's Government would be able to consider reasons for supporting Persia. He wished to know whether the policy recently pursued in regard to Persia had the support of the India Office.

Mr. Montagu (Cambridge, Chesterton, Min.)—Yes.

Mr. N. Buxton said there were divergent opinions upon whether it was to the interest of Europe to endeavour to promote the permanent welfare of the Mahomedan States, but if there was any such State clearly worth supporting it was Persia. Lord Curzon evidently thought there was a great deal more we might do. He suggested that the proposal of a Foreign Affairs Committee such as operated in France was worthy of the consideration of the Government if only for its possible value in any matters such as Persia which might arise in future.

Mr. Ponsonby was deeply disappointed with the speech of the Foreign Secretary, but withdrew the amendment.



Verse.

Triplets.

EVEN as the flowers are, so art thou,
Bright and sweet and joyous,
Maiden of the sunny brow!

Even as the morn is, so art thou,
Fresh is the virgin dew
Upon thy golden brow.

Even as the stars are, so art thou,
The poetry of heaven is
Under thy arched brow.

Even as the soul is, so art thou,
And love and life and light
Are circled round thy brow.

Green bank of grass and maiden hair
Wound round a purling brook

In summer, is 'passing fair:

Where roses climb half way
To trellised jessamine.

Soothing the sultry day;

And showered blooms of *Vakul* spread
Beneath, and yellow *Champa*,

Blithe Spring's own bridal bed,

'Tis ever sweet; but sweeter thou
And fairer, aye, and rarer,

Maiden of the golden brow!

Do I love thee? Ask not again:

The stars above thee answer yes,
And the flowerful plain.

Wasith.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

REUTER wires from Rome on the 7th—Three thousand Turks made a series of vigorous attacks throughout Tuesday night upon the Italian positions at Mergheb. The Turks were repulsed by artillery and quickfiers and it is estimated that they had four hundred killed. The Italian casualties were one killed and five wounded.

Latest news from the Red Sea state that the Italians have occupied Sur, one of the islands of Farson, which are within Turkish limits. The Italians are reported to have landed a body of native troops in Sur and it is rumoured that they intend to hand over all the Farson islands to the Mahdi of Asir, Syed Mahomed Bin Idrees. Meanwhile, the Mahdi of Asir is investing the Turkish port of Meedi and is said to be contemplating an advance on Loheia.

The following Press communiqué has been issued in the Foreign Department, Government of India—Rumours have spread to the effect that it was the intention of the Italian Government to blockade the Ports of Jeudah and Yembu, and representations on the subject have been made by Muhamoedan bodies to the Government of India. The Government of India have received no corroboration of these rumours, nor has any information to that effect reached His Majesty's Government. His Majesty's Government do not believe that the Italian Government have in contemplation steps which would lead to interference with the pilgrim traffic, and in order to allay anxiety on this point, have represented to the Italian Government that any such action if contemplated would create deep resentment in India.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 10th—The *Tribuna* states that the British, German, French, Austro-Hungarian and Russian representatives called separately at the Foreign Office and asked the Minister the terms on which Italy would accept the friendly mediation of the Powers. The Minister reserved his reply.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 12th—The Chamber has passed all clauses of the Bill authorising an expenditure of £200,000 sterling on the campaign in Tripoli.

Turkish counter proposals, with regard to the understanding with Great Britain on the subject of the construction of the Persian Gulf section of the Baghdad railway, negotiations for which will be conducted in London, are understood to comprise the following. The capital will be equally divided between Great Britain, France, Germany and Turkey, each equally participating on the board of Directors the Chairman of which will be an Ottoman who will have only one vote. The line shall terminate at Basra.

M Charikoff, Ambassador at Constantinople, has been recalled presumably owing to the disapproval of his policy. It is reported that M de Hartwig, Minister at Belgrade, will succeed him.

The Russian papers are mystified at what they regard as the disgrace of M Charikoff who was recently recalled from his post of Ambassador in Constantinople. Their remarks imply that he carried on a policy of his own, that he was too pro-Turkish, that he deprecated any mediation by Russia in the Turco-Italian war and that he strongly favoured the "Young Turks."

Turkey has commenced laying mines in the Dardanelles. Pilot ships will meet vessels.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 12th, fierce fighting took place at Tabruck on the 11th instant the Turks attacking a new fort in process of construction. Three Italian regiments were engaged and drove back the enemy with bayonet charges aided by mountain battery. It is officially stated that the Italian casualties were 13 killed and 73 wounded. The enemy's loss was enormous.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 14th, desperate fighting has taken place at Benghazi where the Italians attacked two oases of the northeast of Fejat. They routed the Turks whom they pursued with bayonet. Italian casualties were twenty-six killed and sixty-two wounded, while over a thousand Turks and Arabs were killed and more wounded.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 14th there was a scene of delirious enthusiasm in the Chamber of deputies when the Minister for War, General Spingardi recounted recent successes of Italian arms in Tripoli which culminated in the triumph at Benghazi when, declared the Minister, "The sun of victory was more respondent than ever."

It is unofficially denied that Italian warships are at present in the Aegean sea.

The Resolutions stated below were passed at a meeting of the Indian Red Crescent Society, held on the 8th March 1912, at 4, Medical College Street, Calcutta.

I That the telegram mentioned below be sent to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan and to H H. the Grand Vizier

"Muslims respectfully express satisfaction at appointment Turco-Persian Boundary Commission and Commission of Enquiry to redress grievances. Also respectfully beg to urge conciliation of non-Muslim races."

II "The Indian Red Crescent Society expresses its sincerest thanks to the French Embassy in London, the French Foreign Office, and the British Foreign Office, for the assistance accorded by them to the Red Crescent Medical Mission sent from London to Tripoli."

News by the English Mail.

Tripoli, February 18

GENERAL CANEVA, Commander-in-Chief of the Italian troops in Tripoli, has arrived here on his return from Rome and has resumed the command.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, February 19.

The *Samp* states that according to information from Constantinople the Italians are taking advantage of the Arab Sheikhs' quarrel with the Porte and of their internal dissensions to incite them to take up arms again. Syed Idris, in particular, is said to have received from the Italians five machine guns, seven field guns, 4,000 rifles and 50 cases of ammunition, which have been disembarked at Djisam. The Imam Yahya is organizing a corps of well-equipped troops to march against Syed Idris.

Loheia vid Aden, February 19.

It is reported that the Italians have landed 500 men on Farsan Island, whither 200 followers of Syed Idris sailed from Midi a few days ago. (Reuter.)

Paris, February 19.

A telegram from Sfax states that the British Red Crescent Mission composed of seven persons, including two doctors, which left London recently under the general leadership of Mr Cuthbert Dixon-Johnson, arrived there at 11 o'clock this morning. It was received by the members of the Sfax Red Cross Committee and a number of well-known residents of Sfax, who thanked the Mission for its humane enterprise on behalf of the wounded Turks. The Mission will leave Sfax on Wednesday on board the steamer *Magistrato* for El Biban. (Reuter.)

Rome, February 20.

An official Statement published here denies that 500 Italian troops have been landed on Farsan Island and declares that no Italian soldier have been landed in any island or locality of the Arabian shore of the Red Sea. (Reuter.)

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Cairo, February 21.

The Egyptian Government has made representations to the Italian Government on the recruiting of troops in Eritrea for employment in Tripoli, putting forward as justification for this somewhat surprising step the plea that Egypt has never renounced her rights in Eritrea. The action of Italy has evoked violent protests from a section of the native press.

Constantinople, February 22.

Though higher military and naval circles doubt whether the Italian Government will yield to the pressure of its more impatient critics and sanction a naval attack on the Dardanelles, with all its risks, the Porte is evidently determined not to be taken by surprise. The necessary defensive measures have been taken and I have reason to believe that the Ottoman Ambassadors will be instructed, or have already been instructed, to inform the Powers that should an Italian Fleet appear off the Dardanelles the Ottoman Government will be compelled to close the Straits by means of mine defences, prohibit the passage of neutral shipping, and carry out the measures already adopted in principle for the expulsion of Italian subjects and the closing of Italian establishments.

Rome, February 22.

The Italian Parliament reassembled to-day amid demonstrations of extraordinary enthusiasm both in the Chamber and in the Senate. In the Chamber the President, Signor Marcora, opened

proceedings with a speech in which glowing eulogies of the Italian Army and Navy were followed by a fervent appeal to the patriotism of the country. Signor Lacava evoked almost equal applause by a speech in the same tone. The Ministers of War and Marine followed with acknowledgments of the honour done to the two services and the whole Chamber then rose to their feet acclaiming a message of gratitude to be addressed to the soldiers and sailors at the scene of war.

When the outburst of enthusiasm had calmed down, the Premier, Signor Giolitti, announced the introduction of a Bill for the conversion into law of the decree dated 5th November 1911, which placed Tripoli and Cyrenaica under the full and entire sovereignty of Italy. To expedite this conversion he asked the Chamber to accept the nomination by Signor Marcova of a Special Commission to which it would be referred. The Commission, which consists of 21 members, representative of nearly all parties in the Chamber, will examine the Bill immediately and give its report to the Chamber to-morrow evening, when discussion of the Bill can begin.

The proposal was approved by the Chamber with prolonged applause and the sitting was suspended in order to allow the Ministry to present themselves before the Senate, when the same scene was enacted, evoking an even imposing and moving demonstration of patriotic fervour.

Rarely before has either House been made the scene of such unanimous enthusiasm in a common cause. Even the dissentient Socialists were caught by the wave of emotion and applauded with the rest.

Rome, February 22.

The preamble of the Bill ratifying the annexation decree says:—

Italy has always regarded the equilibrium of political influences in the Mediterranean as her vital interest and has constantly held her possession of a free and economically and politically in Tripoli and Cyrenaica to be essential thereto. Italy had for years striven to attain this end by fair and peaceful means, and would not have had recourse to arms, had any other solution been possible and had all forms of Italian activity in Libya not met with persistent and systematic opposition from the Ottoman Government. This opposition became more intense and provocative after the establishment of the Constitutional regime in Turkey. Notwithstanding this opposition, Italy displayed patience and forbearance in Tripoli and Cyrenaica, and in her foreign policy pursued a course favourable to Turkey in matters interesting the latter. But all this was useless; this conciliatory attitude was regarded by Turkey as a proof of weakness.

We should have been exposing the future of Italy and the peace of Europe to grave dangers, had we allowed a situation—injurious to our prestige and vital interests—to continue. Such a situation could only end in a war, that war might have broken out at a time when it would have given rise to serious international complications.

Moreover, it was evident that Turkish rule could not continue in a region which borders on the possessions of highly civilized nations and which Turkey herself did nothing to improve, while preventing others from doing so, and even maintaining the slave trade on the shores of the Mediterranean. Such a situation would but have led to other nations assuming a civilizing mission, had Italy not done so, in those regions so close to Italy and so full of glorious memories of Roman civilization.

The Italo-Turkish war was commenced at a time when there was the least danger of international complication and has been conducted by us in the manner best calculated to avoid them.

Popular sentiment—which often has a marvellous intuition for certain truths—would have revolted at any failure to settle the question definitely. Any solution not excluding all political domination by Turkey would have created a very dangerous state of things in international relations. By creating juridical and diplomatic difficulties, it would have deprived Italy of all prestige among the natives and brought about fresh disputes with Turkey.

The examples quoted by a portion of the foreign Press, with a view to suggesting a less radical arrangement, are not to the point, because they either relate to countries where the native Sovereign resides in the country itself and is assisted by the officials of the occupying Power, or to special conditions, as in Cyprus; or again, to circumstances in which the absolute necessity of eliminating Turkish political domination had ultimately to be acknowledged, as in Bosnia.

In effect, in the case of Cyprus, it was not to be feared that Turkey would be either desirous or able to take advantage of her sovereignty in order to create embarrassment for the British Government: in fact, the majority of the population of Cyprus are Christians and Turkey consented to the occupation of the island by the United Kingdom in order to render it easier for the latter to extend Turkey the military support she had promised and at a time when Turkish sympathies were running high in favour of Great Britain, which had saved the Ottoman Empire from the most serious consequences of the Russo-Turkish war.

The maintenance of constant, delicate and somewhat vague relations was much easier under the *Ancien régime* in Turkey than it is to-day when the question of sending Deputies to Constantinople raises difficulties of a constitutional nature. This is exemplified by the fact that so soon as the Constitution was proclaimed in Turkey, Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina, although the situation was there less dangerous, only a third of the population being Mussulman.

The decree we are asking you to place on the Statute-book will be supplemented by a special law laying down rules for the administration of Tripoli and Cyrenaica. We are now certain that Italy's object will be attained, but in order that it should represent a great work of civilization, the action of the Legislature and the Government must not be hampered by foreign political domination. It is, therefore, necessary that the sovereignty of Italy over Libya shall be full and entire. (Reuters.)

Mr Dillon (Mayo, E., Nat.) asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether he could give particulars of all Turkish subjects, not Egyptians, arrested in Egypt within the last three months, the grounds on which they were arrested, and the proceedings consequent on their arrest, and particulars of any goods stopped in Egypt on the ground that they were intended for Tripoli; and on what principle of international law such interference with transit of goods was based.

Sir H. Grey.—I am without information as to arrest of non-Egyptian Turkish subjects in Egypt, I will, however, inquire. The passage of belligerents across the Egyptian frontier has, however, in accordance with the obligations of neutrality, been prevented, and those attempting to violate them have been turned back. With regard to the passage of convoys of arms and munitions of war, instructions have been given by the Egyptian Government that this cannot be permitted in accordance with Article II of the 5th Hague Convention of 1907, and the necessary steps have been taken to carry out this decision.

Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E., Nat.) asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs on what grounds the Italian Government withdrew the permission given by them last autumn to a Red Crescent expedition to proceed by sea from Egypt to Tripoli; whether it was at present possible for supplies or personnel connected with Red Crescent societies to go from Egypt to Tripoli, and, if not, whether the British Government would request the Italian Government to withdraw their prohibition.

Sir H. Grey.—I have been informed that the objections of the Italian Government to the despatch of the Red Crescent Mission by sea were based on a report from General Caneva contending that the landing of such a mission at the time would be regarded by the local population as a re-affirmation of Turkish influence in Tripoli. The Italian Government further argued that, as other missions organized by the Red Crescent had entered Tripoli from Tunis, the Turkish forces were already amply provided in this respect. They also entertained apprehensions that, though the character of the doctors attached to the mission could be established, it would be impossible to apply a similar test to the other members of the mission and thus guard against the presence among them of disguised officers. There is no prohibition against the despatch of such missions from Egypt to Tripoli by land.

News from Turkish Sources.

(FROM THE "TANIN")

(Specially Translated for the Comrade.)

The Agence Ottomane publishes the following telegram received at the Ministry of War from Enver Bey.—

January 23rd (Old Style). During the week we attacked the enemy three times; and in spite of the fact that the Italians were protected by the guns of their fortifications, we succeeded in inflicting heavy loss on them.

Note by the Agence.—It must be added that European papers have published details of the Turkish attack on Benghazi on the 25th January, but official news has not yet been received.

From the Agence Ottomane:—

According to reliable information received by the Agence Ottomane, three Italian transport ships are sunk, one in front of Wadi-uz-Zaitun to the west of Tobruk, one near Soa and the third near Torina. It is said that many corpses of men and animals have been thrown upon the shore by the waves.

The following is supplied by the Ministry of War:—

The following particulars relate to the three night attacks made on Benghazi up to the 20th January (old style). On the 2nd instant the fortifications of Benghazi on the southwest were assaulted, and a number of our mujahids succeeded in entering the fortifications and returning with the spoils of war. The casualties on our side comprised one *shahid* and four wounded. The following night, another fortification was attacked,

and redoubts erected for big guns destroyed. On the night of the 5th January the mujahids attacked the Suleiman and Zariya fortifications in the north east of the town. This encounter was very severe. Four ironclads of the enemy poured hot fire on the mujahids for five hours continuously yet the forts were taken by us, and not a single inch remained in possession of the enemy. Early in the morning two small reconnoitring forces of the enemy were met with and completely destroyed. It is estimated that the enemy lost 3,300 killed and wounded in these night attacks—a fact which is confirmed by 24 big barges full of the wounded towed by a steamer being seen by us, as well as by the fact that the town is full of the dead and wounded. We had 32 *shaheds* and 80 wounded in these encounters. The number of mujahids is increasing every day. They are in excellent spirits and their faith in the Government is very great.

From the Ministry of War:—

On the 4th January an attack for scouting purposes was made by us on the defences erected by the enemy to the east of Derna. In the very first encounter the Italians evacuated the defences and fled. Our party made the necessary scouting and returned and subsequently re-occupied the position. Our casualties consisted of 3 *shaheds* and 10 wounded.

The Alleged Massacres in Tripoli.

[To THE EDITOR OF THE "SPECTATOR."]

SIR,—In a letter published in your columns on 10th February Mr. Richard Bagot makes several very grave charges against all the non-Italian correspondents who were in Tripoli at the end of October last. He calls us "unscrupulous correspondents," he asserts that we circulated "abominable calumnies" that we were tools in the hands of the Young Turks, that we were "paid agents" of the Ottomans, finally, that we were not in Tripoli at all when the oasis atrocities were committed. To quote his words on this latter point:—

"The journalists and others who described in such glowing language Italian cruelty in the suppression of the Arab revolt were many miles away from Tripoli during that suppression. The few journalists and other civilians who were present have unanimously testified to the fact that no such acts of cruelty ever took place."

This charge is not new. It was first made by the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs when, early in November 1911, he granted an interview to a German correspondent. I had hardly expected this from a Cabinet Minister who must have been familiar with the facts of the case, but I can well understand that Mr. Bagot has been misled if he has gone for information to a quarter which puts such a statement into circulation. That it is an untrue statement is proved by hundreds of witnesses. I shall only mention one, Signor Fulla Giordano, the correspondent of the *New York Herald* in Tripoli. Being a fanatical supporter of this war, Signor Giordano attacked me bitterly in the *New York Herald* (Paris), 9th November, but he admitted that I was in Tripoli when the massacres occurred, and that I voluntarily returned my papers to General Caneva by way of protest against those massacres.

All the non-Italian correspondents who were in Tripoli at the end of October witnessed those massacres and described them. If we leave the Italians out of account as being prejudiced witnesses, we find that the denials came in cases from journalists, noveltists, and others living in Italy, France and England. My attention has been drawn to a denial of the massacres signed by a number of gentlemen who were not in Tripoli when these massacres occurred. One of the signatories is Monsieur Jean Carrère, the Rome correspondent of the *Tempo*. I shall take his case as typical.

Monsieur Carrère did not visit Tripoli until three weeks after the massacres had occurred. While staying in Naples early in November, on my return from the Tripolitan, I noticed that all the Italian newspapers were full of what they called a complete vindication of Italy's honour and a crushing exposure of *la malintesa, la ignoranza, l'odio* of these English hirelings of the Turks who had accused General Caneva's troops of murdering innocent Arabs. The "vindication" in question was specially written for the Italian Press. It was from the pen of M. Jean Carrère, and it took the form of a long series of articles asserting, in most violent and dogmatic language, that the massacres did not occur, and taking up all the "atrocities" that have been laid at England's door since the burning of Jeanne d'Arc. Incidentally, of course, we, the British correspondents, were denounced as liars, perjurers, swindlers, and spies.

M. Carrère visited Tripoli some weeks later, and is now the great authority on that oasis "repression" which he did not see.

Another witness is the *New York Herald* of Paris. When my account of the massacres was published in the *Westminster Gazette* the editor of the *New York Herald* wired to his local correspondent to investigate my statements. I have already pointed out that the correspondent in question is a jingoistic Italian who would certainly have shown me no mercy if what I had said was untrue. But as he could not deny the accuracy of what I had sent, he confined himself to saying that I had failed to take

into account the provocation which the Italians had received. Some weeks after, an American journalist seems to have been sent to the spot by the *Herald* in order to confute me. I have not seen his articles, but Italians quote them as a complete disproof of what I said. Here, then, is another witness who was not present.

A third witness is Mr. Martin Donohoe of the *Daily Chronicle*. Mr. Donohoe was quoted first in the *Stampa* of Turin and afterwards all over Italy as saying that there had been no massacres at all. In the enormous headlines which gave prominence to this statement we were told that a truthful Englishman had at last killed the whole calumny.

But Mr. Donohoe had left Tripoli before the date on which the massacres are said to have taken place, and, speaking on his behalf the *Chronicle* has formally and publicly denied that he ever made any such statement as that attributed to him. But the Italian Press refuses to publish that denial, and Mr. Donohoe still continues to figure in Italy as one of the innumerable journalists who have testified to the fact that there were no massacres.

Other witnesses to the same effect are Italians who were representing prominent English and American papers, as well as very obscure Sicilian papers. Reading those men's testimony without knowing their names, the English reader might well have been excused for believing that a fair proportion of English and American journalists denied the massacres.

But if all the messages from Tripoli had been signed, the British public would have seen that while the British, German, French and other non-Italian correspondents bore witness to the massacres, the only defenders of General Caneva were Sicilian or Neapolitan journalists who, from motives of economy, had been engaged by a surprisingly large number of prominent English and American papers. If those gentlemen had told the truth they would have had to leave Tripoli at once with its high pay, its free life, its chances of journalistic distinction. If the British correspondents had concealed the truth they could have remained in Tripoli for a long time, enjoying war pay, the hospitality of officers, the applause of patriotic Italians all over the world.

So much, therefore, for the evidence on the Italian side. It is almost entirely the evidence of abettors. What have we on the other side? We have impartial Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotchmen, Germans, Austrians, Frenchmen, who were all in Tripoli when the massacres took place, and who to their great regret and horror, saw those massacres. We have Reuter's correspondent, Mr. Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett. We have Mr. Davis, a young Cambridge undergraduate, who represented the *Morning Post*. Mr. Davis is not a professional journalist, and it was with the utmost reluctance that he gave his evidence against the Italians, for he has many friends among the Roman aristocracy. I hope, by the by, that those aristocratic friends of his will never succeed in making him attempt to weaken the statement to which, with a full knowledge of the consequences, he signed his name in the British Consulate at Tripoli last October. Then we have Mr. Grant—a canny and hard-headed Londoner of Scotch descent—who, being extremely anxious to remain in Tripoli, said as little against his hosts as he possibly could, but who felt that it would be a crime to keep entirely silent. We have Baron von Gotberg, a Prussian officer, who has long been connected with the *Lokal Anzeiger*, and who enjoys a high reputation in Berlin as a military critic. In addition to von Gotberg we have five other Germans, not local Italians writing for German papers, but Germans permanently connected with the greatest organs of the Press in Berlin and Vienna. The French journalists present also declared that there had been massacres. The correspondent of the *Excelsior* set his paper a dreadful account of the Italian atrocities. French papers a month from Tunis, Sfax and Marseilles appeared on the scene long afterwards and signed statements confirming the official Italian version of an event which they had not witnessed.

Of my own testimony, son, I do not care to speak, but my contributions to the *Westminster Gazette* proved that when I arrived in Tripoli it was with strong prejudices in favour of the Italians. As an Irish Roman Catholic, I would not be likely to declare without good reason that murders had been committed by Roman Catholic soldiers wearing scapulars and religious medals.

The *Times* correspondent did not, it is true, go so far as the rest of us. This was because he had been at the front and had seen only the smallest fraction of the massacres carried out by the Italians in the oasis. Yet even he declared that parts of the oasis had been turned into "human abattoirs," that "the Italians having set themselves to cow the Arabs, the flood gates of blood-lust were opened, and in many cases the men got beyond control, and the innocent suffered with the guilty." Writing in the *Daily Telegraph* of the innocent oasis Arabs, Mr. Bennett Burleigh declared that "many unquestionably have been wantonly murdered."

Yet General Caneva denies that a single innocent Arab was killed, while Mr. Richard Bagot tells us that "the most searching investigations carried out by Italian officers and civilians of the highest honour and integrity have failed to bring to light one single case in which any Arab either has been ill-treated or put to death unless convicted of treachery."

If this is true, all the non-Italian correspondents must have fabricated the news which they sent. But that they could not possibly do so will be the verdict of any reader who has accompanied war correspondents in the field. Collective action by doctors, by lawyers, or by the clergymen of any one denomination is possible, but, owing to the nature of their calling, collective action of this kind by war correspondents is impossible. The great, the primary, object of each of them is to steal a march on the others. If one of them sends false news the others will lose very little time in denouncing him.

Mr. Bagot explains our unanimity by saying that we were all bribed by the Turks. Now, does anyone seriously imagine that an impoverished, corrupt, and doomed people like the Ottomans could bribe the whole European Press outside Italy? If Constantinople had tried to do so the Turk to whom they would intrust the money would promptly disappear with it. But in the first place they have not got any money to spare for this purpose.

If there was any bribery it was on the other side. There is a close connexion in Italy between the Public Treasury and the amenable journalist who can be got to set things in a "proper" light. Baron von Gotthberg and I would in all probability have been comparatively rich men to-day if after we had returned our papers to General Caneva we had not resisted the numerous, determined, but excessively courteous attempts to open up a friendly "discussion" in some quiet place.

But, needless to say, Italy's principal advocate in the present controversy is not her gold but her tremendous past, her literature, her art, her old cities, her superb twilights, the bewitching beauty of her hills and coasts, the irresistible charm of her people. Those are the influences to which Mr. Richard Bagot has succumbed. Those are the influences which we all find it so hard to resist. The Bedouin of Tripoli has no such advocates. I am, Sir, &c.

FRANCIS McCULLAGH

"Purush," Caterham, 20th February.

[We must not be considered to take any responsibility for the allegations contained in Mr. McCullagh's letter. Having printed a statement from each side, we must now close this correspondence.—ED., *Spectator*]

Turkish Affairs.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Sabotka, February 15.

I am now authorized to announce that, as a result of somewhat protracted negotiations, the influential "Ulema Committee" has decided to withdraw its support from the Committee of Union and Progress and to throw in its lot with the Opposition. In view of the undoubted authority exercised by the Ulema over the Musselman population, this is a political change of considerable importance and one which may well have a most unexpected influence upon the forthcoming elections. Sheikh Omer Efendi has been chosen as the first president of the "Entente Libérale" at Salomka, to which body the local Greek and Bulgarian organizations have already promised their adhesion. The Ulema will run their own candidate in the person of Hafsa Suleiman Effendi in Salomka, and the organization and influence of the liberals will be placed at their disposal. On the other hand, the candidate of the Opposition will receive the hearty support of the Ulema throughout the vilayet.

As some considerable surprise will doubtless be manifested at the decision of the Moslem priests to aid so substantially the Christian candidate, it is interesting to note that the Ulema now claim that in working in harmony with their Christian brethren they have the sanction of the Koran. Their representatives have assured me that they are convinced not only that in a union of the diverse races of the Empire lies the one way of salvation for Turkey, but that such a union can never now be obtained under the organization of the Committee of Union and Progress, and can only be effected under the auspices of the Moslem religion, and by convincing the Mahomedans that the Koran not only permits, but encourages, an entente with the Christian races.

The local leaders of the "Entente Libérale" take a very optimistic view of their chances at the elections. Counting upon the support of the whole of the Greek and Bulgarian and half of the Musselman populations, they hope to control three-quarters of the voting strength of the vilayet and thus heavily to defeat the Union and Progress forces. This is, however, a most improbable result in view of the enormous advantages in organization at present possessed by the party of the majority.

Constantinople, February 16.

The *Tanin* to day publishes the text of a memorial addressed to the Sultan by Kiamil Pasha on 20th December. The ex-Grand Vizier's hostility to the Committee of Union and Progress, which he considers should devote itself to educational and social reform and leave the Government a free hand, is evidently unabated. The most interesting feature of the memorial is the reference to the foreign policy of the Young Turks, who are charged with having alienated old friends and with having given a pretext for Italian hostility by their provocative attitude. It expresses the opinion that the Arab world, especially Egypt, where the Khedive is hostile

to the Committee, will learn from recent events that it cannot expect effective protection from Turkey, and Egypt will eventually declare her independence, after coming to an arrangement whereby she will be assured of the protection of the British Empire.

Constantinople, February 16.

In reply to Kiamil Pasha's criticisms of the internal and foreign policy of the Young Turks, Hussein Djavid Bey asks in the *Tanin* why Kiamil Pasha did not conclude an alliance with Great Britain during his Grand Viziership. The cordial relations between the British and Ottoman Empires did not prevent the annexation of Bosnia or the declaration of Bulgarian independence. If political events are to be regarded as the results of a general scheme of policy, the Italo-Turkish War must be considered the outcome of an agreement between Italy, France and Great Britain.

Sinapian Effendi having handed in his long-awaited resignation, an Imperial Edict was issued last night appointing Djavid Bey Minister of Public Works.

Radji Adil Bey, the Minister of the Interior, left for Salonika yesterday on his tour of inquiry into the condition of the European Provinces, accompanied by Mr. Graves and the Turkish members of his staff. The fact that the Minister is invested with almost dictatorial powers inspires a belief that the best elements of the Committee and the Government desire that the Mission shall succeed and the hope that its success will not be jeopardized by the fanaticism of Turkish or non-Turkish extremists. The cause of European peace can only profit by the restoration, even relative, of tranquillity in Albania and Macedonia.

Salonika, February 17.

The refusal of the inhabitants of a mill at Petrich (Seres) to lend their support to the new Bulgarian revolutionary propaganda has been the cause of a particularly revolting crime which is attributed by the authorities to the *Komitadji* chief Dono, whose band attacked the mill and ruthlessly massacred the inhabitants. The first reports stated that but five victims had fallen to the assassins, but, as a result of the official inquiry, it is stated to-day that eight Bulgarians were killed and three others mortally wounded. The peasants being unarmed were unable to defend themselves and inflicted no loss upon the brigands.

Constantinople, February 18.

A bomb exploded yesterday in the police offices of the town of Kirchevo in Macedonia, to the north of Monastir, destroying the building and killing one person and injuring five others. Several arrests have been made. The crime is attributed to the Bulgarian Internal Revolutionary Organization. Yesterday being market day at Kirchevo, it was hoped apparently to provoke further regrettable incidents such as occurred at Ishtib in December, but the authorities took prompt measures to prevent any disturbances and order was undisturbed. (Continued)

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Candia, February 18.

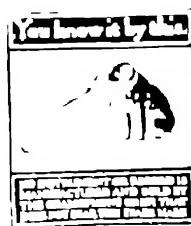
It is evident that the insurgents are sparing no effort to complicate the intolerable situation and to accomplish their object of forcing the Powers to take immediate steps to decide the future of Crete. The news from Retimo is alarming. Several Mahomedans in the district have been murdered by Christians, and the Mahomedan rural population, panic stricken, have abandoned the interior and are taking refuge in the town of Retimo. The majority of the adherents of the insurrectionary movement disapprove strongly of these violent methods, and luckily the lawlessness has not spread to other parts of the island, as in the present hybrid state of the administration of the island the authorities would be unable to maintain order if disturbances became general.

Paris, February 21.

In view of the fact that the protecting Powers have recently taken steps once more to impress upon the Cretans the necessity of moderation in their treatment of the Musselman population, M. Denys Cochin, the Academician and Deputy for Paris, communicates to the *Echo de Paris* a letter which was addressed a few weeks ago both to him and to M. Clemenceau by the Cretan Deputies who were detained on board a French warship in Suda Bay after their attempt to proceed to Athens. In this letter they protest against their arrest and transfer by order of the Powers from a Greek ship upon which they had embarked at Canea for the Piraeus. They declare that, notwithstanding the fact that the Cretans have maintained order and have protected the Musselmans, nothing has come of the promise made by the protecting Powers three years ago to consider the question of the union of Crete with Greece. In their opinion uncertainty with regard to the future is calculated to provoke disorder in the island.

M. Denys Cochin, who says that he has M. Clemenceau's approval for the publication of this letter, believes that the Cretan question would be solved if Greece were as strong as Austria or Italy, or if Suda Bay were not so strongly coveted. He pleads for a more sympathetic understanding of the Cretans, whom he describes as loyal to their country, gallant and sensible.

ضمیدہ مارچ سندھ ۱۹۱۲



اس مہینے میں ہم زولوفون پذھاہی
کے لئے ٹائیپ کرتے میں - ۳۶ - ٹازہ ترین
کے لئے میں یعنی ۱۸ - دو طرفہ رکارہ -
لیہنی فی رکارہ ۴ -

ہمارے پذھاہی ہات کالون کے
رکارہ جنکر بدھ سنگہ - جنک سنگہ لے
بنا یا تھا بہت مر دل غیر قابض ہوئے
تھے - اس کامیابی کی بنیاد پر مم لے
حال میں ایشور سنگہ -
رام کور - طوطا اور فراہیں
کور کے پذھاہی ہات کالون کے رکارہ
تیار کئے میں جو اس مہینہ کے ضمیدہ
میں شامل میں - ۶ چاروں اس نعم
کے لئے میں بہت مشہور میں اسلامی
ہم کو امید ہے کہ لہردان پبلک ان
لئے رکارڈن کو سنکر بہت خوش
ہو گئی اور ان کو ہاتھوں ہالتہ
خوبی پکی -

دست مل بھل - یہ صاحب کوئی
پیدا، رکا لے رالے اہن میں مکر ٹھوپیں
کا لے والون میں بہت اچھا کائے میں -
صرف اس واسطہ کہ گرموفون رکارڈن
کو - ب رکارڈن سے زیادہ ہنسنے
میں الہوں لے بخوبی اپنے رکارہ
بنالے میں ! در میں یقین ہے کہ
پبلک ان کے کالون کو بہت بھلے
کوئی ہے -

بھائی اتم سنگہ - ان کے
رکارڈن سے پبلک بھرپیں والف
ہے - یہ در رکارہ سلیٹی کے میں
ہو بہت میں پسند کئے جائیں گے -

بھائی گھسیتا - مہاراجہ پتلوالہ
کے درباری کوئی ملن - بہت
زیور سفت اور بالکنی آواز ہے اور
الواز لہایت دل جسپ ہے -

اللہ تھر
دی گرموفون کمپنی لیہنی
رو سٹ بلکس لمبھ ۲۸ کلکتہ

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rietor; B. N. Sarma, Zamindar and Tea pro-
prietor; K. N. Das, Merchant and Tea Expert; M.
C. Datta, pleader, N. N. Datta, B.L.,
pleader; P. C. Datta, B.L., pleader; D. N.
Datta, Manager, Kalniganj Tea Estate; H. C.
Singha, pleader; J. Tashin, Merchant and
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DIST. FYZABAD OUDH.

Summons for Settlement of Issues

(Under Rules 1 & 5 order 5 of the
Code of Civil Procedure.)

Suit No 25 of 1912.

In the Court of the Additional Munisif Fyzabad
Salman Ullah Khan Son of Imam Ali Khan of
Mz. Jagannath Pargana Mangalsi Tehsil and
District Fyzabad.

Applicant

versus.

Himayat Khan opp party.

To
Himayat Khan Son of Walidul Khan
of Mz. Jagannath Pargana Mangalsi
Tehsil and District Fyzabad presently
dwelling in Burmah City Rangoon at
Surti Bazar Street No 26 at the
shop of Ghafur Chaulia.

Whereas the plaintiff applicant has presented
an application in this Court against you under
Section 20, Sch. 2 Art 5 of 1908 you are hereby
summoned to appear in this Court in person or by
a duly authorized pleader of the Court duly ins-
tuted and able to answer all material questions
relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied
by some other person able to answer all such
questions, on 20th day of March 1912 at 10 o'clock
in the forenoon, to answer the abovenamed
Plaintiff; and you are hereby required to take
notice that, in default of your appearance on the
day before mentioned, the issues will be settled in
your absence, and you will bring with you or
send by your pleader all the documents which
the Plaintiff desires to inspect, and any document
on which you intend to rely in support of your
defence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court,
this 7th day of March 1912

S. ASGHAR HASAN,
Additional Munisif.

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Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 12. Anna 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, March 23, 1912.

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The Week.

China.

A REMARKABLE Franco-Chinese demonstration occurred on the night of the 14th in Paris at a banquet organised by Mr. Wu, Chinese Minister to Rome. A numerous company was present, including the ex-Premier, M. Monis, M. Anatole France, many Deputies, members of the Chamber, Diplomatic corps from London, St Petersburg and Vienna, and many students, all in European costume. Mr. Wu in a speech delivered in excellent French proclaimed that the Republic was essentially pacific. Its motto was liberty and justice.

Reuter wires from New York on the 16th.—At a luncheon in honour of the new Japanese Ambassador Mr. Jacob Schiff declared that American and European bankers had consented to invite Japan to help to finance China. Japan, he said, was the greatest guarantee for peace in the East, standing sentinel over Asia. He was thankful that Japan, instead of Russia, had been victorious.

A message to the *Times* from Pekin states that the "Four Nations" banks have asked their respective ministers to protest against the loan for a million sterling, reported yesterday as having been signed by a syndicate of British, Belgian and French bankers, as an infringement of the agreement by which they have advanced to the Nankin and Pekin Governments more than three million taels since 28th February. The British and French Legations will presumably protest against the loan as an infringement of article 5 of the Anglo-French Pekin-Hankow railway redemption loan of five million sterling, signed on 8th October 1908. The Anglo-Belgo-French syndicate mentioned yesterday is represented by La Banque Sino-Belge and the Eastern Bank, in

which the Soosons are stated to have large interests. A syndicate of British, Belgian and French bankers has signed a contract with the War-Wu-Pu for the loan of a million sterling for one year, which will be secured on the income of the Kalgan Railway. The contract is subject to the approval of the Nankin Assembly, which, however, is practically assured.

Reuter wires from Pekin on the 18th.—As the result of the loan reported on the 15th instant and against which protests have been made, the group of British, French, American, German, Russian and Japanese banks who intended to finance Government until its finances were restored, did not advance a million taels last Saturday. The whole scheme of financing China until the end of June has been suspended pending home advices. The loan to the War-Wu-Pu is considered as a breach of faith in view of the groups' generous agreement and immediate advances.

Replying to Mr. Charles Bathurst, Sir E. Grey said he was not aware that any restrictions had been imposed on British subjects regarding the sale of arms to the new Chinese Government. They were merely advised to abstain from such sales during the revolutionary struggle.

Reuter understands that the Eastern Bank which is participating in the loan of a million sterling to China is not receiving the support of the British Government.

Reuter wires from Pekin on the 21st.—The Ministers of the six nations concerned have decided to present a protest to Yuan-Shikai against Tangshaoi's *modus operandi* in reference to the loans. They emphasise that while the groups are ready to assist China, they require a guarantee of good faith for the future. Business circles very much regret the deadlock when they believed that the crisis had been surmounted.

The "Zamindar".

The District Magistrate has directed the publisher of *Zamindar*, a Muhammadan vernacular paper, of Lahore, to deposit two securities of Rs. 1,000 each for its weekly and daily editions and also called upon him to make the requisite declaration for the daily edition. The District Magistrate says that its tone is exceedingly immoderate and objectionable and also that the publisher has not abided by the compact that the daily edition would be a supplement to the regular weekly and confined to the telegraphic news.

With reference to the security demanded from the Muhammadan vernacular daily and weekly, the *Zamindar* an open air meeting of the Muhammadans was held in the gardens near the Mochi Gate, Lahore, under the presidency of Maulvi Abdulla, a religious leader of Peshawar, on the 20th. The meeting declared the *Zamindar* to be a natural paper of the Muhammadans and its policy unobjectionable and passed a vote of confidence in its writings.

Baghdad Railway.

REUTER wires from Constantinople.—In addition to the counter-proposals concerning the reconstruction of the Persian Gulf section of the Baghdad Railway, it is understood that the Turkish Ambassador in London has been confidentially instructed to negotiate with Great Britain with a view to the continuation of the line from Basra to Kowail. It is stated that the Turks are most anxious for a settlement, and the instructions have been drafted on lines which afford hope of a complete agreement, which will probably provide for the construction of the line with Anglo-Turkish capital exclusively and the recognition of the semi-independent position of the Sheikh of Kuwait.

Demand of Security from the "Zamindar."

WE PUBLISH below the correspondence relating to the demand of security from the *Zamindar*—

I

Copy of an order passed by the District Magistrate, Lahore, on the 12th March 1912 regarding the daily edition.

On the 3rd October last I wrote an order that no fresh declaration need be filed in connection with the proposed daily edition of the *Zamindar*, on the assumption that it was to be of a purely temporary nature, a supplement of the regular weekly newspaper and confined to telegraphic news. These conditions have been departed from and the daily edition contains all sorts of articles. It is in fact a separate newspaper and accordingly Zafar Ali Khan must now be called upon to make the requisite declaration for the paper as publisher under section 5 of Act XXXV of 1867 (as amended by Act X of 1890).

As regards security under section 5 Act I of 1910, I find no special reasons for waiving the deposit of security. The publisher has not abided by his compact with me as to the nature of the daily edition and many articles which have appeared in it are objectionable in tone. I, therefore, order that the sum of Rs. 1,000 be deposited in cash or in Government promissory notes within a fortnight of the communication of this order to Zafar Ali Khan.

(Sd) R HUMPHREYS,
District Magistrate

No. 3258, dated 14th March 1912

Copy forwarded to Zafar Ali Khan with the request that he come to my court on or before the 25th of March 1912, in order to let me know what he is prepared to do in connection with the District Magistrate's order.

(Sd) J FERGUSON,
Additional District Magistrate

II

Copy of an order passed by the District Magistrate, Lahore, on the 12th March 1912, regarding the weekly edition.

On the occasion of the last declaration by Zafar Ali Khan, publisher of the *Zamindar*, a weekly newspaper, made on the 4th August 1911, the publisher was not called on to deposit any security, as the newspaper was an old one and used to be devoted largely to agricultural matters. Recently, however, the scope of the newspaper has entirely changed. It is now largely devoted to political questions and controversial subjects and its tone is often exceedingly immoderate and objectionable. The special reasons therefore which led to security being waived no longer exist and the publisher, Zafar Ali Khan, is hereby called upon to furnish Rs. 1,000 (one thousand rupees) security in cash or in Government promissory notes within fifteen days of the communication of this order which is passed under proviso 2 to section 8 (1) of the Press Act (I of 1910).

(Sd) R HUMPHREYS

No. 3268, dated 14th March 1912

Copy forwarded to Zafar Ali Khan with the request that he come to my court on or before the 25th March 1912 in order to let me know what he is prepared to do in connection with the District Magistrate's order.

(Sd) J FERGUSON,
Additional District Magistrate

III

*Copy of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's reply to No. II
To the ADDITIONAL DISTRICT MAGISTRATE,*

LAHORE

Sir,

I am in receipt of your endorsement No. 3268, dated the 14th March 1912, communicating an order passed by the District Magistrate, Lahore, to the effect that under proviso 2 to section 8 (1) of the Press Act I of 1910, I should be called upon to deposit with you, within 15 days, Rs. 1,000 security in cash or in Government promissory notes, as publisher of the *Zamindar*, a weekly newspaper.

With due deference to the opinion of the learned District Magistrate, I venture to submit that the proviso in question under which I am called upon to pay security relates only to newspapers in respect of which a declaration is made by the publisher thereof under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, subsequent to the promulgation of the Press Act I of 1910, which received the assent of the Governor-General on the 9th February 1910. Now, the weekly *Zamindar*, as the District Magistrate himself admits, is an old paper and declaration was made in respect of it prior to the commencement of Act I of 1910. Proviso 2 to

section 8 (1) of this Act does not apply to the weekly *Zamindar*, which can only be dealt with under sub-section 2, section 8 of the Act which runs as follows.—

"Whenever it appears to the Local Government that any newspaper published within its territories, in respect of which a declaration was made by the publisher thereof prior to the commencement of this Act under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act 1867 contains any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4 sub-section 1, the Local Government may, by notice in writing, require the publisher to deposit with the Magistrate, within whose jurisdiction the newspaper is published, security to such an amount, not being less than 500 or more than 5,000 rupees, as the local Government may think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India."

Advertising to the sub-section 1 (section 4) above alluded to, I find that the words, signs or visible representations, etc., which are susceptible of a penal treatment are those

- "Which are likely or may have a tendency directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise—
- (a) To incite to murder or to any offence under the Explosive Substances Act 1908 or to any Act of violence, or
- (b) To seduce any officer, soldier or sailor in the army or navy of His Majesty from his allegiance or his duty, or
- (c) To bring into hatred or contempt His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India or the administration of justice in British India or any Native Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty in India, or to excite disaffection towards His Majesty or the said Government or any such Prince or Chief, or
- (d) to put any person in fear or to cause annoyance to him and thereby induce him to deliver to any person any property or valuable security, or to do any act which he is not legally bound to do, or to omit to do any act which he is legally entitled to do, or
- (e) to encourage or incite any person to interfere with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order, or
- (f) to convey any threat of injury to a public servant, or to any persons in whom that public servant is believed to be interested, with a view to inducing that public servant to do my act or to forbear or delay to do any act connected with the exercise of his public function"

Now even admitting that the weekly *Zamindar* has published anything included in the above category—which it stoutly maintains it has never published—it was open to the Local Government alone to deal with the Printing Press in the first instance at which the paper is being printed, in the manner prescribed by section 4, sub-section 1 of Act I of 1910, and after that to require me under section 8, sub-section 2 of the said Act, which it has not done, to furnish the necessary security.

The order of the District Magistrate who requires me to pay security because the weekly *Zamindar* "is now largely devoted to political questions and controversial subjects and its tone is often exceedingly immoderate and objectionable" is in my humble opinion clearly *ultra vires*. There are hundreds of papers conducted both in English and Vernacular in India that deal with political questions and controversial subjects, but the mere fact of their dealing with such matter cannot necessarily attach to them a humiliating legal disability against which every freeborn subject of His Imperial Majesty whose profession is journalism has a right to entertain a vigorous protest. Moreover, it is not only recently that the *Zamindar* has taken to politics. From the very first it has been writing on political and controversial subjects. As regards the tone of the *Zamindar*, it is a pity that the District Magistrate has not pointed out the particular article or articles which, in his opinion, are against law, so that I may have an opportunity of satisfying myself as to their objectionable nature and refraining from writing in a similar strain in future if need be. In this connection, however, I am entitled as a freeborn British subject to submit that so long as the paper does not violate the clear and distinct conditions laid down in section 4, sub-section 1, it has a right under British Indian law to be as incisive and free-spoken as any other paper.

However, if the District Magistrate is not prepared to rescind his decision and cancel his orders regarding security, which I respectfully submit does not harmonise with the law laid down on this behalf by the Imperial Legislature, I have no other course but to submit to it, after reserving to myself the privilege of appealing to His Honour the Lieutenant Governor. As I may perhaps be away from Lahore for some time, I hope you will be good enough to dispense with my personal attendance in your court for the purpose of depositing security, as that purpose will be equally served by the attendance on my behalf of my printer, Maulvi Abdul Haq, to whom I am handing over the amount of Rs. 1,000 with the instruction that, in the event of this representation failing to induce the District Magistrate to revoke his decision, the amount should be deposited with you.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) ZAFAR ALI KHAN,

Editor, the "Zamindar"

LAHORE, 18th March 1912.

TETE À TETE



POLICE CONSTABLES as well as prisoners are given a number to distinguish them readily from fellow police men or prisoners, but the numbering of more respectable people has not yet come into disrepute on that account. Our Manager has

also given to each of our readers a number, so that if Maulvi Abdul Something or Mr Almost Brown desire to have their addresses changed in one year, they may not have to wait till the next, and in the absence of such distinctions as Smith Minor and Smith Major the subscription of one may not be credited to the other. For reasons best known to Managers, these numbers have been altered now and arranged on a different basis, the letters of the alphabet affixed to them making matters easier for the office. We are, therefore, asked by the Manager to request our readers in the first place to forget their old numbers, and in the next, to remember the new. But, we are also asked to state, that in the third place, our readers must not grudge us the solitary number which the Post Office has allotted to us to distinguish us numerically also from our contemporaries. That solitary number is "C 596" and we declare it to be our own particular and sole monopoly. The wrapper bears this number, while the numerical distinction of each subscriber is printed on the address slip pasted on the wrapper. It would facilitate work if our readers will kindly quote their number whenever writing to the Manager. It is to be hoped that no more changes will be rung by the management, for this "Spring cleaning" is likely to delay the despatch of this issue.

Our readers could not have forgotten so soon "the exposure" of the *Bengalee* which formed the subject of one of our leading articles in the issue of the 9th instant. It was our painful duty on that occasion to expose what we called the "deliberate misrepresentation which beats everything that occurred previously by its phenomenal audacity." It was nothing less than the alteration of a most important word in the speech of the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca and the inclusion of a substitute with a totally different significance in inverted commas, with the additional deliberateness of the phrase, "in the words of Sir Salimullah" prefixed to the altered word. To leave no room for doubt about the deliberateness of the intention, when the pronoun "it," which unmistakeably referred to "the annulment of the Partition" in the Nawab's speech, and for which the word "government" was furtively substituted by the *Bengalee*—occurred in the next sentence, the word "go·vernment" was again inserted, this time in brackets. And on the foundation of this misquotation, perpetrated of malice aforethought, the *Bengalee* built up the superstructure of sedition, with canting references to the "respect due to government" and "the august personality of His Majesty." We could not help admiring the boldness of the enterprise, for our audacious contemporary relied not on any interpretation that could be questioned or instance that could be denied, but on the unquestionable and undeniable "words of Sir Salimullah." It wrote, "We could scarcely believe our eyes when we read this sentence as coming from an Indian nobleman, especially one on whom the Government has lavished its favours and bounties. *But the words are there; and all may read them.* We confess to a sense of painful surprise that the Nawab should have been betrayed into such language and sentiments." Well could we say with Hafiz,

وَارِسَةَ دُجَى كَبْكَبْ حَرَاجَ دَارِ

(How bold is the thief that he holds a lamp in his hand!) Little did the *Bengalee* think that any of its readers would also turn to the "words" that "are there" and "read them." The situation resembles that of Donna Julia and Don Alfonso in Byron's

Don Juan. Our practised contemporary had evidently the wit of Antonia, if also the weakness of Donna Julia, and thought it could easily throw dust in the eyes of all intruding Alfonsoes. It is related that when Don Alfonso had arrived "with torches, friends, and servants in great number,"

"Without a word of previous admonition
To hold a levee round his lady's bed,
And summon lackeys, armed with fire and sword,
To prove himself the thing he most abhor'd,
Poor Donna Julia, starting as from sleep
Began at once to scream, and yawn and weep,
Her maid, Antonia, who was an adept,
Contrived to fling the bedclothes in a heap."

The poet goes on to say that after these preliminaries had been gone through, Donna Julia boldly addressed her husband as any virtuous lady would have done

"Dare you suspect me, whom the thought would kill,
Search then the room?" —Alfonso said, "I will."

And what was the result?

"He search'd, they search'd and rummaged everywhere,
Closet and clothes press, chest and window-seat,
Under the bed they search'd, and there they found
No matter what—it was not what they sought,
They open'd windows, gazing if the ground
Had signs or footmarks, but the earth said nought
And then they stared each other's faces round,
'Tis odd, not one of all these seekers thought,
And seems to me almost a sort of blunder,
Of looking *in* the bed as well as *under*"

Well, profiting by the experience of Don Alfonso, we were not content to look merely *under* the bed, but also looked *in* it, and who can say that our search has not been rewarded with a find that would be scandalous anywhere except, perhaps, in Bengal? Our only comment on that occasion was the question, "if the Bay of Bengal is deep enough for the *Bengalee*." We waited patiently for an answer from one that had evidently sounded the lowest depths, but in vain. However, we congratulate our contemporary, the *Mussulman*, on succeeding where we failed, and after ten whole days the answer comes and practically amounts to this, that, like much else in Bengal, the Bay is exasperatingly shallow.

In its issue of the 19th instant, more than a week after our exposure of it, the *Bengalee* is tempted to offer an explanation. It begins with the Pharisee's preface that "as a rule we do not take

any notice of personal attacks made upon us," and this after having made the vilest personal attack on one in the position of the Hon. Nawab Sir Salimullah of Dacca, accusing him of crimes under sections 124 A and 153 A of the Indian Penal Code. However, it is something if the *Bengalee* is made to realize that "when there is an obvious misunderstanding we think it our duty to offer an explanation." But may one ask why it took the *Bengalee* no less than ten days to discover the "obvious misunderstanding"? And what is this "obvious misunderstanding"? It could not plead that it had received an inaccurate report of the Nawab Bahadur's speech, for we had taken good care to ascertain that even the *Bengalee* had correctly reported it a couple of days before its mischievous leader with the misquotations as published. Was it the sub-editor this time, or the printer's devil? Nothing of the kind. The *Bengalee* has the courage of its meanness, and in spite of the fact that it has both the versions of the speech, it refuses to admit either. It writes, "It is obvious that there was no misquotation on our part, but if anything there was a misinterpretation of a particular sentence. We fail to see how the interpretation now put, and we are willing to accept it as the correct misinterpretation, at all improves the Nawab's case." Whatever the *Bengalee* may be willing to accept, for our part we are sure we are not at all willing to accept this explanation. Not once but twice a word is substituted for another and declared to be the precise word used by the speaker with the aid of inverted commas and the explicit assurance that the words are those of Nawab Sir Salimullah. If this is not misquotation but only a misinterpretation, we ask the *Bengalee* to give us an example of its misquotation, a sample of the genuine brand. We do not care whether any interpretation "at all improves the Nawab's case." All that concerns us just now is that this explanation does not at all improve the case of the *Bengalee*. It goes on to argue that because the annulment of the Partition was the work of the Government, and with it is associated "the honoured personality of His Majesty the King-Emperor," therefore "in the opinion of the Nawab the British Government and His Majesty the King-Emperor brought discredit upon British rule." We make a present of this so-called "analysis of the statement" to the brilliant lawyers of Bengal who have so often to deal with the niceties of the Penal Code and more particularly with the bearings of Section 124 A on the critical genius of their innumerable clients. We are even prepared to ask for the prosecution and punishment of the Nawab Bahadur if the *Bengalee* can give an undertaking such as anyone that knows it can rely upon that in future it will not criticise any act or measure of the Government simply

because the Government had done or enacted it or that His Majesty's august personality was associated with it. What does our popular contemporary live on but the criticism of the acts and measures of Government, and if its interpretation of the law of sedition was applied to its own past record, would not the cumulative sentence on its own modest endeavours carry the imprisonment of its publisher well beyond the Kaliyuga. Its excuse is worse than the crime itself, and we mean to keep it pilloried up so long as the confession of guilt is not forthcoming. We do not think Mr. Mackarness would call it torture, though the *Bengal* may well feel it to be torture of the worst sort. But our only apology for this ruthlessness is that it is not every day that the thief is caught with the bunch of assorted keys and jemmy and all, and with the stolen goods also in its hands. Now that he is caught in the very act, let the punishment be sufficiently deterrent. We trust the *Musselman* would assist us in making the punishment fit the crime.

ALTHOUGH we deal with the "debate" on Mr. Gokhale's Bill elsewhere, it strikes us that it is a misnomer to call such a recitation of printed and typed speeches as a discussion or debate. Each

of the so-called speakers not only makes up his mind which side to vote—a proceeding inevitable in case of official members—but also decides what he should say to justify his vote, and for all practical purposes says it before he has heard a word of his opponent's speech. Mr. Gokhale recently refused to pay Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis the compliment of a reply to his criticisms because the latter had poured out his own previously prepared decoction in which no element of a reference to Mr. Gokhale's arguments could possibly enter. In this debate also most of the speeches were of the same character, and although we are loth to add anything to the stern criticism which the Hon. Mr. Dadabhooy met with at the hands of Mr. Gokhale we cannot help mentioning that it is an insult to the Council as well to the mover of the motion to pretend to "have listened to the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's speech with the close attention, sympathy, and respect which such an able speaker and disinterested worker deserves," and to make out that in spite of this one was "impressed more than ever that the scheme embodied in the Bill" would not prove successful. How could one listen at all, not to mention "the close attention, sympathy, and respect" with which Mr. Dadabhooy says he listened, and how could one be impressed more than ever or less than ever on any point, when almost every word of his speech had been written out several days ago and it was read out in the Council from a printed paper? The Quran has some emphatic remarks about those to whom it is the same if you warn or not, for "Allah has sealed their hearts and on their eyes is a veil." Unless an hon. member wishes to have such a description applied to him, it is better to leave some room in one's convictions for the results of an adversary's arguments. It is true that seldom does the head of a Department see the error of his ways, as according to the Hon. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu Mr. Clark did in a small matter on the 18th instant, and in another small matter some days previously. As a rule of official replies it is almost true that "the moving finger writes, and, having writ, moves on." But it need not be so with non-official opinions. In their case it should be possible for arguments and eloquence to lure back the finger to cancel many a line and wash out a multitude of words, adding other lines and maturer words in their place. As it is, the non-officials are the worst sinners in this respect, and the Hon. Mr. Dadabhooy perhaps the worst among the non-officials. Surely the debates take place for the benefit of those who came to discuss great and vital issues in the Council, and not for self-advertisement among their constituents out of it or others in the country, and a Council debate is not a schoolboy's competition in essay writing, with the official in charge of the Department to which the question relates, with his frowns and smiles, in the place of the headmaster awarding the prize to the best writer. We are not averse to some of the points of a speaker being elaborated and even written out, for unfortunately only in too many cases are a slovenliness in arrangement, an absence of proportion and even relevance, and a looseness of expression apparent in some of the non-official speeches. But that is wholly different to the rapid reiteration from a printed screed of enormous size. The members of the Council must recognise that they are in the same world with others, and though each must see for himself, they are there to compare notes and profit by each other's observation. What they appear to be at present are spectators shut up each in his own small panorama, or prisoners in their narrow solitary cells without any means of communication between them.

It is with extreme pleasure that we hear of the visit to India of Syed Rasheed Raza, the Editor of *Amanat* of Cairo, to take part in the deliberations of the Nadwat-ul-Ulama this year as its president. Syed Rasheed's name is not unknown in Islamic

countries, for he has devoted his great talents and the whole of his life to the revival of the true spirituality of Islam, which, while menacing nobody, would weld together the Mussalmans of the world into the fraternity of faith which they were designed to form. Only the other day Professor Margolouth, in lecturing on Pan-Islamism, spoke of Syed Rasheed with great appreciation, and we understand that he is a strong Anglophil. We are confident that he would receive from his co-religionists here a warm welcome proving in some measure that the brotherhood of Islam is not altogether a fiction. The present session of the Nadwah opens on the 5th April and lasts till the 7th at Lucknow and we trust it will attract a record gathering. If only the younger Mussalmans educated in our colleges and schools would take a more active interest in the work of the Nadwah, not only would they and the Nadwah be mutually benefited, but the un-Islamic separation of Mussalmans into theologian and laymen would also disappear. However, just at present it is not the theologian who is so much indifferent to the cares of this world as the laymen who ignores those of the next. A combined effort on the part of both would not only make the Mullah recognise the requirements of our mundane existence but also spiritualize the man of the "New Light." The services of Shams-ul-Ulama Maulvi Shibli Nomani in this connection deserve at least a keener interest on the part of the younger Mussalmans—who know the history of Islam mainly through his books and are in many cases his old pupils—in the work which has now almost wholly engaged his great talents for some years.

WE ARE asked to state that the Annual Re-union of the Old Boys of Aligarh takes place on the 6th and 7th April. Among other items of interest are the proposed election of Mr. Syed Sajid Hyder, the brilliant writer of Urdu, as a Trustee of the College on behalf of the Old Boys' Association, and of Mr. Shaukat Ali as Honorary Secretary of the Association which he has done so much to develop. We trust there will be a large gathering of the Old Boys. In view of the share in the administration of the proposed Moslem University which the Old Boys have secured, it is necessary for them to take stock of their position and to revive their declining Association.

THE rapid growth in popularity of the *Zamindar*, an Urdu journal of the Punjab, has been the outstanding feature of Indian Journalism during the last year. Before Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, B.A. (Alig.), took up the editorial work, at first at Karamabad, and latterly at Lahore, the circulation of the paper was, we believe, confined to a small number of people either interested in the work and the advocacy of the cause of the zamindars of the Punjab, or personally acquainted with Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's late lamented father. Although even then the paper dealt with general topics also, it did not then carry more weight in a discussion of such questions than provincial vernacular papers generally do. What led to the rapid rise of the paper subsequently is the fact that a very able man, a graduate of Aligarh, and one not only experienced in the management of affairs in more than one province of India, but also in touch with modern culture and politics, and in sympathy with the Islamic world in India and abroad, took up the profession of journalism, which had never attracted such men before, and possessing, in addition to a good knowledge of English, a brilliant style in Urdu prose and a rare facility in Urdu versification, swept his readers off their feet in a remarkably short time. He habituated them to a class of Urdu composition to which they were hitherto complete strangers, at least in newspapers, and after which the ordinary Urdu newspapers tasted insipid and stale. We trust we shall not be misunderstood when we say that if the *Zamindar* in Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's hand was not as staid and dull as the *Halsa Akbar*, it had not also the quiet dignity of the *Fakil*. But for several purposes it had a more effective style than any other Moslem journal, and we were sure that a man of the education of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan would use his brilliant gifts for the elevation of his readers. When the Turco-Italian war broke out and the Russo-Persian affairs reached a critical stage, these gifts naturally lent themselves to impassioned writing about the immoral tendencies of European international politics. The *Zamindar* preached the might of right to the already converted and its resourcefulness, its excellent translations from English papers—for Mr. Zafar Ali Khan is one of the best translators in the country—its closer acquaintance with Europe and its ways, together with the brilliant style of its compositions in prose and rhyme, made it the ideal paper for these times and increased its already growing circulation. Knowing India as we do, we would not be surprised to find that there was a great deal of truth in Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's assertion that "the professional jealousy" of some brother journalists "could ill brook the phenomenal progress of a rival paper." Add to this the nervous apprehensions of those nice old ladies who often go by the name of "leaders,"

especially in the sturdy North, who consider a condemnation of Italy as high treason and the expression of doubts about Russian good faith as sedition against the British Government, who would never dream of collecting funds themselves for war sufferers in Tripoli, and would pay a little to others, if their heart bled too much for their suffering co-religionists, on condition that their participation in a humanitarian cause was kept "strictly confidential." The *Zamindar* says that it has criticised the doings of these so-called leaders in its columns and that its writings "were instrumental in pulling them down from the high pedestals to which they had very little title." We may be sure it has done that only too effectively in the Punjab, and we are even less sorry for the result of its activities in this direction than for the passion it has aroused against Italian and Russian aggressions. Now, the *Zamindar* suspected that its rivals and the so-called leaders had been doing not a little backbiting, and that the officials, whose knowledge of Indian languages is, with extremely few exceptions, very meagre, were made to believe that the *Zamindar* had been publishing articles of a dangerous character. One of the cock and bull stories to which it alludes is that, according to one official, he had suggested that the Bible be consigned to the flames. The result is that although Mr Zafar Ali Khan tells us, only last December H II Sir Louis Dane had shown his approval of the *Zamindar's* work, early this month a high official is said to have told the Editor that the paper was "in every way objectionable," and now the District Magistrate of Lahore has demanded a security of Rs 1,000 each for the weekly and the daily editions, and the Additional District Magistrate, of whose manner when warning journalists the *Zamindar* and other papers had complained, adds an order of his own calling upon Mr Zafar Ali Khan to explain what he proposes to do. We publish elsewhere the two orders and Mr Zafar Ali Khan's reply, and shall not deal with the legal aspect of the question at present partly because the latter has himself dealt with it and partly because we do not wish to prejudice the Magistrate who has to deal with the matter in a day or two one way or the other. But it is our plain duty to draw the attention of the Government to one aspect of the matter. What has the Press Act to do with the war in Tripoli or Russian action in Persia? Are we subjects of His Majesty King George V, Emperor of India, or of King Victor Emmanuel and of the Tsar of All the Russias? Again, does one come under section 124 A. of the Indian Penal Code because one exposes the hollow pretensions of so-called "leaders" and thereby brings "their leaderships" into contempt? The District Magistrate has strangely enough specified no passage of the paper which can even remotely come under the provisions of the Press Act, and this seems to confirm the suspicion that he has based the charge of an objectionable tone and want of moderation on general grounds possibly only hinted at by others. But the term "objectionable" is too vague. What we want to know is the nature of the objection. There are many things which are perfectly legal yet otherwise objectionable, and one of these may be vulgar abuse of Italy or Russia. As for want of moderation, the charge is not clear. Moderation in what? In the absence of a more clear and precise accusation, it seems to us to be just possible that the Magistrate has mixed up his duties as a Magistrate who has to deal with crime with those of a literary critic who has to judge of tone and taste. In all conscience, the Press Laws and the Penal Code are wide enough for any Magistrate who has time on his hand and a desire to use authority. He may well leave tone and taste to the readers and the literary critics, and with the undoubted journalistic jealousies in India he may be sure no paper is going to be spared by its rivals. When we read, as we have occasionally to do for our sins, the taunts and gaves of the *Watan* and the *Zamindar* against each other, we confess we have to hold our head down in shame. Only the other day these two papers had formed a Press Association which we too were invited to join. For various reasons it was impossible for us to join it, but we are now glad we did not join, for the quarrels of two of its members supported by a few others would have been an excellent comment on the character and tendencies of the rest also. A movement is afoot among the subscribers of the *Zamindar* to contribute the whole of the amount demanded as a security, and others too are anxious to show Mr Zafar Ali Khan their sympathy. We hope this will be unnecessary, but should the Magistrate persist, it is only right and just that the readers, who wish the paper to continue should contribute towards its maintenance. The Magistrate's order has not convinced us that his action is justified, and so long as he does not do so, we shall extend to a brother journalist our fullest sympathy and support. We have no desire to obtrude this on public notice, and would have kept the fact that we telegraphed our offer of help to Mr. Zafar Ali Khan wholly to ourselves. But journalists, like others in difficult times, must stand together, for who knows who may be led next from the tumbril to the guillotine. If anything that we and other contemporaries write on this subject makes the Lahore Magistrate reconsider his decision, or induces the Punjab Government to intervene when it can do so without sacrificing even official "prestige," we should have done something to help not the *Zamindar* alone but indirectly ourselves also. We must not fail to express here our appreciation of the action of the *Tribune* in dealing from time to time and very effectively

with the legal aspect of this case. We trust its efforts would prove successful.

A little book named "Khwab-o-Khiyal" or "Visions of the Past" was published recently as the "official text book" "Vision of the Past" for the examination of Civil and Military Officers by the Higher Standard in Hindustani. Some of our vernacular contemporaries rightly took exception to certain passages in that part of the book which contains the memoirs of Sita Ram who rose in the first sixty years of the last century from a sepoys to a subedar. In one of these passages Sita Ram spoke disparagingly of Mussalman sepoys who, along with low caste Hindus, were said to be supplying their women as concubines to the European officers of their regiments in order to please the latter and obtain favours, or even to secure offices through the women. In another the Hindus were extolled at the expense of the Mussalmans. It was asserted that the Hindus would never revolt first, but would join a rebellion afterwards. As for the Mussalmans, the Government was asked never to trust them because they were the originators of every mischief and retained malice against the Government in their hearts. They were compared to the viper which a man had kept in his bed to warm it but which requited the kindness of its benefactor by biting him. Further, it was declared that the creed of the Mussalman taught him to kill every one whom he regarded a *kafir*, and assured him of seven admissions into each of seven paradises for each of such murders. There was a good deal more of this mischievous rigmarole, ending with the unique remark that according to the Pandit, everybody spoke the truth in India before the Mussalmans came here, and that all evils had been brought into the country by them, crime having been unknown before their impious feet trod on its soil. We sent for this book some time ago, and are thankful to Lieutenant-Colonel Phillott for sending us a complimentary copy. We were informed by the learned Secretary to the Board of Examiners that the book was used as an English text-book in some Indian Schools and that its Urdu translation— for though originally written in Hindi the manuscript specially written for its translator, Colonel Norgate, is not extant, and these memoirs are available only in a few copies of the English translation which are themselves rare—ran as a serial in the *Fauji Akhbar*. It is said that no one has hitherto taken offence at Sita Ram's remarks, and that the opinions of a bigoted and semi-educated Hindu, though interesting as showing the thought of many people of his time, are hardly likely to sway the opinions of men to-day. As a matter of precaution, however, the worst passage in the book had a footnote inserted below it, explaining that "these are of course the ideas of Sita Ram only." It is also mentioned that Sita Ram has made more uncomplimentary remarks about the Government of his time and the mismanagement of the Kabul expedition of 1842 than he has about the Moslems, and that if the English do not cry out, the Muhammadans need not do so. It is stated that the idea that young officers will be influenced against Moslems by the remarks of old Sita Ram is not very complimentary to the intelligence of the officers. We have given our most careful consideration to all these arguments, but we regret to say that they do not convince us that the publication of such a book under official auspices and its selection as an official text-book were well advised. We do not know when and where the book was used as an English text-book in Indian Schools, and had we known of it we would certainly have objected. The *Fauji Akhbar*, as everybody knows, is almost as official as the text-book itself, and none but the Sepoys read it. As for them, their conception of military discipline is such that an objection to anything published in the *Fauji Akhbar* may well have been looked upon as tantamount to sedition. Writings such as those of Sita Ram could easily lead to breaches of the peace, and we are surprised that those responsible for the contents of the *Fauji Akhbar* at all allowed these passages to go in. We have a high enough respect for the intelligence of the military officers, but we also know that when mud is splashed about, some of it also sticks, and that much may stick in the case of officers who come to India at an impressionable period of their life, who seldom read vernacular books other than those prescribed for the language tests by the Board of Examiners and get few opportunities of correcting by personal observation the statements contained in the text books. We attribute no motives whatever to the selection of this book, but we must say that in point of interest too it is not so remarkable as to merit a re-translation from its English translation. In its present form it is highly objectionable and, if we may be permitted to say so, the language of the translation is neither idiomatic and literary nor free from an admixture of words "not used by uneducated Moslems of Delhi, Lucknow, Behar, etc." as is claimed for it in the preface. So far, however, as the objectionable portions of the book are concerned, we are happy to state that they are being pasted out and will not appear in future editions. We hear that the military authorities are not satisfied with the book, and it is quite possible that it may very soon cease to be an official text-book. We regret sufficient forethought was not exercised in the beginning, but in any case, "all's well that ends well."

The Comrade.

The Compulsory Education Debate.

IT WAS by no means a sneering or supplant remark which the Hon. Mr. Clark made in moving an amendment to the Life Assurance Companies' Bill that he would not like to take much of the time of the Council with the aid of bones of commercial legislation when there were more stimulating topics to follow. The debate on the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's Bill was indeed stimulating, and although the motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee has been thrown out, we are confident that in one form or another it would come up again before the country, and the stimulus which the discussion of a measure of such far-reaching and beneficial character provides would continue and steadily grow.

The Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler was in no way unjust to the advocates of this measure in saying that "the genesis of the Bill was not a spontaneous demand by the people affected by it," and although this point was stretched too far, there is no doubt that the services which Mr. Gokhale has rendered in popularising mass education have been, as Sir Harcourt said, splendid, and that it is he who has "awakened enthusiasm for elementary education in classes which have hitherto been indifferent to its diffusion." Only a decade ago Lord Curzon was afraid of incurring considerable odium for advocating the same cause, because it was generally thought at the time that the man who laid stress on this branch of education ignored the claims of higher education. Four years later, Lord Curzon again insisted on the importance of elementary education, and called it the foundation in the structure of Indian society as compared with the coping-stone of higher education. To-day Mr. Gokhale and the advocates of his Bill have gone "beyond the views of the Government," as the Hon. Mr. Sharpe told the Council, the Government must not feel wroth with so apt a pupil, and India must thank not only Mr. Gokhale but also Lord Curzon. We are even prepared to concede to Sir Harcourt Butler that in the majority of cases the support given to Mr. Gokhale by his countrymen is founded on "a vague desire for progress based on a stereotyped comparison of India with other countries," and we are also disposed to agree with Mr. Sharpe that Mr. Gokhale has not only "gone beyond the views of the Government," but also "beyond the views of so many of his countrymen." But as Mr. Sharpe himself rightly added, "a propaganda is seldom effective unless it is advanced," and it is no disparagement to the leadership of Mr. Gokhale if he is marching at the head of his troops and is himself leading the van, while men like the Hon. Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis and Mr. Shah are lagging behind, and men like the Hon. Nawab Abdul Mard, not to mention the captain of the Tivana, are sounding a retreat. The discussion of the Bill also disclosed a certain regrettable lack of freedom in the expression of true convictions, and Mr. Gokhale will be amply revenged on some of those who opposed him or who withheld from him their support on account of a timid mistaking of the official reserve for the forces of the enemy. Shelley spoke of a hope "too like fear," but the "fears" of the Member for Education were much akin to "hope," and it does not seem as if it would be long before the rear-guard, the reserve, and the deserters would all march along with the vanguard and the main body of the country's army as willing warriors under the conscript flag of Compulsion to crush the general enemy, the idleness and ignorance of the masses. But just as in the history of Islam a distinction was made between the Emigrants (*Muhajirun*), the Succourers (*Azwar*) and the laggards whose sincerity in entering the faith after the conquest of Mecca remained doubtful (*Muttaqat-al-qulub*), so too the loud claim of those who hesitate to-day but would be the most eloquent and forward to-morrow would be considerably discounted when the victory is achieved. If whole armies then enter the beth of Allah it might not be resented if they are called upon to ask forgiveness for their sin of omission, with the assurance that Allah is forgiving. But leaving all these aside, the debate, in spite of the rejection of the motion, would convert many more to Mr. Gokhale's side, and is sure to stimulate a more general enthusiasm for mass education.

Although, as we have explained elsewhere, the position of official members in debates handicaps them not a little and makes a frank expression of their opinion no easy matter, they try nevertheless to meet the criticism of their opponents and are among the few real debaters in the Council. Hence it was that in the debate on the 18th and 19th instant, all real interest in the discussion was centered in the speeches of Sir Harcourt Butler and Mr. Sharpe and the two speeches of Mr. Gokhale, and so far as the question itself is concerned an examination of these four speeches will suffice, though we shall have to deal with other speeches also on a subsequent occasion in discussing some ancillary issues. Mr.

Gokhale had made last year in moving for leave to introduce the Bill a comparison of literacy in British India with other countries and with Baroda and had also quoted comparative statistics to show how much each of them spent on mass education. He had then dealt with the methods they had adopted in banishing illiteracy more or less successfully or in attempting to do so, and had supplied historical parallels for the guidance of India. All this was therefore now unnecessary, and in his opening speech, which was a model of arrangement and proportion, he now dealt with the support and the opposition his Bill had met with during the year, and answered the objections that had been raised against it.

To deal with those points in some detail, Mr. Gokhale was well within his rights and the bounds of modesty in claiming that "the promoters of the Bill"—and we commend this entire absence of personal gratification to those who always deal in the "first person singular," and preface the most meagre argument with Boswellian personal details without even the altruism of the hero worship of Boswell we say Mr. Gokhale was well within his rights and the bounds of modesty in claiming that "the promoters of the Bill are entitled to regard with the utmost satisfaction the reception which the Bill has met with in this country, for no measure of our time has received such weighty, such enthusiastic and such overwhelming public support as the Bill before the Council." The Hon. the Member for Education may feel justified in claiming that "the majority of non-official opinions are in favour of the Bill but the weight of authority is against the Bill as a practical measure." But, considering the fact that hitherto few measures emanating from the people and opposed by Government were acknowledged to possess even a non-official majority—and the baseless suggestion of Mr. Sharpe that the support of the Moslem League itself is doubtful shows how officials and sinking men catch at straws—and in view of the fact that the official weights and measures are not the universal standard of the country and are often designed for the occasion, Sir Harcourt's simple assertion is not likely to disturb the convictions of people who think for themselves and do not ask the officials to do their thinking for them. As a matter of fact we can push the battle into the enemy's own quarter, and say that the remarkable support of so many European officials shows not only "a deep and genuine and earnest desire for the welfare of the people," which is entirely true, but is also a better indication of the weight of real official authority than the ominously unanimous opposition of the local Governments. The contrast is glaring enough to make the world doubt if the "mirror of consciousness" supplied by the Secretariat reflects accurately the truth as known to the "automaton" of the Mosfussil Station.

As regards the opposition, Mr. Gokhale's analysis of the feeble non-official dissent was masterly and displays a talent for terse expression and biting sarcasm of which few had hitherto suspected him. There was not the least exaggeration and not a shadow of disrespect in the description of those "elders" whose "minds cast in the mould of a previous generation had not the elasticity to advance with the advancing requirements of the country." Their services to the country as a whole or to their own individual community entitled their dissent to all respect, but it could not also fail to produce great regret. It is only those who can periodically adjust their views by the chronometer of the world's progress that possess the real secret of perpetual youth. A good many elderly men happen to agree at a particular moment with the generality of younger men around them, but in these cases it mostly happens that they were extremists in their own time and, failing to progress, have been only overtaken by the age, just as the sight of myopic men may become normal in old age when that of the average man begins to fail. In dealing with another class of men Mr. Gokhale discovered not the absence of growth, as in the first case, but a congenital defect, the absence of a comprehension of the dignity of man as a man. Such men judge the world from the point of view of the Zemindar's *Karimda* or the Domestic Servants' Agency, and believe that, like the poor, the ignorant not only are, but also should always be with us. What meaning can the ennobling words of our King have for their ears when in the true nobility of his heart and the kingliness of his soul he said, "And it is my wish that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge with what follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of comfort, and of health?" The sarcasm of Mr. Gokhale was, however, reserved for those that never fail to consult the official weathercock before they declare the direction of the wind. Of this class of the opponents of his Bill he said, "they were against the Bill either because the officials had so much to give, or else because they were so constituted that official favour was to them as the breath of their nostrils and an official frown was a heavy misfortune, and because they thought nothing of bartering the birth-right of their common humanity for something even less substantial than the proverbial mess of porridge." We may be sure all this was said more in sorrow than in anger, for the humiliation of even these men is our own humiliation and their shame our shame. How true the description was, and how many even in a small Council came under the category can be understood from the fact that more than

one attempt was made to reject the cap as a misfit, in utter forgetfulness of the Indian proverb that "the abuse of the Bazar applies to him who turns round."

Mr. Gokhale was justified in complaining that the opinions of all local bodies had either not been ascertained by Local Governments or had not been forwarded to the Government of India. In view of the fact that if the Bill became law the initiative in regard to its working would have to come from local bodies, it was of the utmost importance to know what the local bodies themselves had to say. Nevertheless it is gratifying to know that of such local bodies as were consulted "an overwhelming majority of Municipalities and a large number amounting to a clear majority of District Boards were in favour of the Bill." All these cannot be disposed of as lightly as Sir Harcourt Butler tried to do. If Mr. Gokhale "had to stump the country hard to do it," it must be remembered that even so autocratic a Viceroy as Lord Curzon tried to do the same about the Partition Act; all, Mr. Gokhale is one of the people and the people cannot be faced by him with "accomplished facts" buttressed by "irrevocable words." It may be that some of these local bodies which now favour the Bill may not screw their courage to the sticking point and fail Mr. Gokhale when a cess has to be levied. But there is no reason at present to regard these blown surmises as axioms and compare the prestige of a publicist with that of a seventeen gun Political whose administrative proposals to "Purbars" receive the customary meed of "warm approval" in words and cold neglect in action. As for the three tailors of Tooley Street, after all they claimed to be only "the citizens of Great Britain"—which was a fact while Sir Harcourt's vast experience in aristocratic rather than sartorial circles in India must have brought him into close touch with a Talukdardom that claims the "natural leadership" of British India. If we could be assured that in Sir. Harcourt's estimation the number of acres did not make a wiseacre, and that aristocratic resolutions were always duly discounted, we would readily re-adjust the values of humbler resolutions. We are still more surprised at the soaring reference of the Hon. Mr. Shafiq to public meetings: and "how resolutions are obtained in them." Had his own reputation among officials as well as his own people been less dependent than it is upon the resolutions obtained in the usual manner in public meetings the reference would have been helpful. As it is, it is a double edged sword, and the edge that is turned towards him is perhaps the sharper of the two.

We now come to the official opinions. We are prepared to go ever further than Mr. Gokhale, who said that considering the distrust of education largely prevalent among European officers in the country, the proportion of those who had favoured the Bill was by no means unsatisfactory. We consider the support of 51 European officials out of 160, or 30 per cent. far more satisfactory than the support of 39 Indian officials out of 15. We do not know what status each of these 65 has in the administration, nor whether he falls in the first, second or third circle of Mr. Gokhale's inferno. But the independence of European officials can hardly be questioned, and it is a happy sign of the times and a precursor of better relations between European officials and the Indian subjects of His Majesty that 30 per cent. of them can support the principle of compulsion in education in spite of the official distrust of education and the alleged dangers of compulsion in the case of a foreign Government. It is still more hopeful that more than one Director of Public Instruction favours the principle of the Bill, though this support is to some extent counterbalanced by the cynical disbelief in mass education expressed by an Inspector of Schools. Mr. Gokhale rightly suggests that "the least that a kind Government it could do to him was to transfer him to a more congenial Department, say, the Forest." He groups official opponents of the Bill under three heads, the Rep. Van Winkle and cynics those who were opposed to all popular progress, believing that "every step gained by the people was one lost by them"; and lastly the critics of the Bill on its merits. This is a fair classification, and while we are prepared to admit the *bona fides* of the last group, we must not be asked to certify that no official is guided by considerations of official prestige in determining issues submitted to him. The official, have neither the wings of angels nor the cloven hoofs of devils. They are men, and with most of the virtues and also some of the weaknesses of men whose circumstances and their own insularity have made a much too exclusive caste. If non-official approval is of any value to the officials, it must be discriminating, and when the officials and we ourselves question the motives of some of our countrymen who perpetually criticise the Government, nobody should be shocked if some officials are suspected of the conscious and the unconscious bias of the caste. We reserve a consideration in some detail of the unanimous opposition of the Local Governments for another occasion, and will only say here that this strange disparity between the support of 30 per cent. European officials and the opposition of all the provincial satraps either suggests the working of some political suspicion in the minds of the latter, or their shedding all enthusiasm and the vitality to deal with an altered set of circumstances.

But before we deal with Mr. Gokhale's reply to the objections raised before the debate, it would be better to determine to what ex-

tent he was right in dealing in what Sir Harcourt Butler calls transmarine analogies and in asking whether the British Government is content to lag behind Baroda. Sir Harcourt's contention that in England compulsory provision of schools preceded the introduction of compulsory attendance by 6 or 10 years was rebutted by Mr. Gokhale, who pointed out that the Act of 1870 which provided for compulsory educational facilities also empowered local authorities to frame bye-laws for compelling the attendance of children at school. In other words, compulsion became permissive for local bodies in 1870 and obligatory 6 or 10 years later. His Bill too wants it to become permissive and not obligatory, and it is surprising that the educational experts who refer to the professional point of view so obtrusively had forgotten so important a detail of the Act of 1870. Sir Harcourt's second point about the difference between Indian conditions and English, namely, the fact that Primary Schools were mainly staffed by women, there being 111,000 women to only 35,000 men—an argument which seems to have found peculiar favour with the non-official opponents of the Bill representing the Central Provinces—is partly answered by the fact that proportionately there is a larger female population in England than in India, and partly by the fact that the least efficient teachers in England are the women who are often untrained. As regards Japan, it is astonishing that Sir Harcourt should think of comparing India to the Japan of to-day, stating that there education is so generally advanced and respected that compulsion is in fact not required or enforced and the teachers are paid about six times as much as in India. The India of to-day should rather be compared with the Japan before the Imperial rescript of 1872. As regards the Philippines, what purpose it was intended to serve by mentioning that education is not compulsory is not clear, because Mr. Gokhale had himself stated with commendable precision that although the State had not yet made it so, many Municipalities had issued local ordinances making education compulsory. What was the result? They achieved a school attendance of 6 lakhs of children out of a population of 75 lakhs in 13 years as against less than 7 lakhs in the Bombay Presidency out of 250 lakhs after 66 years. Does it help the Government at all to refer to "the financial strain of a too rapid extension of cheap education" when in a period five times as large the best province of British India has done only a third as well as the Philippines? Mr. Gokhale does not suggest that the development of India should be as rapid as that of the Philippines, but it would never do to add another 115 years to the century of British rule that has already passed away in order to achieve what the Philippines did in 13 years. As for Ceylon, the only difference between it and Southern India that Sir Harcourt Butler could point out was that 60 per cent. of the Ceylonese were Buddhists and had no caste. Surely in India too there are places where 60 per cent. of the inhabitants are of one caste and creed. It would be well to point this out when it is intended to apply compulsion to such places. We shall deal next week with the question of Baroda, and also reserve our comments on Mr. Gokhale's reply to the objections raised before the debate and during it for the next issue. But so far as "transmarine analogies" go, Sir Harcourt Butler has failed to convince us that compulsion is like "the fur coat of Canada," impossible for the climatic conditions of the Deccan and the rest of India.

Crete.

THOSE who never tire of lecturing Moslem Turkey on the evils of "Turcification" and the alleged inequality in the treatment of her Christian and Moslem subjects will probably find it inconvenient to explain the "Grecification" of Crete and the barbarous treatment meted out by the Christian vassals of Turkey to the Moslem minority in that island. Since 1669 the island of Crete has been a part of the Ottoman Empire, but as Turkey grew weak and Christian Europe came to the assistance of Greece between 1821 and 1829, the Cretans found sufficient inducement to carry on a perpetual insurrection against the Ottoman authorities which lasted for some 70 years. The Cretan problem was at the bottom of the war which Greece declared against Turkey towards the end of that period. Had Greece been victorious Crete was certain to have become an integral part of that kingdom, but once more the best laid schemes of mice and men proved futile and Athens was rescued from the Turks by the intervention of the Concert of Europe. The Most Christian Powers which forced Turkey to give up the fruits of her well-earned victory also intervened to provide for the "better" government of Crete.

In 1898, Russia, France, Italy and Great Britain constituted the Island, with the adjacent islets, an autonomous state under a High Commissioner of the Powers, and all that Turkey got for her victory over Greece was an empty sovereignty bereft even of a monetary tribute. But in appointing the High Commissioner the Powers once more helped Greece and its King, who was related to most of the important reigning families of Europe by the ties of his sisters' marriages. His second son, Prince George, was appointed the first High Commissioner of Crete, and during the years between 1898 and 1906 proved

23rd March.

himself to be as incompetent as an administrator as he had proved as a warrior in the Greco-Turkish War.

When Prince George disappeared from the scene a worse thing happened. Since August 14, 1906, the Powers recognised the right of the King of the Hellenes to propose the High Commissioner, for Crete and Greek officers were handed over the director of the Gendarmerie and Militia. Had not the Young Turks altered the internal situation in Turkey soon after, Crete would no doubt have by now been annexed to Greece. But even the revolution has not succeeded in doing more than stopping the progress of Crete in the direction of Greece. The Young Turks now demand the rectification of the anomalous condition of the Island, while the Cretans themselves are for its annexation to Greece. The Powers await a favorable opportunity for settling things, but the Cretans fear that with delay the Young Turks would be too strong for them and Greece and the supporters of the two in Europe, and have consequently tried more than once to force their own solution on their supporters. With a view to do this, they once more annexed the Island to Greece and elected Cretan Deputies to the Chamber at Athens. These Deputies were prevented from taking their seats in the Chamber by the artifice of a quarantine and were conveyed back thence to Crete, and now the Cretans have revenged themselves for this on the Moslem population of the Island.

According to the Census of 1906, the Island, which is about 160 miles long and from 7 to 35 miles broad, was inhabited by a population of 310,000, of which 270,000 were Christians and 33,500 or a little more than a tenth were Mussalmans. What effect the action of the Powers in giving autonomy to Crete has had on the Mussalmans can be judged from the fact that the Moslem population of Crete which was 88,000 in 1895 had sunk to 40,000 in 1907. In the next three years another 6,500 were expatriated or died, and by this time the Moslem population is probably no more than a fourth of what it was twenty years ago. In spite of all this the Powers have been granting more extensive powers to the Cretan administration, and all the troops of the Powers were withdrawn by July 1909. Moslem protests notwithstanding. When the Mussalmans complained of continuous ill-treatment, having for its object their complete expatriation, Sir Edward Grey, in answer to a question in Parliament, declared the complaints to be exaggerated. However, the loss to the Island in wealth exported and land going out of cultivation has in some measure punished its Christian population. The financial situation has been far from satisfactory. The Christians of the Island have not been able to develop agriculture though Mussalmans have been turned out of the land. They lack industrious habits and find their true *moter* in political agitation.

Even the remaining Mussalmans are a thou. in the side of the Christians, and the Athenian correspondent of the *Times* wired on the 26th February that "owing to the assassinations of Moslem peasants in the Retimo district at the beginning of the month the rural population began to take refuge in the towns," but that just as confidence was being restored three other Moslems were murdered in a village near Canea. This was not enough for the Cretan pits of the Most Christian Powers, for we hear that "their bodies were brought into Canea to day, followed by a number of Moslems, and the sight of the funeral procession appears to have exasperated the Christians. Gendarmes appeared on the scene and a conflict ensued, resulting in the death of another Moslem." When alive the Moslem is a source of worry to the Christians of Crete, and when dead he exasperates them. What middle state can the Moslem find then between life and death which would leave the Christians happy and satisfied? Writing two days later the same correspondent says:

Much anxiety is felt in responsible quarters here with regard to possible future developments. The election in Greece took place on March 24 and should the Powers incite or proceed to the occupation of Crete every effort will be made by the Opposition group to profit by their action in order to discredit the Government of M. Venizelos and to proclaim the failure of its Cretan policy. It is further doubted whether occupation of the island will effectively prevent the despatch of the Cretan Deputies to Athens, whose efforts to enter the Chamber may furnish unscrupulous politicians here with a shield for opportunity of provoking popular manifestations and of upsetting the Government. It is hoped that an arrangement, which while safeguarding Turkish suzerainty, will enable the Powers to fulfil their desire of representation in the Greek Chamber, will even now be considered by the Powers, however unwilling they may be to make any concession to Cretan independence at the present moment.

This is indeed characteristic of a *Times* correspondent. We had referred us now to the search of a middle state between life and death as if the quest would be futile. Yet here is another middle state equally absurd which is suggested in all seriousness by this limb of the *Times*, the election of representatives of Crete to the Greek Chamber "while safeguarding Turkish suzerainty." The news of these assassinations, coupled with the fact that though a massacre was avoided with great difficulty, the shops of the Mussalmans were still closed, led to the despatch of H.M.'s cruiser *Lancaster* from Malta to Crete, and according to the Paris correspondent of the *Times*, it seems that the news from Crete was

considered by the French Government "sufficiently disquieting to warrant the despatch of two more armoured cruisers—the *Watteau-Rousseau* and the *Ernest Renan*—to join the *Edgar Quinet* in the Suda Bay." Russia has also been invited to join, though "in the special circumstances" Italy can do no more than "sympathise with the objects of the demonstration." But mark the mild admonition, the clear encouragement to Cretan hopes and the motive of the action. The Paris correspondent of the *Times* writes . . .

The revival of what appears to be premeditated attacks on Mussalmans in the island has compelled the Powers to inform the Cretan authorities that if they are unable to maintain public order steps will forthwith be taken to secure peace in a manner which may not prove favourable to Cretan aspirations. The Powers are determined that no agitation in Crete shall be allowed to furnish Turkey with a pretext for attempting to win military success in Europe.

Oh, the Unspeakable Turk and the Most Christian Powers of Europe! Well may Mr Sidney Low ask in the *Fortnightly Review* if all this is going to convince a disciple of Buddha, or Confucius or Mohammed "that Christianity leads to a higher standard of personal and national ethics, that the individual Christian is a better man than the adherent of any Asiatic form of religion, and that the Christian nations are imbued with a more austere morality, a deeper sense of law, a larger idea of justice and mercy, and a greater reluctance to employ force in order to overpower the weak and oppress the helpless." Only a week before these happenings in Crete, Mr Denys Cochin, the Academician and Deputy for Paris, declared with the approval of M. Clemenceau, both of whom had been addressed a letter by the Cretan Deputies who were detained on board a French warship in Suda Bay after their attempt to proceed to Athens, that "the Cretan question would be solved if Greece were as strong as Austria or Italy, or if Suda Bay were not so strongly coveted." He pleads for "a more sympathetic understanding of the Cretans whom he describes as loyal to their country gallant and sensible." If the crimes of a Christian are virtues and the virtues of a Moslem his worst crime then we have little to hope from Christian Europe. "They have, in fact," says Mr Sidney Low, "asserted the claim of the strong to prey upon the weak, and the utter impotence of all ethical considerations in the face of armed force with a crude nakedness which few Eastern military conquerors could well have surpassed." But even if we do not complain of this ignorance of the might of right, surely there is some ground for complaint in refusing to the Moslem nations even the right of might.

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The Council.

By THE HON. MR. GUJ

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please"

--*At You Let It!*

February 26th (contd.)

When the great Burly Raja had finished his pronouncement, up rose the shy figure of Cheery Chintis, and he need not have drawn attention to the contrast between the two personalities by prefacing his remarks with the phrase, "unlike the Burly Raja, I realize," etc., etc. He realized the hardships of that cultured class of people who are "firm in the faith of their forefathers" but terribly shaky about all that the faith enjoins them to do. The Council heard with a sympathetic laugh the frank confession of Cheery Chintis that "personally I like intermarriage". On, these ladies of Bengal! They had enthralled the bright little representative of the Orange State also, not to mention more southerly regions. By the way, it must be very consoling to Cheery Chintis with his few mainly inches that "elevating influences are operating to produce the desired result". He may be sure that a foot or two more and Reggie would see to it that "the restrictions to marriage are removed by a special enactment exclusive to Cheery Chintis". Who that ever saw him seeking inspiration in a face opposite to him this session would want to be told that Cheery Chintis is fond of "the lines of least resistance". What he needs is the hand of an eastern maiden with "the lines of least resistance well developed to mate' his own".

In inverse relation to the general belief, it was Reggie who now followed Cheery Chintis. Declared one of two conditions absolutely necessary before Government could legislate. Either existing marriage laws should constitute an outrage on the fundamental laws of humanity or an overwhelming majority should ask for reform. But existing marriages were not outrages and the overwhelming majority happens to be on the wrong side. And after all there are still too many people who could marry one another without the Bill but did not. Rather, thoughtful this of Reggie and deserving of the gratitude of Indian spinsterhood.

Sobraon, the Pantaloons, who had last year been shocked by the all-embracing character of the Bill under which "everybody could marry everybody else," now found that there was no chance for Bhupen Babu's matrimonial enterprise after Reggie's forbidding the banns, and thought to himself what harm could it do if he now showered his sympathy on the baffled Bhupen. So wholly belied his description as the "sturdy champion of Orthodoxy in the South" and did not oppose the motion. Only declared that the present Bill bristled with more difficulties than the chin of Bhupen with the grey hirsute growth of declining years.

The Khan Bahadur was more sympathetic but less supporting. Referred to "the well-known case" of Rani Bhagwan Kaur, the

civil case, not the criminal. Approvingly mentioned that the Arya Samaj had already solved the matrimonial problem in its customary fashion of *Kardam o Shud*. As in the case of *Niyoga*, this go-ahead community acted according to its own impulses and left the lazy sons of law to settle the legality of it. The Khan Bahadur of Baghbanpura is something of an expert in horticulture, but he liked the wild growth of matrimonial usages "in preference to the hot-hoax growth manured by legislative action". The conservatory is indeed too often the battle-field of such conquests, but it was rather unkind of the Khan Bahadur to characterize the Legislative Department as a dung heap.

While the Khan Bahadur was making his great speech, punctuated by acrobatic jerks of his slender waist, Beethoven, with a soul full of music, marked time with the official blue pencil like an orchestra conductor.

The Moslem Dowager trod on the footsteps of the Khan Bahadur, and while showing unmistakeable glimpses of sympathy towards "idolaters" and "idolatresses" in preference to "servants" and "maidservants" and playing a little with "hell-fire", with held his support. He had listened to Bhupen Babu's speech with much interest, and the interest in his case was of many kinds. As Indian first, a Moslem afterwards, he was the Law Member of the Government foremost. But rather strange that even as a Muhammadan the Moslem Dowager takes interest, forgetting the prohibition of *zina*. Although no more a counsel himself, the Dowager is still jealous of a solicitor poaching on the preserves he has deserted. "There was a very able counsel who was advancing every possible point that he could in support of his case, and yet behind it all he knew that he had a very weak one, and that it was not likely to be decided in his favour". Praised the earnestness of Bhupen Babu but on second thoughts and specially in consideration of long acquaintance with the caste, withheld the testimonial of his sobriety. After exploring the conflict between the Bill and the Christian Marriage Act, and the provisions of the Quran against inter-marriages with *mushrikeen*, turned to the Hindu law and its essential features. "It may be urged that an advanced Indian may think -what does it matter if a certain fire is not lit; what does it matter if an oblation of ghee is not poured on the fire, what good is there in making an appeal to an imaginary being like Agni? That is all very well for the advanced Indian to say." Perhaps the unadvanced could ask if it also did not matter whether the fire of *Prem* is not lit, if the oblation of fiery liquids such as champagne is not poured on the dying flame of attraction and what good is there in making an appeal to a still more imaginary thing called Love? After all Bhupen Babu was cutting the first sod, and knows that he has a very long journey before him till he reaches the destination of an India united on Nationalistic lines. Didn't know if he was a Nationalist or not. But if he was, he was an honour to that community and that creed. And this high praise ought to be enough as a first instalment of his support. The Dowager knew that even if the Bill was rejected by him, it won't be the last that the Council would hear of it. Bhupen would come to the charge again, and if it happened when some other Hon. Member had the Law Portfolio, who knows the Moslem

23rd March.

Dowager may not forget all about hell-fire or quench it in the deluge that is always welcome "after us."

The Bombay Duck said that "Equity in the strict sense of the word is in favour of the measure." But he forgot that Equity, in the strict sense of the word or otherwise, had no Hon. Member in charge of it and Law had. Asked that if Moslem Law had previously been abrogated it should be abrogated once more, and showed his intimate acquaintance with the spirit of Moslem Law by laying it down as an indisputable point that children of a Moslem by a Hindu wife would succeed to him according to his personal law, the Muhammadan Law, which he had already defined in the matter of matrimony. In conclusion appealed on behalf of the man who wants to have the rules of his matrimonial contract governed by "the most civilized standard," forgetting that "the most civilized standard" regarded the matrimonial contract itself as obsolete, old-fashioned and uncivilized. He asked why Government should ignore the claim of this class on account of the disfavour of the masses. "Here, at least, you have a very strong minority (Longfellow looks at his books approvingly)—an intellectual minority (Longfellow tips his brains as one may doubtfully tip a barometer in an English April)—supporting this measure." Thereupon all who wished to be classed as "intellectuals" cheered and the Bombay Duck quietly went under water.

The Nawab of Jaunpur said that an evil spirit had taken possession of many members in the Council and tried his best to enchant away that evil spirit—the Spirit of Reform.

Mud Holkar pointed out that the marriages of high caste Hindu women with men of lower castes were not illegal according to Hindu Law but were merely "discontented in the same way as misalliances among Western peoples." Surely 'twould be an insult to place a romantic elopement of Bhupen Babu with a fair Brahmin maid on the same footing as the *mesalliance* of an English lady with her chauffeur. Mud Holkar is the great custodian of the prestige of Indian politicians against the attacks of Indian Ministers of the Crown. Last year had come down heavily on the Moslem Dowager for talking of "the gentlemen opposite." This time read a sinister meaning into his reference to Indian Nationalism. Showed his readers to swear before a multitude of J. P.'s that he and his friends who supported the Bill had nothing to do with so horrid a thing as the unification of India on nationalistic lines. It is true that "the first end has now been broken," but not for those awful, unthinkable, unmentionable reasons, the "political reasons."

While Mud Holkar went on minimising the importance of customs singularly ("As there has been customs, etc.) and magnifying the feelings of his supporters ("Causingnumerable anxiety," etc.) Bootlaur Saheb read on the report of one of his numerous Committees, and coming good fortune cast their shadow in front, inasmuch as Sir Orator Meston corrected the proofs of the Budget. In the Visitors' gallery the two arms of Law, the one that made and the one that applied it, were joined, for the Hon. Moslem Dowager sat side by side with his judicial brother.

The Sword of Ali was unsheathed for once but only for a little while. Hooda was short but emphatic and spared not the feelings of the "intellectual minority." If at any time he could not represent the views of those through whose indulgence he found himself in the Council, he felt it to be his duty to give them an opportunity of sending another representative. If the "intellectual minority" said "take our opinion, we shall think for them," it may become necessary to close the Council and let the officials think for all. Bhupen Babu wants to satisfy the peculiar sentiments of certain people, and this sentiment has appealed so strongly to Bombay Duck that he would abrogate Moslem Law to satisfy the yearning of his heart. But then why sail under false colours? "There is a great deal of hypocrisy in the world, especially in matters of religion, and I do not feel that we are called upon to give it legislative sanction. If this is the frame of mind in which intolerance with the religion of Muhammadans is looked upon by the Bombay Duck, I think that he does not represent the wishes of his constituency. As many Bombay Ducks in the sea as out of it, eh?"

The white robed Pandit and his brothers the Mussalmans generally went this line ranged on the same side. He promised a short speech as the pronouncement of Reggie had made it "unnecessary to discuss it at the length at which it would have been necessary to do so in the absence of such a pronouncement," and when it came to performance he took more than a solid half-hour. One felt glad that the pronouncement had been made, for a whole night sitting was otherwise in store for the Council. Forgetting that even the 5,504 Brahmos were not despised when it came to the taking of Census, excluded the handful from the Hindu religion and found their declaration of separation necessary. Described with evident approval the wide field of choice in the ancient days for a Brahmin in search of spouses, and elaborated a Warrant of Precedence in which a Vaishya wife of a polygamous Brahmin stood to his Brahmin wife in the relation of a Director-General to a Home Member, and

talked of the "disagreeable distinctions and hearburnings" which found an echo of sympathy in the bosoms of General Post and St Luke. It was this consideration which had led to the abolition of inter-caste marriage "in recent time—it may be 2,000 or 3,000 years ago." Clearly the Pandit is up-to-date. Referred to "my humble brother, the sweeper," whose purity of blood would be destroyed and whose progeny defiled by marrying a Kulin or Kayasth bride. No Mussalman could therefore take objection to the Pandit's remark that the marriages of Rajput princesses to Moghal Emperors did not commend themselves to the Hindus. Lightly passed over "the overpowering pressure of the unfavourable circumstances in which they found themselves" under Moslem rule. From his "humble brother, the sweeper," turned to his "hon brother, the sweeper," who "does not feel any difficulty in sweeping aside any of the objections which have been raised," and concluded one of the most closely reasoned and moderate speeches ever delivered in the Council in spite of the "impudent" provocation to which he referred.

The Hon. Longfellow rose in the height of rectitude and temper, and after expressing surprise at a Law Member committing the inconceivable crime of agreeing with the Government had a mighty fling at the "semi-official view" of Hooda. But while guarding himself from a possible misapprehension allowed himself to fall into one that was certain. "I should like to guard myself from one misapprehension, and that is that the views that I am giving expression to are my personal views." Is that a misapprehension, and if so whose were the views? However, let us "take it as read"—rather "as meant"—and proceed. "I know that my community does not share my views. It is not yet educated enough for that." Here is a sample of the self-satisfaction of Modern Behar,—first the praise of his own honesty and next the confession of his community's lack of education. Modesty, thy height is 6 feet 6 inches! Hon. Longfellow found occasion to praise the eminent Moslem jurist, the Right Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali, and for once agreed with him for the good reason—the best reason of all—that Mr. Ameer Ali agreed with him. Let the eminent Moslem jurist beware. He would disagree with Longfellow in future at the eminent peril of his juristic eminence. The king-maker can unmake kings as easily as he can make them. For the present Hon. Longfellow has made him by Special Appointment his Sole Leader. "I refuse to follow others, however eminent they be." One thing particularly good about Hon. Longfellow. There is no mistaking his meaning. He signs this wise. If the Bill is in conformity with Moslem Law, Government should support. If against it, he would be the last to advocate it. It is undoubtedly in conformity with Moslem Law, for he and Mr. Ameer Ali say that Mussalmans can marry Hindu women and Akbar did it, and even if the Bill was passed, who would ever think of giving a Moslem girl in marriage to a Hindu? Do you say, in that case the Bill is superfluous? But do not forget that a single bridegroom does not make a wedding. Imitate not the absent-minded bridegroom who came to the church with best man and wedding ring, clergyman and all, but had forgotten to propose to a girl and be accepted by her. And if you remember that a bride is equally necessary, you can forget if you like that Hon. Longfellow would not advocate the passage of the Bill if not in conformity with Moslem Law and as a good Behari should not advocate it if it conflicts with Hindu Law. As for Roland Wilson, what does he know? Has he read "the great histories written in the Persian language" which are too numerous to name? No; Moslem Law allows the marriage of Moslems not only with Christian and Jewish women, but also with free-thinkers and Zoroastrians, and Dashing Boy should note that Moslem affections not confined to Jodhpur but may travel in the direction of the spectacled, badminton playing, Home-Sweet-Home-singing Reshma Bai as well. But there was another consideration which induced Hon. Longfellow to accord Bhupen Babu his emphatic support. Islamic countries throughout the world in a state of general stagnation. "My community has ceased to produce liberal thinkers. We have reached the zenith of our degradation." All that is needed is intermarriage and little Abu Hanifas and tiny Ghazzalis would soon litter up the domestic floors of the intermarried couples. Would not that be the nadir of Longfellow's elevation? Prophesied the approaching millennium "in the precincts of the zenana," and the coming of Christabel Pankhursts demanding the rights "given to them by God and nature but denied to them by man in India." Wonder whether their war-cry would be "Votes for women" or "Mixed wives for men." As a parting shot, denounced the views of Hooda on representation. Once having scrambled in, "I do not like to resign my seat and give opportunity to people like Hooda with the rusty conservative views of 2,000 years ago." Shabash, Modern Behar. "Shovanallah, Shovanallah" as the Patrika would say.

Late in the day, the Mild Hindu came in with a reasonable appeal, but as Cheery Chutnis had said, "ignorant conservatism was deaf to reason." Even the Brahmos were not permitted to be something positive instead of a bundle of negations. The Council then adjourned for dinner and breakfast, for it was past six.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Italy replied to the Powers' enquiry as to the terms on which she would accept friendly mediation, and has stated her terms.

The Aden correspondent of the *Times of India*, writing on 10th March says that the Mahdi, of Asir is now investing the Turkish port of Meedi which lies about two days from Hodeida and is garrisoned by some 200 Turkish troops. The Mahdi is reported to have sent in an ultimatum to the Turkish garrison asking them to evacuate the port or surrender, but as the Turks refused to comply with the request the Mahdi has despatched a force of several thousands to besiege and take the port.

According to private letters received by a native dhow from the Red Sea, the Mahdi's supporters have captured Meedi. It is rumoured that the Mahdi is intending to march against Lohia and other Turkish ports.

Advices state that General Saeed Facha, who has recently left Hodeida with a force of Turkish troops, has reached Azzohra, which is some hours away from the Turkish port of Lohia. It is expected that the General will advance from Azzohra with several battalions of Turkish troops, equipped with quick-firing guns, against the Mahdi and drive him out of Meedi.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 18th that it is understood that Italy's reply to the enquiries from the Powers suggests that Turkey will not be called upon to recognise the annexation of Tripoli, but that Turkish troops shall be withdrawn from Northern Africa. It is considered certain that the Porte will not accede to the proposals.

The Porte has received assurances that the Powers do not intend, as rumoured, to bring energetic pressure to bear for the purpose of ending the war, nor do they intend to depart from their policy of strict neutrality.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Rome, February 23.

The Bill ratifying the decree for the annexation of Tripoli was discussed to day before an unusually full Chamber, 472 Deputies being present. The temper of the House scarcely permitted hostile comment.

Baron Sonnino, in a coldly impartial speech, while reserving for later discussion the responsibility of the Government in regard to its defective diplomatic and military preparations, announced the consent of his party to complete the annexation.

Sig. Bissolati, Sociali, made a moderate speech in which, while deprecating the enterprise in Tripoli, declared his unwillingness to dissociate himself from the voice of the country.

Sig. Cicotti, the only Radical speaker entirely hostile, gave as his opinion that a costly war would result in Italy's becoming a simple appendix to Tripoli.

The Chamber refused to hear Sig. Turati, the leader of the Socialist majority, who was practically shouted down.

Rome, February 23.

Sig. Giolitti, the Premier, winding up the debate on the Annexation Bill, said he agreed with Baron Sonnino that that day's vote should not be regarded as signifying political confidence in the Government. The matter was a much more loft one, as it touched the supreme interests of the country. The example of all civilized countries proved that the colonial problem made itself felt as a supreme necessity. He wished with all his heart that there were no wars other than colonial wars, which were wars of civilization. Sig. Giolitti then proceeded to give the true reasons which determined him and his colleagues in the Cabinet to enter on their enterprise, not through enthusiasm, but with calm reflection and conviction, as a really national necessity in order to avoid very grave dangers which in a short time they would have had to deplore. Italy could never have tolerated the occupation of Tripoli, her steadfast goal by others, and further delay might have led to terrible conflicts. Italy, he said, could not consent to Turkish sovereignty continuing over Tripoli. In order to dispel all illusions, to demonstrate that the country was determined at all price to refuse any compromise, and so that friends, allies, and foes might know the point beyond which Italy could not go in her concessions, the decree was an absolute necessity. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

The Chamber then voted by secret ballot on the Bill, and adopted it by 423 votes to 9.—(Reuter.)

It was announced in the *Times* that representations had been made by the Egyptian Government to the Italian Government on the question of the recruiting of troops in Eritrea for employment in Tripoli. There is reason to believe that the view taken by the Italian Government of its rights in the matter is supported by the British Government.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Rome, February 25.

The Italian Government has no reason to regret its appeal to Parliament. Out of an unusually full Chamber of 470 Deputies 431 voted for the Tripoli Annexation Bill. In the Senate yesterday all the members present, 222 in number, including the Dukes of Aosta and Genoa, voted for the measure unanimously. The intervention in debate of two members of the Royal Family added not a little both to the solemnity of the occasion and to the warmth of the patriotic demonstration made by the Upper House.

A Stefani Agency telegram announces that the officer commanding the Italian blockading squadron in the Red Sea has permitted the approach to Hodeidah of the Messageries Maritimes steamer *Armand Rihet* which embarked and brought away from that port 31 Europeans and six Somalis, French subjects. No opposition was offered by the Turkish authorities.

Letters received from Yemen announce that the Imam Yahya remains on good terms with the local authorities and will co-operate with them against Syed Idris of Assyr, who is said to have received two machine guns and a large amount of ammunition from the Italians and to be contemplating an advance into Hedjaz. The Turkish garrison of the province has suffered rather severely from fever and dysentery, it having become necessary to station a considerable number of units on the unhealthy coast of the Red Sea to prevent smuggling and to protect the coast towns from an Italian raid.

We have received a copy of a memorandum, issued by the Italian Foreign Office, which gives in detail the evidence supplied by the military authorities in Tripoli of the atrocities alleged against the Arabs in the actions of 23rd and 26th October. The evidence is supplemented with photographs, and some reasons are given for the belief that dum dum bullets have been used against the Italian troops.

The main evidence was summarized in a telegram despatched by our correspondent in Tripoli after a visit to El Henni, the scene of the atrocities of 23rd October and published in the *Times* of 30th November.

Constantinople, February 27.

An Italian warship was sighted off Mersina, in Asiatic Turkey, yesterday. She intercepted an Austrian Lloyd steamer conveying material destined for the Baghdad Railway, but, after examining the vessel, allowed her to proceed.

The Council of Ministers to day discussed the question of how to deal with the property and other effects of Italians, whose expulsion from Palestine and Syria has already been decreed. The Council has also decided to expel the Italians from the Lebanon region.—(Reuter.)

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Rome, February 28.

GENERAL REISOLI, commanding at Homs, telegraphs that yesterday morning at 7 o'clock the Italian troops occupied the heights of Merghel, putting to flight the Turkish and Arab forces after sharp fighting. The enemy suffered heavy losses, and the bodies of many Turkish regulars were found on the field. Among others, the killed included a Turkish captain and an Arab chief, the brother of the Turkish Deputy for Mesellata. The Italians lost 11 killed and 82 wounded.

February 26.

The Bill introduced in the Chamber last Saturday, authorizing the extraordinary expenditure made on behalf of the expedition to Tripoli, deals with a total sum of little over £8,000,000. Of this nearly £4,000,000 goes to defray the cost of the expeditionary corps from the end of last September to the end of this month of February, five months in all, it includes the transport of troops and stores of every kind from food and clothing to aeroplanes, and the actual maintenance of the troops in Tripoli. The value of material of all kinds which removed to Tripoli, has had to be replaced in Italy is estimated at £1,680,000. The increased naval expenditure involved by the expedition is estimated at £1,200,000. Another sum of £800,000 will be necessary to complete the restoration of material removed to the seat of war. And, finally, £600,000 is

23rd March.

already engaged for the purchase of animals, mules, camels, and other accessories necessary for the formation of the new colonial corps. The total sum of £8,000,000 will be provided for by the Treasury balance, June, 1911, of £2,280,000; by the balance expected on the Budget of 1911-12; and the remainder will be distributed in six equal portions over the Budgets from 1912 to 1918.

Rome, February 20.

The engagement at Margheb on Tuesday was one of the most hotly contested in the campaign. It is calculated that at least 5,000 of the enemy took part in the fight, and that probably more than 500 of these were killed. The Italian casualties were 14 killed, including two officers, and 100 wounded, including 11 officers. A good deal of hand-to-hand fighting took place, in which the Italian troops, especially the Alpini, displayed admirable dash and tenacity. More than one attempt was made yesterday to recapture the position, but the enemy were always easily repulsed, and the post is now furnished with artillery for its defence. The result of the operation will be to free Homs from the incessant and harassing attacks made upon it from that quarter.

Intervention.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, February 27.

The French Press comments favourably on the unanimity displayed at yesterday's sitting of the Italian Chamber. The action of a number of Socialists and advanced Radicals in voting with the Government is considered to be sufficient proof that the nation as a whole is determined on the prosecution of the war. The *Temps* says that Italy has been the gainer by the improved condition of international affairs. Her relations with Austria-Hungary have become more cordial, there is a better understanding between Vienna and St Petersburg, and purpurers between England and Germany have already resulted in creating a salutary *détente* between those two countries. The Italian Government, therefore, stands in a better position either for inspiring Turkey with a desire for peace or for prosecuting the war with less fear of intervention on the part of Europe.

Vienna, February 27.

The Italian support of Syed Idris, the visit of Maitre Salem to Rome "on business," the unanimous enthusiasm of the Italian Chamber, and the undivided situation in Macedonia encourage a belief, or at least a hope, in several quarters here that negotiations for peace may be within sight. Maitre Salem, although for some years past technically an Italian subject, is an influential Turkish Freemason, a close friend of Djavid and Talaat Beys, and an influential member of the Sephardic Jewish community in the Levant. While ostensibly in Rome for the purpose of securing Italian financial help for the Salonika Jewish bankers, Allatini and Modiano, Maitre Salem, who enjoys the reputation of being one of the deepest wells in Turkey, has been received by the Marquess di San Giuliano, Signor Giolitti—and by the Grand Orient of Rome. It is thought possible in diplomatic circles here that his reports—albeit quite unofficial and, indeed, brotherly—to Djavid and Talaat Beys and the Committee of Union and Progress may help to clarify Turkish notions as to the imminent bankruptcy of Italy, and the chances both of a Parliamentary revolt against the Giolitti Cabinet and of a popular revolt against the House of Savoy.

However little truth there may be in a despatch from Salonika to the *Zerst* this evening that the Turkish commander at Uskub, Djavid Pasha, has been ordered by Mahmut Shevket to concentrate at Uskub without delay the garrisons of Semiza, Plevlie, Priepolie and Yenibazar in view of a possible Austro-Hungarian occupation of the Sanjak of Novi Bazar, it is certain that the Austro-Hungarian authorities would regard the Balkan outlook with greater composure were the Turco-Italian conflict to be settled before the "melting of the snows."

Vienna, February 27.

An official telegram from Constantinople states that the Ottoman Ambassadors have been instructed to declare emphatically to the Great Powers that no agreement with Italy is possible on the basis of the Italian decree of annexation.

Seeing that the decree of annexation has been ratified by an enormous majority in the Italian Chamber and unanimously by the Senate, the attitude of Turkey would appear to exclude all prospect of peace in the near future. Nothing positive is known here concerning the reported action of Russia with the support of Great Britain and France in favour of peace, but it is not believed that, if such action be contemplated, Austria-Hungary and Germany will associate themselves very energetically with it. The mood of Turkey is apparently not thought favourable for successful intervention at present.

Paris, February 27.

The French Ambassador in Rome has been instructed to ask the Italian Government for detailed information with regard to the

Beirut incident, and to draw attention to the importance of French interests in Syria, and to the consequences which would attend any extension of Italian naval operations in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Various reports have been current with regard to the eventual attitude of France if the Powers should agree to intervene with a view to ending the war between Italy and Turkey. According to these reports, France and the two other members of the Triple Entente are disposed—provided that Germany and Austria-Hungary joined in their action—to exert pressure on the Porte in order to secure the withdrawal of Turkish Troops from Tripoli and the cessation of hostilities. The French telegraph agency this evening issues a statement to the effect that the French Government is prepared to associate itself in any steps which the Powers may collectively take in order to approach both belligerents with a view to discovering a basis for mediation.

From this statement it is clear that, in the opinion of responsible French quarters, if attempts at mediation are to be successful, they must be collective and must apply to both belligerents. The difficulty of the situation is that, in face of the Italian annexation decree, Turkey can scarcely be expected to withdraw her troops from Tripoli and thus expose the Constantinople Government to the resentment of the Arab populations throughout the Ottoman Empire. But, if the Powers exerted their joint efforts in favour of peace it is not likely that Turkey would be urged to accept the Italian terms unconditionally and without an equitable arrangement.

Constantinople, February 28.

The German Embassy has protested to the Porte against any distinction being made in the treatment of Italian religious establishments in Palestine hitherto under the protection of the Italian Government and those under the protection of other Powers inasmuch as German protection has now been extended to the institutions which formerly enjoyed Italian protection.

It is estimated that between 6,000 and 7,000 persons will be affected by the decree for the expulsion of Italian subjects, a large number of them being workmen employed on the Baghdad Railway at Aleppo. Material difficulties in the way of expulsion will probably compel the Government to extend the respite of 15 days, especially as it will be necessary to charter neutral vessels to carry the exiles.—*Kreuter*

Paris, February 28.

The prospect of developments in Crete which might provoke a conflagration in the Balkans has stimulated discussion of the chances of successful mediation by the Powers between Italy and Turkey. It is a hopeful sign that possibilities of this kind should continue to be discussed, notwithstanding the fact that the annexation vote in the Italian Parliament appears to have precluded any settlement on the basis either of Turkish suzerainty in Tripoli or of the *status quo ante* in Cyrenaica.

As a great Mussalmian Power, and in view of her extensive interests in the Levant, France cannot afford to take any initiative which would have the effect of compromising her position in the Mahomedan world. But the French Government is perfectly willing to associate itself with any collective action which the neutral Powers may agree to take provided that their influence is brought to bear equally upon both belligerents. As the *Miroir* observes, there is no reason why, notwithstanding the official annexation of Tripoli by Italy, the Powers should not attempt to discover a scheme of mutual concessions upon the basis of which peace might be concluded. If as M. André Mévil, in the *Echo de Paris*, asserts, Russia's mediation proposals were not marked by sufficient regard for Turkish susceptibilities to render them acceptable to Germany, there ought not to be any serious difficulty in making good this deficiency. The hope is expressed that the views which are attributed to the new Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, Count Berchtold, may prove to be significant in this sense.

As regards Italy the French Ambassador's inquiries in Rome yesterday with regard to the Beirut incident are calculated to make the Italian Government reflect upon the problematical consequences from an international point of view of an indiscriminate extension of naval operations in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Vienna, February 28.

The *Neue Freie Presse* confirms to-day, in a telegram from Berlin, the announcement of the *Maien* in regard to mediation by the Powers in favour of peace, but suggests that the present moment is scarcely adapted for such an initiative. The semi-official *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* argues this evening that peace is impossible as long as Turkey and Italy maintain their respective standpoints, and concludes that the only means of attaining peace will be for Italy to crush the Turkish forces in Tripoli, and to conquer the territory she has annexed.

Berlin, February 29.

Although no formal announcement has been published here, it is now being made evident that Germany and Austria-Hungary have given a favourable reception to the recent Russian proposals with

a view to the restoration of peace between Italy and Turkey. The more favourable attitude of the German Government towards joint efforts by the Powers has already been commented upon. In view of some unfortunate statements, especially in a Paris newspaper, to the effect that Germany and Austria-Hungary were hindering mediation, two Berlin journals assert to-night that both Germany and Austria-Hungary even anticipated England and France in showing favour to the suggestions of Russia. The point is a small one, but indicates a sensitiveness which will have to be respected, if the present tentative efforts are to bear any good fruit.

For the present the Russian proposals for the co-operation of the five Powers are necessarily vague. The version of them is no doubt correct which says that inquiries are in the first instance to be addressed to Rome in order that the Powers might then be able, roughly speaking, to approach Constantinople with a knowledge of what Italy could and would give under the sanction and guarantee of the mediating Powers. There is obviously no great reason for optimism regarding the ultimate success of the mediation, but, as the *Cologne Gazette* remarks to-night, it is matter for satisfaction that the Great Powers have now emerged from their attitude of reserve. So far as can be seen the present proposals of Russia do not differ considerably from those which were made and rejected many weeks ago. The new proposals differ in fact from the old mainly in the time of their presentation.

The attitude of the journals which are in the closest touch with the Foreign Office is, of course, in sympathy with the attitude which has been adopted by Herr von Kiderlen-Waechter. A few Chauvinist journals—and the epithet Chauvinist is in this matter about equivalent to either anti-Italian or pro-Turkish—continue to argue on behalf of "absolute neutrality." It is, however, doubtful whether even these quarters can develop a serious campaign against mediation, in view of the general weariness at the war, and at the ambiguous position which Germany occupies in view of her respective relations to Italy and to Turkey.

Rome, February 29.
The Italian newspapers, Ministerial and other, adopt a reserved attitude in discussing the peace overtures set on foot by Russia. The anxiety of the five Powers to discover a means of putting an end to the war is considered as a recognition on their part of the loyal attempts made by Italy to restrict in their common interests her field of combat. As Italy, however, has clearly announced the sole terms upon which peace would be possible—namely, her full and absolute sovereignty in Tripoli—it is taken for granted that any overtures made by the peace-making Powers will be based upon those irreducible terms. With those overtures, therefore, Italy cannot be immediately concerned, since, by the nature of the case, they must be addressed directly to the Sublime Porte, and not to her. In no Italian journal is there any hint of the possibility of a compromise on any terms.

A violent scene was created in the Chamber to-day by the Socialists on the pretence that their votes during the secret ballot on the Annexation Bill had not been correctly registered. Their complaints, however, failed to find any sympathy in the Chamber which plainly disbelieved that the officials could have been in fault, and the matter was dropped by common consent.

Italian Action in Beirut.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Feb. 25.

According to the latest news from Beirut, the local authorities are confident of their ability to prevent disturbances. The refusal of the Moslems who plundered the arms dépôl to surrender their arms aroused natural alarm in the foreign and Christian communities but panic was largely allayed by the promptitude with which the Vahid took measures for the maintenance of order and summoned Turkish troops from Damascus. An attempt by a number of prisoners to escape from the local gaol was frustrated by the police and martial law has since been proclaimed.

The Italian warships remained all night in the offing but made no further hostile demonstration.

There is reason to believe that the two Turkish warships were scuttled by their own crews as soon as the attack began, neither being in a position to offer any effective resistance. The *Angora* was only a torpedo-boat. The *Awni-Ullah*, however interesting as a naval antiquity, was utterly useless as a fighting ship. She belonged to the group of ancient coast defence ironclads facetiously described by the British officers in the Ottoman service as the "Buffalo class" on account of their constant need of water to replenish their boilers.

The casualties on shore were caused by splinters and ricochets, it being as impossible to sink vessels by shell fire in the small harbour of Beirut without doing damage ashore as it would be to shell a company of infantry out of Trafalgar-square without breaking windows. It may, indeed, be asked whether the Italian triumph was worth the loss of non-combatant life actually caused or the risk of provoking a serious riot in a turbulent town.

In Turkish official circles the suggestion that such operations are likely to weaken the Government's determination to continue the struggle is laughed to scorn. Meanwhile the Council of Ministers has decided, as a retaliatory, perhaps too as a precautionary, measure to instruct the Governors of Aleppo, Beirut and Damascus to warn Italian residents in these provinces to leave the Turkish dominions within a fortnight's time. It is believed that further attacks on the Ottoman coasts will be followed by an extension of this measure to other vilayets. The necessary orders were communicated to-night to the Syrian Valis, who are at the same time bidden to protect Italians, pending expulsion, against popular hostility. The Turkish battleship *Awni-Ullah* was built at Blackwall in 1869 and reconstructed in 1903-04 by the Italian firm Ansaldo. Originally her speed was from 12.5 to 14 knots. Her displacement was 2,314 tons, and she carried four 6in. quick-firing guns in addition to smaller armament.

The Turkish torpedo-boat *Angora* was built in 1906. She was of 177 tons displacement and her extreme speed was 27 knots.

The *Gambaldi* and the *Perrucco* are armoured cruisers of 7,400 tons displacement with a speed of 20 knots. Their principal armament consists of one 10in. breech-loading gun forward and two 8in. breech-loading guns aft and 14 6in. quick-firing guns. The former vessel was laid down in September, 1898, and the latter in 1899.

Beirut is not fortified or protected by any long-range guns. The harbour, which is an artificial one with an undefended entrance, was constructed under French auspices about 15 years ago. It is an open but deep-watered bay with a granite pier thrown across the mouth, a narrow entrance being left at the north-west between the pier and the northern point of the bay. The ground rises gradually from the harbour all round, giving the town the appearance of an amphitheatre. The old walled city lies close to the water on low ground, the official residence of the Vali being just outside its walls to the north. The barracks stand on the higher ground behind and are the most prominent buildings in the place. The length of the harbour face is not more than 400 yards and its breadth about 300. It is usually well filled with shipping. French, Austrian and Khedivial mail steamers ply regularly to it and it is seldom without one or two British tramp steamers. There is always a good number also of smaller local sailing craft engaged in coastal trade. There is a small foreign population resident in the town, which includes a number of Italians.

Constantinople, Feb. 24.

It was recently announced that the Porte had under consideration a proposal to memorialize the Powers, warning them of its determination to close the Dardanelles and to expel all Italians from Turkey in the event of the Italian warships extending operations to the Aegean Sea. Notwithstanding advice to the contrary from diplomatic quarters, the Porte to-day addressed a circular to that effect to the Powers in consequence of the reports of the departure of Admiral Aubry's squadron from Otranto.—*Reuter*

Malta, Feb. 25.

His Majesty's cruiser *Lancaster* has left. It is stated that she is going to protect British interests in the Aegean Sea.—*Reuter*.

Reuter's Agency learns that on Sunday night the Turkish Ambassador communicated to the British Government a protest of the Ottoman Government against the action of the Italians in firing upon the Turkish ships at Beirut when 20 minutes only had elapsed after the first Italian notice. The Porte insists that this conduct is a violation of Articles 1 and 2 of the Ninth Convention of The Hague.

The Turkish Ambassador in London yesterday officially communicated to the Foreign Office a Note addressed by the Porte to the Powers which guarantee the integrity of the Turkish Empire, protesting against the law just passed by the Italian Parliament annexing the Turkish provinces of Tripoli and Cyrenaica.

In the House of Commons, Mr. M. Sykes (Hull, Central Opp.) asked whether the Secretary for Foreign Affairs had any official information regarding the events which took place in Beirut during and after the time Italian warships were engaged in sinking two Turkish warships in Beirut harbour; whether the action of the Italian warships endangered the lives or property of British subjects, and whether such action had had a prejudicial effect on the security of British residents and native Christians in Syria and Palestine.

Mr. Acland in reply said.—I am informed by His Majesty's Consul-General that, during the sinking of the Turkish warships, the Ottoman Bank, the Salonica Bank, the Custom House and an hotel were damaged by shells. The buildings hit are on the quay near the harbour, and the damage done to them is entirely connected with the sinking of the Turkish vessels which replied to the Italian fire. His Majesty's Consul-General has reported no injury to British subjects, and states that the civil and military authorities

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acted promptly to prevent disorder. His Majesty's Consul-General, who was consulted as to whether the presence of a British vessel was advisable, has replied that it is unnecessary and that the town is quiet.

News from Turkish Sources.

(FROM THE "TANIN.")
(Specially Translated for the "Comrade.")

From the Agence Ottomane

According to the investigations of the Commander-General at Benghazi it appears that the Italians are subjecting the people of the town of Derna to very harsh treatment. So far six have been hanged and seventy banished to Italy. The people of the town are full of feelings of hatred against Italians.

From the Ministry of War.

The Commandant near Benghazi reports as under: On the 30th January (old style) a night attack was made on Derna a little after midnight. In spite of the fact that in addition to mitrailleuses and the artillery on shore, the guns of the fleet of the enemy also took part in the engagement, and they turned their searchlights also on us, we entered two forts and partially destroyed them. A party of our *Mujahids* succeeded in reaching the place where the guns were put in position, and having killed some gunners silenced their guns. Meanwhile some shells from the guns of their fleet dropped on their own forts and killed a considerable number of the enemy. Hand grenades were used by the Italians. The encounter lasted three hours, and it is estimated that the loss of the enemy was very great.

(FROM THE "JEUNE TURC")

(Specially translated for the "Comrade.")

OUR friend Emir Suleiman, a well known Ottoman patriot, residing in Hungary, has just arrived from Benghazi, where he spent some months in the Ottoman camps. He assured us that the state of our combatants in Cyrenia is excellent in every way. They have an enormous quantity of ammunitions and provisions which would enable them to resist for several years. As to their enthusiasm it is above all that can be imagined; it even surpasses their deep hatred of the Italians. They therefore look upon the end of the war calmly. Redjeb Effendi Mohamed, who accompanied the Emir in his travels, has also returned to Constantinople.

We gave some days ago details of the new plan of campaign worked out by General Caneva, and approved of by the Italian Government. The detailed information transmitted by the correspondent of the *Times* at Rome on this subject, which will be read as a further confirmation of our own information, shows that after the bitter disillusionment about the "military airing" which was to have lasted some weeks only and to end in the desired result, they have decided in Italy to hang on on a programme of colonial campaign of long duration. Will Italy be able to bear the heavy burden of the sacrifices called upon by such a war, which may last long years? The future will reveal it to us.

It is true they count on eventual troubles in Yemen. But what have they not counted upon since the beginning of hostilities? And yet we have seen the results of it. The reason is that these calculations fail in their foundation. The share of the Southern imagination is stronger there than that of reason and of the real knowledge of things. Time will show!

General Caneva has induced the Government to approve of his programme of action in Africa, a programme which may be summed up thus: to consolidate and complete the occupation of the coast, and conquer the interior step by step. The occupation of Tripoli, Khoms, Benghazi, Derna and of Tobruk, will be followed perhaps by those of some other coasting places, always with the object, quite understood, of cutting the communications of the enemy with the sea. The Turco-Arabs, forced to remain in the desert, or in unproductive regions in the interior, will not be long, as assured by General Caneva, in experiencing the full rigour of the sufferings of famine, and in dispersing themselves. In the meantime, the Italians will bring about a political action with the Arabs, in order to separate them by degrees from the Turks. It is with this double politico-military operation, accompanied by vigorous attacks against the enemy each time, that there will be an opportunity which the Commander-in-Chief of the army in Africa thinks is quite sure to lead the colonial campaign to the decisive submission of the Tripolitaine and Cyrenaica. Besides it is stated with assurance that he is training native troops who are expected to fight along with the Italians. The Ascar battalions of Erythria, mostly Mussalmans, arriving lately in Tripoli, are going to be the first nucleus around which will be grouped the native soldiers. Italy can depend on the loyalty of those Ascaris of Erythria though they be Mussalmans, their faithfulness having been tried on numberless occasions in their own country without a single failure. On the other hand, Italy has already a blissful experience of the endurance

of the Ascaris Arabs. In fact in the Southern Somali (Bacadir) there are militias formed of Arabs of Yemen who have fought well and are admirably organized. And for some weeks they have formed at Benghazi, with Arabs from Cyrenaica, a first battalion of native cavalry, to serve for Italy, composed of about a hundred cavalry men who have fought bravely against the Bedouins in a brisk encounter some days ago. Surrounded by the Ascaris of Erythria, of whom other battalions will be coming in the towns occupied by the Italians, the Arabs will always be, according to the provisions of General Caneva, excellent soldiers who will oppose to the Turco-Arabs the same rapidity, frugality and tactics, and could render serious services, especially in the flying operations.

Will the Italians get to the heights of Garian? Undoubtedly in time, and even yet beyond, but it is one thing to reach it by a tactical march ahead, and another thing to arrive by a colonial march.

To lead with tact an expedition of a corps of twenty thousand men through hundred kilometers of desert, carrying everything from water to wood, from the artillery to the smallest quantity of food, at the same time obliged to safeguard the communications between the base of operation and the vanguard, all this presents great difficulties and enormous expense. But the Commander-in-Chief has the necessary means to carry out this plan, and he has even prepared it in its smallest details.

It seems, however, that General Caneva has proved to the Government that the result of such an enterprise will not justify the financial and military effort necessary to accomplish it. In fact the Turks would run away before the invading army as they have always done when the Italians have tried to march forward, dispersing rapidly on every side, worrying the rear-guard, harassing the columns of *ravatissim*, and always avoiding to give to the Italians the means of having a decisive tactical success. It would be, on the whole, to favour the plans of the Turks, who wish to lure their adversaries into the desert, obliging them to make a great effort without even leaving them the satisfaction of a real battle, and wearing them out by a long guerilla war.

General Caneva is of opinion that Italy must not commit such an error, and the Government approved of it.

Youssouf Chetvan Bey, ex-Deputy of Benghazi, had addressed to the Minister of War the following despatch dated 13th February:—The enemy that had been defeated at each attempt at sallying out had come to the decision not to sally out any more but to remain in its own entrenchments. Last night an attack directed by Enver Bey against the positions of the enemy was a brilliant success. Two important forts built by the Italians at half an hour's distance from Derna have been destroyed and several hundred of the enemy have been killed. A large quantity of arms and ammunition was taken from the enemy. We had 40 killed and 50 wounded. This attack has completely demoralized the Italians.

Mr Tedesco, Minister of the Treasury, has deposited with the Committee of the Chamber a project tending to convert into law the decrees opening extraordinary credit of 140 millions of lire (Italian money) in favor of the Minister of War and 30 millions in favor of the Minister of the Marine. From the 140 millions allotted to the Minister of War, 98 millions are destined to cover the expenses of the expeditionary corps up to the end of February. The project provides also a new loan of 35 millions for the expenses of re warehousing of material and other expenses for the army.

The whole expenditure will be covered by the balances of the budgets and by a trust (loan) entered in the budget up to 1917-18.

The project provides besides a loan of 10,600,000 lire, for harbour works and the establishment of diverse services in Libya.

Anglo-Turkish Relations.

(FROM THE "TANIN.")
(Specially Translated for the "Comrade.")

LATELY the papers have written a good deal about Anglo-Turkish relations . . . In an article in *Sabah*, discussing the recent memorial from London, the contention is made that the memorial does not contain any reference to any party or personality. Thinking that perhaps I had not read it with sufficient attention in the *Times*, I read it again in the *Near East* received this week. And I found that the tone of the memorial was really more commanding and aggressive than I had at first imagined. From it one gathers that there is in Turkey a dominant tyrannous community as also subject and oppressed nationalities.

As to who are the alleged oppressed nationalities one has not been left in doubt. There only remains a community accused by the memorialists of tyranny and maladministration, and they are Turks. I belong to Anatoli and am a Turk from my mother's as well as father's side. Now reading it with the feelings of a Turk I could not follow the logic of the writers.

Based on historical ground, the Turks have, all of them, shown very deep affection for Englishmen. And today too they

is a large number of them still animated by the same feelings. I have lived for eighteen years in England and am an admirer of the solid and sterling individual qualities of the people of that country and the greatness of their public. During this long period I tried to the best of my ability to understand the Eastern policy of England. For us the friendship of England is a great desideratum. Granted. But the British Government of the day should also be expected to give us actual and material assistance in reciprocity for this friendship. On the establishment of the Constitution we were the recipients of the good wishes and courtesies of the British public. We are grateful for these attentions. To us were addressed innumerable "counsels of perfection" from the British Government and the organs of its foreign policy. To-day's *Ikdam* regrets that we did not act according to these counsels. I admit the necessity of getting English experts to administer certain of our departments, but I pity that Government which should formulate its policy on the advice of a foreign Government whose policy naturally rests in securing advantage to itself. If people who discuss these questions did only give some thought to the dignity of Ottoman independence, I believe our international status will be treated with greater consideration.

In fine, I am not aware of England having extended any very great material help to our Constitutional régime. After the promulgation of the Constitution at a time when the premiership of Kiamil Pasha was at its brightest, efforts were made to secure a loan through our Embassy in London. The great plutocrat Lord Rothschild was approached. The time for a great loan had not, we were reminded, arrived yet, and friendly advice was offered that if such and such reforms were carried out, means for a loan would be found. Many mistakes have been made in carrying the work of Government, but all the same the path of improvement has been steadily pursued.

If the British Government had at that time supported the proposal of the Cabinet of Kiamil Pasha, English capitalists would certainly have arranged the loan. When the Ottoman Government began to try to get some money from other quarters, quite a large number of English papers, headed by the *Times*, indulged in every conceivable criticism to frustrate the negotiations. The Turks were accused of arming themselves excessively and harbouring aggressive military designs. Such deliberate misrepresentation of a step for home defence causes a wound in the heart of every Turk. We should not increase by improving our military power, the defensive capacity of our country, already under the focus of foreign designs; then should we leave our territorial integrity to the sweet will of others? We have seen bitter examples of the violation of our territorial integrity guaranteed from outside. If there are still amongst us people who pin faith on that compact of integrity, I cannot help pitying them.

What compelled me to write against the Eastern policy of the present British Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey, is this point, which I want to elucidate a little further, as it has a great bearing on the Anglo-Turkish relations, i.e., I wish to refer to the attitude adopted by him with regard to the Turco-Italian war. The Italians, who have proved that they are incapable of declaring and carrying a war according to the ethics of civilization, have not left neutral ships unscathed. The French taught a lesson to the Italians when they offered an insult to the French flag. But we see that Italy is playing ducks and drakes with many ships on which the Union Jack flutters; and yet not a word of remonstrance is heard from the British Government. Had a Palmerston, a Beaconsfield, I can even say a Gladstone—that enemy of our nationality and religion—been living, not one of them would have hesitated to order his admirals to send the Italian men-of-war to the bottom if they defied the flag on the high seas in such manner.

In conclusion, let me say that it, as is hoped, the friendly relations between the British Government and ours will be strengthened as a result of the feelings of regard and amity that we entertain, we may also see the refreshing sight of indications of such feeling in the pages of the daily and periodical press of England.

KHAUL KHAWI

(Late Lecturer in the University of Cambridge)

The British Red Crescent Mission.

We have received from the Rt. Hon'ble Mr Ameer Ali the following letter addressed to him by the Manager of the British Red Crescent Mission to Tripoli despatched for the relief of the Turkish sick and wounded and starving non-combatants:—

Sfax, 20th February 1912.

DEAR MR. AMEER ALI,

First I must thank you for myself and for the staff of the Mission for your kind telegram wishing us Godspeed. We all very much appreciate your kind thought.

We left Marseilles in beautiful weather sharp at 12 noon on the 16th instant. We reached Bizerte at 6:30 p.m. Saturday evening. The Consul Mr. Burke came on board to receive us and to offer us

any assistance we might require. We left again at 12 midnight and reached Tunis the following morning about 7 A.M. The Dragoman from the Consulate awaited us on the quay. At 9:30 I visited the Consulate and saw the Vice-Consul Mr. Goodwin who went with me to the French Residency and we ascertained that the frontier officers had all been communicated with and instructed to give us assistance and facilitate our journey. We left again at 2 P.M., and reached here the following day about 9:30 A.M. A deputation of French ladies and also one English lady belonging to the local Red Cross Society came on board to welcome us, also Mr. Leonardi, the Consul, and his brother, Mr. William Leonardi. On the quay we were introduced to all the leading Arab chiefs, who gave us a most hearty welcome; it was really quite touching to see how pleased they were to see us. They all seemed so grateful that help should have been sent. They had carriages waiting and we drove in state to the hotel. Mr. Leonardi has done a very great deal for us.

This afternoon a deputation of the Arab chiefs called upon us and invited us to dine with them to-morrow, and of course we accepted. They also expressed to us their great love for England and their gratitude at our arrival. I said I would write and tell you and the other members of the Society in England what a kind welcome they had given us. I explained to them how funds had been subscribed to send the mission both in England and in India, and how pleased the subscribers would be to hear what a reception we had received as their representatives.

I do wish the English people, and especially the Government, would realize what a marvellous sympathy there is for England amongst these people, and in fact amongst all the Mohammedan races.

It is a great bond of sympathy which might be turned to such enormous mutual advantage.

Yours sincerely,

C. F. DIXON-JOHNSON.

England, Egypt and the War in Tripoli.

THE 29th of September was Lord Kitchener's first day as British Agent in Cairo. On the very next day Italy sent her ultimatum to Turkey, and on October 1st declared war upon the Ottoman Empire, of which Egypt forms an integral part. For many years the Italians had coveted that portion of the North African coast which lies opposite to their native shores, and both in speeches and in books their statesmen had advocated with the greatest vehemence the seizure of Tripoli. Italy's only rival in this proposed game of "grab" was Germany, and when events in Morocco were beginning to point to Germany's failure to obtain any footing in that country, there was some reason to suppose that the Kaiser would turn his attention to Tripoli. The Italians, therefore, felt that if the desired territory was not to slip from their grasp, they must seize upon it without delay. Preparations for war were hurriedly made, and already in the early summer of last year the plans were formulated.

Now it must be remembered that Italy is a nation with whom we are on the most friendly terms, but with whom Austria and Germany, in spite of the Triple Alliance, have many bones to pick. The events of last July showed the Italian statesmen very clearly that the strong policy of England and France would require all the attention of Austria and Germany for the next few months, and that the moment was thus opportune for an attack upon Tripoli which should not be impeded by European interference. Austria would not interfere, lest in so doing she should fail to be ready to help Germany in her war with England and France, which, at the time, seemed imminent and, in view of that coming war, neither France nor Germany were likely to worry her. England, however, had to be reckoned with, for, though our attention was fully occupied in Europe, it lay in our power to make the Tripoli expedition a most hazardous affair simply by permitting the Turks to march through Egypt to the seat of hostilities. Before the projected expedition could be launched, therefore, it was necessary for Italy to ascertain the attitude of England and to obtain her promise to hold Egypt neutral. This promise, however, could not be lightly given, for it might lead to grave complications with the Porte. Egypt is a vassal of Turkey, and is under the obligation to provide the suzerain State with an unlimited number of troops should she require them; and had the British not been the occupying power, the Nile Valley would certainly have formed the Turkish base. England, therefore, had to be consulted with regard to Tripoli, and her attitude to Italy recognised as absolutely friendly, before war could be declared.

No public statement has yet been made which would indicate that the British Government made any agreement with Italy last summer; but there can be very little doubt that some sort of understanding was arrived at. England, it would seem probable, consented to prevent Turkish troops from entering Tripoli via Egypt, and so far as possible to put a stop to all gun running or other

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belligerent enterprises. She appears to have undertaken to keep Egypt absolutely neutral and to allow the Porte no assistance from its vassal. The granting of these concessions to Italy are clearly indicated by our present actions in Egypt, which, as will be related below, are of a very deliberate nature; while the despatch of Lord Kitchener to Cairo and the outbreak of hostilities as soon as he had arrived in his new abode, can hardly be attributed to mere coincidence. It seems quite evident that our attitude to Italy was as follows. "Since it appears to be inevitable," said we, "that some European Power will pounce upon Tripoli, we in Egypt much prefer you as our neighbours to, say, the Germans, and though we do not wish to offend Turkey by actively taking your part, we will show our friendliness to you by holding Egypt neutral. To do this, however, we shall require to send a very strong man to Cairo, and you must promise not to declare war until he has arrived there. In return for our kindness to you we shall expect you to play a friendly part towards us in the event of a European conflagration."

Lord Kitchener, if the above suppositions are correct, found himself, on arriving in Egypt, in a situation which required very delicate handling, and when the expected Italian ultimatum was despatched and the expedition to Tripoli at last became a reality, he was called upon to face a possible crisis of the most violent nature. It is commonly said in Egypt that had he not been in that country during the early stages of the war, the situation would have been most dangerous. Thanks, however, to his great reputation and to the awe and reverence in which he is held, the situation is, on the whole, tranquil, and, so far as one can see, contains no elements of great danger. The Egyptians were delighted with his frankness and cordiality, and felt that in him they had a friend who would show them how to act in this difficult situation. Their sympathies are entirely with the Turks, their brother Mussalmans, and they believed that Lord Kitchener's prejudices were on the same side.

Early in the war he is said to have been approached by a number of Egyptian officers who asked permission to volunteer for active service in Tripoli. Lord Kitchener replied that he would gladly give them permission to do so, but that their vacant posts would have to be filled by junior officers, and they themselves would probably find on their return that they had been placed on the retired list, not by his wishes, but by reason of the upward pressure due to the congestion in the junior ranks. He advised them, therefore, to curb their heroic ambitions, so natural to Egyptians, and to stay at home which they did. At another time certain notables proposed that Egypt should send three or four regiments to the aid of the Turks. Lord Kitchener said that he would have no objection, but that, in order to preserve internal quiet, he would be obliged to replace the absent troops by an equal number of British regiments, at which the proposal was hastily withdrawn. A few weeks later a deputation of Bedouin chieftains waited on Lord Kitchener to ask him to permit them to gather their tribes and to travel into Tripoli to fight the Italians. His lordship congratulated them most heartily on their warlike qualities, which, he admitted, he had overlooked. He reminded them that up till now they, as nomads, had been exempt from service in the Egyptian Army, but that since they were thirsting in this manner for military glory, he felt that Egypt could ill afford to lose them, and he would see that they were conscribed for the army like the *Abbasin*. To these remarks he is said to have added that slight suggestion of a wink which is so well understood by the native to mean that it is best to keep quiet. Needless to say, they did not go to the war.

Thus, with the greatest tact he kept the country quiet, and even managed to enlist the sympathies of the native Press. It is true that he was prepared instantly to suppress any paper which published inflammatory articles, and actually did so in more than one case, but at the same time, there is no doubt that the tone of the editors was, on the whole, very friendly. Even the violent Sheikh Shurish told his readers that, after all, the English were not so bad, and that an amicable understanding with them was possible. British prestige rose to a level to which it had not attained since the last ten years of the Occupation, and the various English inspectors in the provinces state that the attitude of the natives towards them was unusually deferential.

When one remembers that at that time Christian Italy was attacking Moslem Turkey, Christian France and Spain were taking possession of Moslem Morocco and Christian Russia was preparing to advance into Moslem Persia, an outbreak of anti-Christian feeling in Egypt was naturally to be expected, and it came as no surprise, therefore, when a riot occurred in Alexandria which, for a short time, had a very ugly appearance. One day towards the end of October news reached Egypt that the Turks had driven the Italians out of Tripoli and that the war was at an end. This was received with the utmost joy by the low-class inhabitants of Alexandria, who are seldom on good terms with the Italians living in their midst, and they began to act in much the same manner as that in which we Londoners behaved after the relief of Mafeking. They paraded the streets, shouting and singing, and in many cases they "ragged" the Italians with whom

they met, knocking their hats off and hustling them. The victims at once took flight, and, the news being spread, the mob was met at a certain street corner by a compact body of Italians, who opened fire upon them with their revolvers, with the result that two or three natives were killed and several wounded. The police managed to disperse the crowd and on the next day, when the demonstration was renewed, the hoses of the municipal fire-engines were turned upon the mob and order was quickly restored. A detachment of British marines and bluejackets, which was landed from one of the battleships in the harbour for the ostensible purpose of carrying out certain ordinary manoeuvres, was received with wild enthusiasm by the European population, as though it had come to save them from dire peril. In Cairo on the same day there was a small disturbance in the native quarter, and an old man was arrested in the bazaars for preaching the Holy War. A much exaggerated account of the riot was cabled to certain London newspapers, and caused a flutter of nervousness amongst those persons who had intended to spend the winter in Egypt, many of whom wrote to the Egyptian hotel managers cancelling the accommodation which they had engaged. This single untruthful cablegram has caused an immense loss to those Egyptians and Europeans who care for the tourist, for the season has been, in consequence, a bad one up till now, although the tranquillity of the country is far greater than it was three or four years ago, or so it seems to a visitor.

When the late King George's passage through the Suez Canal drew near, the Egyptian nationalists evinced a keen desire that a Turkish prince of the Imperial House should be present at Port Said to greet His Majesty, it being felt by them that in this manner they might demonstrate to the world that Egypt really was a part of the Turkish Empire. Lord Kitchener, wishing to show friendliness to the Porte in order to mollify any ill-feeling that might there exist in regard to the neutrality of Egypt, consented to the proposed meeting, so far as he was concerned, and in due course it was arranged. The Turkish prince who was sent over to Port Said had lived for so many years as a prisoner in Constantinople during the reign of the deposed Sultan that his manners are said to have been somewhat inelegant, and his natural awkwardness was accentuated by the fact that he could only speak Turkish. Coming across the Mediterranean he was terribly seasick, and thus his appearance on his arrival was not of the kind which was likely to inspire respect in the minds of the critical Egyptians. On board the *Medina* he is said, perhaps on doubtful authority, to have sat in the sun contentedly picking his teeth, or playing with the buttons of his clothes, while the very smart and absolutely European Khedive—vassal of the Porte—discussed high affairs of State with the King.

Very soon it was apparent to educated Egyptians that, far from the Turkish prince honouring the Khedive with his presence, the Khedive was involuntarily placed in the position of patron to this ill-educated young man, and the effect caused by this reversed status has been more far-reaching than is generally supposed. The unfortunate prince seems to have had a somewhat unpleasant time during the three days in which he was the Khedive's guest in Cairo, for, owing to the determination of Lord Kitchener to avoid all risk of the Turkish prince's appearance in public acting as an incentive to anti-Italian rioting, his Imperial Highness was obliged to make all his movements at a different hour from that which had been announced. Instead of travelling from Port Said to Cairo by day, according to the official programme, he was sent there by night, arriving in the biting cold of daybreak, and being met only by a few sleepy officials. When it was announced that he would visit the Zoo or the Pyramids, he was whisked away in a small motor-brougham to the Museum or to Heliopolis; and when the crowds had gathered to see him as he entered the front gate of the palace, the unprepared loiterers at the back door were permitted to gaze for a brief moment on the hurrying little figure.

Thus the Imperial visit passed off without commotion, Turkish confidence in English friendship, and Egyptian confidence in their own superiority to the Turks, being at one and the same time assured.

Shortly after this, however, the Italian Government seems to have made representations to England with regard to the gun-running which was being practised along the western borders of Egypt, and already in December it was rumoured that a detachment of the 1st Lancers was to be sent to the frontier to check this. "You see," said the officers' mess, "we must play fair to Italy;" but the question as to why we must do so does not seem to have been put. On the face of it, our friendship to Turkey would seem more urgent politically than our friendship to Italy. The effect on our vast Mohammedan possessions of an *entente* with the Porte is obvious: and in Egypt it must be admitted that our easiest hours have been those in which we were on friendly terms with Turkey, and our most anxious hours those in which our relations with that country were bad. The Sultan is the head of the Mohammedan faith, and since there is no nationality in Islam, all race differences being lost in the community of religion, an insult to Turkey is an insult to everyone of the ninety-four million Moslem subjects of our King. Yet, in spite of this recognised fact, we take the strongest steps to prevent any and

passing from Egypt to the Turks in Tripoli, and we sternly suppress the little breaches of neutrality at which we might so easily wink. And it is to be remembered that this neutrality itself is such a forced attitude that we might be expected to have insisted upon it as quietly as possible, avoiding actions which are calculated to bring our attitude to public notice. If we were not in Egypt there would have been a direct road for Turkish troops from Constantinople to the seat of war, and by now, in all probability, Italy, if she had been so rash as to attack Tripoli at all, would have been driven into the sea. Since we hold Egypt, however, it is quite natural that we should more or less dissociate the country from Turkish affairs, and should silently ignore the ancient statute which declares that the Egyptian army is at the disposal of the Porte in time of war, and that the highway from Syria to Tripoli is open to the Turks. But surely an explanation is required of our conduct in boldly forcing this attitude on public attention by military propaganda.

During January, the Arabs of the Eastern desert which lies between Syria and Egypt began to show signs of restlessness, and there was some reason to suppose that they would attempt to slip across the Delta, either singly or in small bodies, in order to travel through to Tripoli for the defence of Islam. Lord Kitchener, therefore, built forts along the Suez Canal, and sent troops to hold them, thus one more demonstrating the uncompromising attitude of England to the Porte and calling public attention to our vigilance in preventing the Turks from receiving any help whatsoever from that portion of their Empire which we hold for them. In February certain well-known Turkish officers who were trying to cross Egypt disguised as Arabs were arrested and were sent back to Constantinople in spite of all their protests.

Such occurrences as these show clearly enough that we have an understanding with Italy, based on our desire to wean her from the Triple Alliance. It was a contract forced from us, in all probability, at a time of great peril, when it was absolutely necessary that we should buy Italy's support in the great war which threatened us. It is England, and England alone, that has given Italy the opportunity of seizing her coveted portion of North Africa, and by giving this to her, it may be said that we have won no less a prize than the peace of Europe. As long as Italy's attitude to the Triple Alliance was in doubt, as long as there was a chance that she would throw in her lot with Austria and Germany, then war was imminent. But now that we have bought her friendship, as seems so probable in view of our strong action on her behalf in Egypt we need fear no war, for we have hemmed Germany and Austria around in such a manner that they could only fight a campaign of defence. The support of the Italian fleet was absolutely essential to us, as securing the Mediterranean for the free passage of our transports from India and Malta, and releasing our fleet in those waters for service in the North Sea. England on the north, France on the west, very possibly Russia on the east, and now Italy on the south, are leagued around the Teuton race, not to menace, but to pacify, not to make war, but to make war impossible. To prevent the terrible calamity of a European conflagration, to dispel the imminent shadow of Armageddon, we appear to have secured Italy at her own price, and that price was our active sanction of her seizure of Tripoli.

If this supposition be correct, we may understand why Lord Kitchener was sent to Egypt, and we may now see the reason of our actions in that country. The risk which we took was twofold. Firstly, there was that of a rupture with the Porte, but this was not a serious danger, for we could always say to Turkey, "If you make trouble with us, we will take Egypt from you altogether, and you will lose the tribute of £682,000 per annum from her, which at present we guarantee to you, and have scrupulously paid for the last thirty years." The second risk was that of a rising in Egypt. Lord Kitchener was perhaps the only man who, by his presence, could remove all chance of a serious outbreak, and very rightly he was chosen for the work. Had he not been available, it is doubtful whether we could have accepted Italy's price; for a concentration of British troops in Egypt, which would have been the alternative method of ensuring quiet there, would have been awkward for us and provocative to the Moslems.

Our future relations with Turkey present a field for further speculation. For the sake of European peace, we seem to have been obliged to aid Italy; but, apart from this, it is clearly our policy to remain on good terms with the Porte, and the better the understanding between us the easier will be our task in Egypt. As long as Turkey remains a worthy nation, we shall be her friend. The *status quo* suits us. We do not desire to see a sudden scramble for her possessions; we wish for the present that the Porte should be strong enough to hold Syria, Asia Minor, and Arabia. As long as she shows internal signs of holding together and keeping a stiff back, she may count on our support; and it is unlikely that we shall take any hostile step, such as the seizure of Egypt. But should she fall to pieces, and degenerate into a shattered and worthless nation, then our policy may have to be revised, and we must even be pre-

pared to participate in the division of her possessions. Now, we very naturally do not wish to be forced by competition into such an unbecoming attitude towards Turkey, and therefore we must quietly wait to see what will happen, and must continue to hold Egypt in the anomalous manner now obtaining, unless, of course, circumstances arise which make the defining of our status on the Nile a necessity. In that event it is hardly to be supposed that the existing position could be regularised. According to the *Firman* of 1892, all Egyptians are to be regarded as Turkish subjects; the land of Egypt is a part of the Turkish Empire, and no separate nationality is recognised; the taxes are to be levied in the name of the Sultan, the coinage is issued in his name, the Turkish flag is used, all military ranks are described in the Turkish language, and the words of command are given in that language, the whole Egyptian army is at the service of the Sultan; and the above-mentioned tribute is paid each year to the Porte. In actual fact, the Anglo-Egyptian Government does not recognise any of the really important clauses of the *Firman* except the last; and the war in Tripoli has made it quite clear that they are a dead letter. Thus, it must be admitted that Egypt's relations with Turkey will bear no scrutiny, and there can be little doubt that if the matter is discussed at all, it will bring the question of our annexing the country into immediate prominence. A forcible annexation would be extremely dangerous, for the Egyptians are loyal to the Sultan in his capacity as head of Islam, and they would speedily rise against the foreigners, while a war with Turkey at a time when our attention is so occupied in Europe, would be sheer madness. To purchase Egypt for, say, £20,000,000 might be agreeable to the Porte. The sum might be raised by a 3 per cent loan, the interest upon which would be £82,000 less per annum than the present tribute to Turkey. But this might well be considered an unnecessary extravagance, since in the event of Turkey's total collapse it is to be presumed that we should take Egypt without payment. Moreover, such a payment of money to the Porte would be considered as a hostile act by any Power which happened to be in dispute with Turkey at the moment.

The future of Egypt, as a part of the British Empire, would be replete with brilliant possibilities, and there is some reason to suppose that Lord Kitchener would like to see the annexation carried out during his tenure of office, and would welcome the combination of circumstances which would make it possible. As part of the Empire, Egypt might receive some mild form of Home Rule, such as that obtaining in certain other dominions; and her position in the federation of nations which own allegiance to our King might become one of considerable dignity. Should Turkey fall, Egypt might well step into her shoes. There is no reason why the Khedive should not usurp the place of the Sultan as head of Islam, fantastic as such a statement may seem at first sight. Egypt would then become the protecting power of the Hedjaz, and would be mistress of Mecca. When we consider what it would mean to the 94,000,000 Mohammedan subjects of Britain to feel that England was the protector of their Holy City, we may well speculate for a while upon the possibility of realising this mighty dream, which, be it understood, has already passed through the minds of many Egyptians. The Egyptian Empire of the past once more be built up. Syria and Palestine might be brought under the control of Cairo, as in bygone years, all Arabia would be added to her without a blow, and those tribes of the Yemen who are in revolt against the Turks would be, and now are, ready to give their allegiance to England after their kind.

Should Turkey fall . . . ! But for the present, while we are building up a great nation out of the wreck of Egypt which we found in 1882, we may rest satisfied with the *status quo*. It is always to be remembered, however, that the Egyptian question is not one which deals simply with the good Government of the Nile Valley, but it is a subject that involves vast problems, the solution of which affect the history of England in the deepest possible manner.

Lord Kitchener's task in Egypt has been facilitated by his excellent personal relations with the French. It is not generally known that he fought on the side of France in the Franco-Prussian War; and the recognised fact that he would "like to have another smack at the Germans" provides him with a common basis of friendship with every Frenchman. It is rumoured that our attitude last summer in so strongly supporting France in Morocco was largely due to Lord Kitchener's influence. In Egypt the French give him every assistance, and there is an atmosphere of complacency in this respect which does not fail to have its effect on the native mind. Thus whatever be the future of Turkey and Egypt, and whatever changes the next few years may bring, we may feel confident that we shall have the support both of France and Italy, and there is even some likelihood of an alliance. The English, French, and Italians now hold between them the entire coast of North Africa, from the Atlantic along the Mediterranean, and down the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean; and, in fact, between them they possess about seven-eighths of the whole of Africa this side of the Equator. With such interest in common an alliance is both natural and necessary, while its effect on Europe can only be pacific, in view of the fact that it makes us far too strong to be attacked.—*The Fortnightly Review*.



F E D U P !

Italy (*to the Powers*): "This is a much longer macaroni than I ever thought of swallowing. Will none of you share it with me?"

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

The 150 men of the 7th Rajputs who were despatched recently to protect the British Consulate at Lingah landed at Lingah on 12th March.

Sir Edward Grey, replying to Sir John Lonsdale explained the situation prevailing at Lingah on March 12. Sir Edward's statement was similar to the account published by Reuter on 11th March. "In the circumstances," added Sir Edward, "the action of His Majesty's local officers in moving up men from Jask to be landed, if in the opinion of the Consul-General at Bushire, the protection of British lives and property demanded it, had been approved."

Reuter wires from Baku on the 14th that the ex-Shah has left for Europe.

A telegram to the *Times* from Teheran says that in spite of the arrival of the Indian detachments, the situation at Lingah is developing seriously. The situation at Kermanshah is growing worse. It is reported that Solar-er-Dowleh has had the Governor's legs cut off and burned him alive.

The Turkish Ambassador has arrived at Teheran and was received with great honours. The Government has still not replied to the Anglo-Russian Note. There are some differences in the Cabinet on the subject.

Russian military movements in the Caucasus, which have excited some alarm in Europe, have been suspended. Turkey having given satisfactory assurances concerning the movements of her troops towards Persia.

Sir Edward Grey replying to Lord Ronaldshay in the House of Commons said the Government had intimated that it had no objection to the preliminary surveys for the proposed railway from the Russo-Persian frontier to Karachi, but it reserved complete freedom regarding the management of the railway, the representation of British interests, alignment, rates, etc., should construction be actually proposed.

Reuter wires from St. Petersburg on the 20th -- Persia has replied satisfactorily on all points to the Anglo-Russian Note containing the conditions of the advance of £200,000 at 7 per cent.

Lord Lamington, who is a passenger by the incoming steamer *Mardon*, proceeds direct to Karachi without landing at Bombay. From Karachi he goes on to Bushire.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

St. Petersburg, February 23.

Sir Edward Grey's explanation of the strategical motives underlying the presence of Russian troops in Northern Persia appeals convincingly to the *Press*, which has hitherto been invariably suspicious about the intentions of the Russian Government. The *Novoe Vremya* regrets that Anglo-Russian diplomacy is not always as clear in its attitude towards Persian affairs. It foresees a renewal of the old difficulties, unless both Powers make up their minds once for all either actively to intervene to establish order and Government in Persia or entirely to abstain from intervention. It considers that mere warnings to Mahomed Ali are either superfluous or insufficient.

Strangest instructions have been telegraphed to the Russian Consul at Meshed to restrain from lending any countenance whatsoever to intrigues in favour of the ex Shah.

Teheran, February 26.

Government advices state that Salar-ed-Dowleh, brother of the ex-Shah, has recaptured Kermanshah.

Teheran, February 27.

The boycott of the British at Shiraz is over.

Brussels, February 28.

M. Mornard, the provisional Treasurer-General in Persia, who held the post of Controller in the Belgian Customs, has been appointed to the grade of Director and has received the insignia of an Officier de la Couronne as a recompence for the services which he has rendered.

Teheran, February 28.

It is stated that, although Russian garrisons will be maintained in Tabriz and Resht, a sensible diminution of the troops in Tabriz will soon take place and possibly all the troops will be withdrawn from Kazvin.

Salar-ed-Dowleh's troops, according to telegrams received here, have looted Kermanshah and the tribesmen have created a reign of terror.

Teheran, February 29.

A serio-comic incident has arisen in connexion with the arrival of Emin Bey, the new Turkish Ambassador. Last Saturday the Persian Government drew the attention of the Russian Minister to the fact that the Russian troops had seized the guns at Enzeli which were used for the customary salute given to all new Ministers on landing on Persian soil and which were now required to welcome the Turkish Ambassador. Instructions were immediately telegraphed to the Russian Consul at Resht that the guns must be restored. The Russians, however, refused to restore the guns and the Turkish Ambassador landed without any salute. He telegraphed to the Porte complaining of the indignity put upon him and refuses to proceed to his post from Resht until reparation has been made. The incident emphasizes the total disregard to instructions displayed by the Russian Consuls in Northern Persia ever since M. Pokhitonoff's successful insubordination in the matter of Shua-es-Sultaneh's property.

The Russian Consul General at Meshed, although warned by his Government, continues, it is reported, to conduct a public campaign in favour of the ex-Shah, and a serious movement of this nature is reported to-day from Khorassan.

Colonel Yate (Melton, Opp.) asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs what was the total amount of British and Indian claims outstanding against Persia, and what steps were being taken to secure their adjustment.

Mr. Acland (Cornwall, Camborne, Min.), who replied, said:— My right hon friend the Secretary for Foreign Affairs is detained at the coal conference. The total amount of British and Indian claims against the Persian Government is, so far as I am aware, about £75,000. The detailed claims are, however, filed at His Majesty's Legation at Teheran. In the event of any considerable loan being raised by the Persian Government which would include in its objects the payment of their creditors, His Majesty's Government will press for the payment of British claims.

Colonel Yate.—What is the gross value of the whole of the British and Indian trade involved in connexion with the trade routes of Southern Persia and what was it four years ago?

Mr. Acland.—The figures, which are not quite complete, are very detailed, and I will therefore send them to the hon. and gallant member separately, but the rough totals of the available figures of imports and exports together from Great Britain and India for 1907-8 are £1,920,000 and for 1910-11 £1,860,000.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald (Leicester, Lab.) asked whether the Secretary for Foreign Affairs would communicate to the House at once the text of the communication made to the Persian Government on behalf of His Majesty's Government based on the instructions given to our representative at Teheran on 7th September last for the purpose of explaining the Anglo-Russian Agreement and also the text of the acceptance by the Persian Government of the terms of this communication.

Mr. Acland.—It was considered unnecessary to lay the communication because it was in identical terms with the instruction which are given on page 48 of the First Persian Blue-book of 1909, except for two slight alterations which are of no importance. The paper can, however, be laid if desired. No answer was returned to it by the Persian Government.

Mr. Macdonald.—Were we not informed that the Persian had Government accepted this intimation?

Mr. Acland.—The fact that they had accepted it and made no comment was taken that they had accepted it.

In reply to Mr. Ponsonby (Stirling Burghs, Min.)—

Mr. Acland said—According to the latest information in my possession there are no Russian officers in the Regular Army. The number of Russian officers with the Persian Cossack Brigade is five. I am unable to state how many foreign officers were employed before the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Convention and I have no information that there are such officers serving with the Regular Army at present.

Mr. Ponsonby asked whether any representatives of British commercial interests in Persia had made representations protesting against the appointment of M. Mornard as Treasurer-General for Persia; and if so whether, before the acquiescence of His Majesty's Government in the permanent appointment of M. Mornard to that post was given, its effect on British interests were considered.

23rd March.

Mr Acland.—The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative, as regards the second part, I would refer the hon member to the speech made by my right hon friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on the 21st February, when he stated that reports from His Majesty's Minister at Teheran are favourable to M Mornard and that his appointment at present is temporary.

Sir Edward Grey on Persia.

SIR EDWARD GREY was the principal guest at the house dinner of the Manchester Reform Club recently. Sir George Kemp, M.P., presided.

In the course of the reply to the toast Sir Edward Grey referring to Persia said—I should like to take one subject connected with foreign affairs which I know has been the subject of special attention in this part of the world. I cannot deal with it exhaustively to-night because it is too large a subject—the subject of Persia. I should like to touch on at least one or two points and see if I cannot do something to rectify what I take to be a wrong perspective of the view taken of the recent events in Persia, and of the Anglo-Russian Agreement in particular. If you look at a thing out of focus it presents a very different appearance from what it does if you look at it in the right focus. There has been a tendency to review the Anglo-Russian Agreement from what it seems to me is the wrong point of view and to look at it in the wrong focus; there has been a tendency to review the Anglo-Russian Agreement as if, under that Agreement, we had to assume some new responsibilities in regard to Persia and had undertaken something that had not existed before the obligation to protect the independence and integrity of Persia. We have always wished to see the independence and integrity of Persia preserved, but when we made the Anglo-Russian Agreement we had no intention of adding to our responsibilities. It was not any increase of responsibility we were seeking. Another thing which has been left out of the Anglo-Russian Agreement is this. When that Agreement was made, Russian influence was already dominant in the North of Persia. That had happened years before the Agreement was made. It was something which had gone on gradually, which had been existing for several years, and was a state of things in which we had acquiesced. To attempt to interpret the Anglo-Russian Agreement as having the object of working against Russian influence in North Persia is not only to read into the Agreement something which is not there, but to read into it something which was entirely contrary to the spirit of the Agreement.

What was the Anglo-Russian Agreement? What is it? It does not deal with Persia alone, it deals also with Afghanistan and Tibet. The object of the Anglo-Russian Agreement was this. Two great nations who had frequently been at diplomatic tension and friction with each other came to the conclusion that if they were to live together peaceably in Asia they must not work against each other's interests. (Cheers.) That was the origin of the Anglo-Russian Agreement—that neither should make trouble for each other in their respective territories in regard to the frontiers of their respective territories in Asia. That which we hoped to achieve by the Anglo-Russian Agreement has been achieved, and the Agreement on both sides has been absolutely kept to. (Cheers.) As far as we are concerned we have pursued no forward policy, we have done nothing to cause apprehension or anxiety to the Russian Government (renewed cheers), and, as far as they are concerned, all the rumours and apprehensions which have existed in regard to strategic movement towards the Persian frontier have entirely disappeared.

But more than that has flown from the Agreement. Those of us who have read in the newspapers of the visit which was paid by some distinguished countrymen of ours the other day must have realized that from that Agreement has come not only good relations between the two Governments, but a great access of good feeling between the two peoples. Speak to any of those who paid a visit to Russia the other day and they will undoubtedly impress upon you how really genuine, cordial, and sincere was the welcome they received, not merely from the Government, but from the people as a whole, of every class. Now that we wish to preserve, and if people think that if the Anglo-Russian Agreement had not existed things would have been better in Persia than they are now, I can only say that, as far as one can predict anything as being humanly certain, it is this: that but for the Anglo-Russian Agreement they would have been infinitely worse. When that Agreement was made Persia was on the eve of revolution, the country was falling into chaos, the Government was breaking up, when the Agreement was made. Imagine the state of things that would have come to pass had there been no Anglo-Russian Agreement, if the same suspicion and mistrust had been existing between the British and Russian Governments as existed in previous years and gave rise to so much friction before. If that had been the case now, what would have happened in Persia? Undoubtedly what would have happened when there came internal revolution in Persia would have been that the Russians would have pressed to Teheran; having their influence already dominant in Northern Persia, they would have consolidated that influence, not merely to protect their interests, not merely to establish themselves firmly

in Teheran, though we might have taken advantage of the situation to their disadvantage. And on our side what might have happened? We should have had no security that Russian influence in the North of Persia would not have been used to push on strategic movements, railway extensions, and so forth, to the Indian frontier, and we should have been pressed, I think to take measures in the territory bordering on the Indian frontier in order to secure ourselves there against military aggression and strategic expansion on the part of Russia towards that part. That would have been the case. There would have been perpetual friction arising out of that between the two Governments which undoubtedly would have weakened the position of both. With perpetual friction and with increasing anxiety with regard to the Indian frontier, by this time Lord Haldane, I think, undoubtedly would have been asking the House of Commons for increased Army Estimates to provide for a further strengthening of our position on the Indian frontier. If that had been the course of events, if that had happened, I am pretty sure that there would have been considerable complaints by people in this country against the man whom they would have considered the jingo of the Foreign Office, who, by continuing the old policy of jealousy and suspicion and the forward policy in Asia, was putting his country to increased expense and diplomatic friction. Unless I am very much mistaken, some of those who have been most active recently in criticizing the Anglo-Russian Agreement would have been leading the hue and cry against the Foreign Secretary for conducting a forward policy in Asia.

How do we stand? I do not for a moment wish you to suppose that everything has been for the best in this best of all possible worlds. There has been a great deal of tragedy in Persia; our trade in Persia undoubtedly suffered. The blocking of the roads in Southern Persia has been considerably caused by the incursion of the ex Shah into Persia. That has exhausted the resources of the Persian Government, drawn away those who might have preserved order on the roads in the south, and has undoubtedly done considerable injury to our trade for the time being. Temporarily you might, of course, remedy that injury to trade by yourselves undertaking the protection of the roads. I never thought that would be a wise step. It would have required a large expedition in the South of Persia, and it is exceedingly difficult to withdraw those expeditions when once they are sent. Much as I regret the injury to trade, it is not, if I may use Sir George Kemp's simile—it is not business to incur expenditure in yourselves undertaking the protection of trade routes of which the cost may perhaps in itself amount to more than the gross volume of the trade, not merely the profit which you have undertaken to protect. Nevertheless, it is a state of things which it is our duty to do all in our power to remedy. As long as there was constant friction and dispute between the Persian Government, or the agents of the Persian Government, and the Russian Government, or the agents of the Russian Government, it was impossible for us, and would have been quite contrary to the spirit of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, which recognized Russian interests in the North of Persia—it would have been quite contrary to that to give our support and to take part in disputes. But to-day, when the Persian Government has shown every disposition to respect Russian interests, to be careful not to injure them, to see that they are maintained, the time has come when I think we are entitled to expect, and, indeed, we are receiving, real co-operation from the Russian Government in support of the authority of the Government of Persia, which has removed every ground for saying that it was not friendly to Russian interests. In the first place, the Russians have given the strongest warning to the ex Shah that his case is hopeless and he has been ordered to leave the country. That is not the only thing. In the next place, the Russian Government has already begun to withdraw its troops from Kazvin, the place to which they were recently sent, and is proceeding with the withdrawal of them; it has given definite evidence of its intention and desire not to embark on any permanent occupation of Persian territory, but as soon as there is tolerable order in that part of Persia, and as long as it is sure that the Persian Government is friendly to it, not to maintain a permanent occupation but to withdraw its troops and support Persian authority in maintaining order in Persian territory. I have not dealt exhaustively with what is a large subject, but so much I have said because I think there has been a wrong perspective, and I wish, if possible, that those who have criticized, and may still continue to criticize, the policy of the Government in regard to the Anglo-Russian Agreement would do so from the point of view in accordance with which the Anglo-Russian Agreement was made and would not expect it to produce results which it was never intended to produce.

The "Times" on Sir Edward Grey and Persia.

One of our existing friendships—that with Russia—has been the object of some of the most insolent attacks made by Sir Edward Grey's critics in his own party upon his conduct of foreign affairs. Manchester has been the headquarters of the campaign against him, and the Persian question has played a more important

part than any other in that campaign. With his usual courage he devoted the greater part of his speech on Friday to that question, and explained clearly and succinctly the relationship in which it stands to the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907. The main purpose of the Agreement was to avert the danger of further friction, by a frank recognition of existing interests and mutual assurances that neither side would in future attempt to extend its influence at the expense, or to the prejudice, of the other contracting Power. Hence, whilst with regard to Tibet the Agreement took the shape of a *declaration de désintéressement* on both sides, it fully recognised British ascendancy in Afghanistan, and with regard to Persia it defined certain spheres in which the two Powers at the time respectively enjoyed, and were in a position to assert and to maintain, a distinct priority of interests and influence. It follows therefore—and we cannot do better than quote the Foreign Secretary's admirable statement of the case—that "to attempt to interpret the Anglo-Russian Agreement as having the object of working against Russian influence in North Persia is not only to read into the Agreement something which is not there, but to read into it something which was entirely contrary to the spirit of the Agreement." Equally pertinent was Sir Edward Grey's statement of what would have happened by this time had there been no Anglo-Russian Agreement. There would have been nothing to allay the mistrust with which Russia had hitherto viewed British policy throughout Central Asia, or to stay her hand in pressing to the utmost against Persia the advantages which her geographical position and her overwhelming military superiority conferred upon her. The action of Russian Agents, c. even of the Russian Government, on various occasions during the last few years may have been open to criticism. But be that as it may, the fact remains that, thanks to the Anglo-Russian Agreement, Russia has remained, and remains, true to her assurances that, so long as the Persian Government shows a reasonable disposition to respect Russian interests, she neither desires nor intends to annex, or permanently to occupy, any part of Persian territory.

Sir Edward Grey, in addition to this general defence of his policy, was able to declare that we are receiving real co-operation from the Russian Government in support of the authority of the Government of Persia. The Russians have given the strongest warning to the ex-Shah that his cause is hopeless, and he has been ordered to leave the country; and the Russian Government has already begun to withdraw its troops from Kazvin. Much danger and trouble might, perhaps, have been avoided if Sir Edward Grey had persuaded the Russian Government to give its warning to the ex-Shah some months ago, and it may be that in the recent past the co-operation between the two Governments in Persian affairs left something to be desired. However that may be, the statement which Sir Edward Grey was able to make on Friday should reassure our Moslem fellow subjects in India, who without real ground have shown a very marked fear that their legitimate susceptibilities and their natural sympathies with their fellow believers outside the Empire were being held of too little account. It should also reassure those in this country who were beginning to be anxious about the future of Anglo-Russian relations in the Middle East. There is, we believe, at the present moment, a genuine feeling of good will and of confidence towards this country amongst all classes in Russia. It would be unwise to exaggerate the significance of even such unprecedented manifestations of cordiality as those which took place in both St. Petersburg and Moscow during the recent British visit to Russia. But it would be still more foolish to pretend that they meant nothing beyond an ordinary display of proverbial Russian hospitality. They were, we take it, a tribute to the growing sense of friendliness between the two nations as well as between the two Governments, and of the growing appreciation of its value to the Russian people. To that extent we believe that the British visit has done far more to strengthen the moral influence of our Government in favour of peace and international good will both with the rulers and with the people of Russia than the harsh and often essentially unjust denunciation of Russian methods in which some of our fellow-countrymen are so fond of indulging, whilst claiming in the same breath a monopoly of genuine peaceful endeavour.

Professor Browne on Sir Edward Grey and the "Times."

To the Editor of the "Times."

SIR.—In the leading article which you published under the above title in your issue of 19th February you are, as it seems to me, so anxious to render homage to Sir E. Grey that you are scarcely fair to his critics, and (no doubt unwittingly) ignore the real grounds of their criticisms, which are not so much that he does not "speak frequently or fully enough on foreign affairs," as that his statements are unsatisfactory in the following amongst other respects.—

(1) Forgetfulness of important facts in recent history. As an example of this I may cite a statement which he made on three separate occasions in the House of Commons (on 27th July, 27th November and 14th December of last year), to the effect that if the

Russian officers of the Cossack Brigade had "lifted a finger" in July, 1909, or "used their influence in Teheran, the Shah (*i.e.*, Muhammed Ali) would never have been expelled." The active part taken by those officers on behalf of the ex-Shah is a matter of common knowledge, while the details of their action must be remembered by all who read at the time the graphic accounts furnished by your then Correspondent at Teheran. Such forgetfulness concerning facts which cannot be regarded as unimportant must inevitably tend to bias the Foreign Secretary's view of Persian affairs.

(2) Apparent inconsistencies of statements made at short intervals from one another. Thus on November 27 last Sir E. Grey, after speaking of the secret clauses in the Anglo-French agreement concerning Morocco, said—"There are no other secret engagements.....From ourselves we have not made a single secret article of any kind since we came into office," and this categorical statement was, as it were, underlined and emphasized by the Prime Minister and by the Leader of the Opposition. Yet on December 14, less than three weeks later, in reply to a question by Mr. McNeill as to whether there were "other secret treaties besides the treaty recently disclosed between this country and France," Sir E. Grey said, "There are other engagements which have not been published." I think that many persons besides myself would like to know in what way these statements are to be reconciled, since it can hardly be supposed that within this short period of 17 days a secret treaty or agreement was begun, matured, and concluded especially in view of the apparent distaste for such secret agreements expressed by Sir E. Grey on the earlier of the two dates.

(3) Apparent inconsistencies of speech and action. Thus on November 27 of last year Sir E. Grey said—"The wise policy for this country is to expand as little as possible, and certainly no further the African possessions." On December 19 the British Press published the belated news of the "cession" by Turkey to Egypt (which, of course, save in diplomatic fiction, means to England) of Sollum and a large triangular area of territory in Cyrenaica.

(4) Ignoring of important assurances given by British representatives. The most conspicuous instance of this is afforded by the now celebrated Memorandum on the meaning (or "spirit") to quote Sir E. Grey's favourite expression) of the Anglo-Russian Agreement communicated to the Persian Foreign Office by Sir Cecil Spring Rice on September 4, 1907, and subsequently published in the Persian Press. This Memorandum, containing the most satisfactory assurances as to non-interference in Persian affairs by England or Russia, can scarcely be reconciled with the recent and present actions of those two Governments in Persia, and was nevertheless the first if not the only official explanation of the meaning and scope of the Agreement given to the Persian Government. Yet not only does Sir E. Grey never refer to it in his interpretations of the "spirit" of the Convention, but both he (on December 14 last) and Mr Acland (on December 5 last) appeared at any rate to throw doubts on its genuineness, though this has been established, I venture to say, by evidence which cannot be controverted, and is now, I believe, admitted even by the Foreign Office.

Lastly (for, though your leading article suggests many other comments, I must not seek to abuse your hospitality), you speak of "the insolent attacks made by Sir E. Grey's critics." You have not hesitated to attack in language as strong as any used concerning Sir E. Grey, most of his colleagues. Is he alone to be immune from criticism? Or is there any "insolence" in pointing out seeming inconsistencies of speech or action in a Minister who, whatever his virtues may be, can hardly expect in this country to escape the common fate of all Ministers of the Crown?

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,
EDWARD G. BROWNE.

February 20

Persia and our Foreign Engagements.

THESE are small reason to-day to complain of the reticence which used to mark Sir Edward Grey's conduct of affairs. So far at least as Persia is concerned, his speech in the House on Wednesday, following on his slighter defence at Manchester, has at length told us the worst. The defence was more disastrous and damaging than the criticism, and at least in one vital particular it has shown us that the case against his policy is stronger than any of us had supposed. We shall not omit to review his reason for British acquiescence in Russian policy, but let us first consider the bare facts of the present position as he has revealed them. As a result of a Russian invasion based upon two successive ultimatums, the nominal Government of Persia is in the hands of a Ministry and a Regent who have no shadow of claim to represent the Persian people. They dissolved the Majlis by a *coup d'état*, and it is because they stand half supported and wholly dominated by the Russian Army of Occupation that they are able to deal at all with the two associated Powers. From this little group of Persian politicians, condemned and disowned by the last act of the dead Parliament, Russia, with

23rd March.

our assent, has already extorted in general terms the right of veto on the nomination of all foreign experts whom the Persian Government may in future employ. It has used that veto in the first instance to procure the appointment as the controller of Persian finance of a Belgian official, M. Mornard, distrusted by the Persians themselves, obnoxious to the British community in Teheran, and by general admission a partisan and agent of Russian policy.

A further series of demands and suggestions for the reconstruction of the Persian Government has since been presented in a joint Note by both Powers. As to any restoration of the Parliament which the Russian occupation enabled the present Ministry to suppress, it is apparently silent, and even if a Majlis should ever meet again, it will be to find itself confronted by a situation which it could not modify. The Note imposes on Persia the obligation to pay a pension by way of blackmail, to the ex-Shah, and this despite the fact that both Powers publicly announced that he had by his invasion forfeited his right to the pension previously allowed him. He entered Persia by, at the least, the negligence, and probably with the collusion, of Russian agents, and his complete expulsion has been frustrated only because he has been able to shelter himself in regions of Persia dominated by the Russian forces. Further, a preliminary loan of £200,000, to be followed by a larger loan, is "offered" to this Persian Ministry, of which the spending will be controlled by the two Powers—a loan which the Majlis, careful of its independence, had rejected. The one force which could be trusted to uphold the shattered Constitution—the force which defended Tabriz, defeated the Cossacks, and drove the ex-Shah from the throne—is to be disbanded. In its place Persia is required to establish a small professional army, and "it might be that Russian officers would be employed in the Persian army." Finally, Persia is required to give her assent to a Convention which, in effect, dismembers her territory and establishes two monopolies of commercial and (as events have shown) political influence in two thirds of her dominions. The eventual withdrawal of the Russian Army of Occupation is left in doubt. Sir Edward Grey has now accepted as adequate a reason for its continued presence on Persian soil, which would make it useless for the Persians to demand its departure even if they should be wholly successful in placating Russia and in creating a strong and orderly police. He holds it to be legitimate that it should occupy the greater part of Northern Persia, because the Turks have for some years held a fragment of Persian territory on the disputed boundary, near Lake Urmia, which they claim as their own.

Such is the position as we read it to day. It needs no commentary. It is sufficient to face the facts. Let us consider, on the most favorable forecast, what they involve. We will assume that the ex Shah goes off with his booty, and troubles Persia no more. We need not deny the possibility that some sort of Majlis may again come into being. It is possible that the Russian Army of Occupation may be reduced to a skeleton force which, on one pretext or another, will occupy only a few strategical points, by way of maintaining the right of Russia to march into Persia through the "open door," that is closed only to our enterprise. We should still say, even on these optimistic assumptions, that nothing essential was left of Persian independence. The ability of Russia to dictate to the Persian Government at any moment and on any subject will be so clear that abject acquiescence will be the only course open to it. It will know that at any moment it may, "rain ultimatums" and that Sir Edward Grey, so far from "putting up an umbrella," in Lord Curzon's phrase, will find good reasons for assenting to whatever his partner may do. It will know that the only armed force on which it can rely is a force commanded by Russian officer. Its finances will be under the minute control of an unsympathetic foreigner, who is a Russian Agent. It will have bound itself to acquiesce in a Russian monopoly over banks, railways, and roads over the large and more populous portion of its territory. Its position, in short, will differ in no essentials from that of Egypt after the fall of Arabi and the destruction of his nationalist movement.

Sir Edward Grey's defence for the posture which he has allowed Persian events to assume was, as we understand him (1) that Russia did, even before the Convention, dominate Northern Persia, and (2) that he never had intended to assume any responsibility for maintaining Persian independence. His history, as we read events, rests, on a half-truth, and involves an ignoring of vital facts. It is true that Russian influence was in the ascendant in Teheran particularly during the Boer War, and up to the outbreak of the Manchurian War. Russian methods in this period were those of gentle and friendly corruption. She permeated the Court; lent money to the Shah, intrigued with his courtiers, and gave him officers to drill his bodyguard. Legal rights of control she had none, and her power depended solely on the weakness of a despot who had sold himself to her. The Japanese war broke her prestige, and with the revolution her influence came abruptly to an end. Russia was at the moment a broken Power defeated abroad, chaotic at home, and dependent for her very existence on the

French and English money-markets. It was to a rival so reduced and so powerless that Sir Edward Grey made the ruinous concessions of the Convention, and it is from the Convention alone that there dates the era of bullying brutality and invasion. Sir Edward Grey excuses himself on the ground that he meant to assume no responsibility for Persian independence. One can but take note of this declaration, which is a good deal more cynical than was assumed in any of our attacks on Sir Edward Grey's policy. We had always assumed that he did mean to defend Persian independence, but lacked the adroitness and the firmness to do so with success. But is this an accurate version of the responsibilities which Sir Edward Grey has, in written instruments, incurred? We are glad that he at last admits the authenticity of the despatch, published since 1907, in which our Minister in Teheran, expounding the Convention, said that it bound each Power "not to allow one another to intervene on the pretext of safeguarding their interests." He now repudiates his own Minister, but did Sir Cecil Spring Rice go beyond the text of the Convention? In the treaty itself the two Powers "mutually engaged to respect the integrity and independence of Persia." Was there no responsibility there? The word "mutual" seems to imply that they gave a pledge not merely in the air, but to each other. When a Power has such an engagement from another, it has a right and a duty to hold her to it. But this discussion is beside the point. Sir Edward Grey, in the later stages of this crisis, has actively joined in the Russian campaign against Persian independence. He shares with her the full responsibility for imposing this Egyptian control, even though instrument of coercion is a Russian Army and not a joint force.

We could wish that it were possible to hope that the more promising phase in our relations with Germany would mean the end of our association with Russia and of secret engagements, though not of friendship, with France. But among the many kindly and wise things which Sir Edward Grey said at Manchester about Germany, one salient point emerged. He proposes to retain all our old entanglements in the Continental system. We are to hope for no more manly tone towards Russia, whatever brutalities she may perpetrate with our connivance in Persia. We must not expect to be freed from the obligation to render armed assistance to France in future European disputes, despite the closing of the Moroccan episode. The scope of these negotiations is apparently confined to ending our actual occasions for dispute with Germany. It will leave the European Powers still regimented in opposite camps, nor will it slacken the ties which bind us to one of the rival coalitions. We welcome a slackening of the tension and a diminution of the risks; but the policy is none the less a policy fundamentally ruinous and unsuited to our position in Europe—the policy of the balance of power—*The Nation*.

Our Pledges to Persia.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "NATION"

SIR.—It has been assumed in the *Nation* and in many other papers, that in the recent debate on Persia Sir Edward Grey, while admitting the authenticity of the document presented by the British Minister at Teheran on September 4th, 1907—commonly known as the Spring-Rice despatch—refused to accept it as binding on the British Government. "He repudiates," you say, "his own Minister." That is not my reading of Sir Edward Grey's speech, nor do I think it would be possible for any British Government, which has any concern for the national honor, to take such a course. For four years Sir Cecil Spring-Rice's declaration has stood undisputed and unquestioned. If it was unknown to the Foreign Office here, it was perfectly familiar at Teheran, where it was published in full in the Persian press. For four years the Persian Government have relied—as they had every right to do—on the explicit assurances which it contained. It would be a gross breach of national faith to go back on such a statement now. But Sir Edward Grey's language is uncertain. To many people who heard him he gave the impression of "repudiating," as you say, the authority of his Minister; and it is therefore worth while to ask exactly how we stand in the matter.

Let me recall, first of all, the circumstances under which the declaration was made.

At the end of August, 1907, when the negotiations between England and Russia were being concluded, Persia was already in a state of great unrest. Disorder was on the increase. The revolutionary movement was growing. The Government of the Shah was weak and unpopular; and the *rémoule*, which were spreading through the country of a secret agreement between Russia and Great Britain for the delimitation of Persian territory were not calculated to improve the Government's position. There is no doubt that to many observers on the spot the situation seemed full of danger; not merely to the stability of the Govern-

ment, but to the lives of the European colony and to the whole social fabric. All the despatches sent home by Sir Cecil Spring-Rice about this time indicate clearly the anxiety which he felt.

It was in these circumstances that, on September 4th—four days after the signing of the Agreement—Sir Cecil Spring-Rice called on the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs and presented his Memorandum. In doing so, he acted, we are now told, without special instructions, considering no doubt that the situation justified immediate action. It was necessary to explain the nature and object of the new Anglo-Russian Agreement, to allay the unfounded rumours that were rife; to reassure public opinion. That is what Sir Cecil Spring-Rice in his statement expressly purports to do: and for the time, at least, he was successful.

The document, apparently, was unofficial in form. On the face of it, says Sir Edward Grey, you could see that it was unofficial. But there is nothing whatever in its contents to indicate that it failed to carry the full authority of the British Government. To suppose that it was a mere private expression of opinion by the British Minister is to mistake its whole tone and character, and no one who takes the trouble to read it through could for a moment make such an assertion. The style of it, indeed, is remarkably forcible. The man who wrote it had no doubt of the meaning he wished to convey, or of his full right to speak. It is the statement of a Minister speaking on behalf of the Government which he represents, and using—as, apparently, he is entitled to do—the name and authority of Sir Edward Grey. "Sir Edward has informed me of the substance of his conversations with the Mushir-el-Mulk and also of the substance of M. Isvolsky's declarations, officially communicated to the British Government." "Both Ministers are fully in accord as to the policy of non intervention in Persia, and have left no possible ground for doubt in the matter." The Agreement is "based on a guarantee of Persian independence and integrity." "The object of the two Powers in making this Agreement is not in any way to attack, but rather to assure for ever the independence of Persia." They are "not to allow one another to intervene on the pretext of safeguarding their own interests."

In all the history of diplomatic communication, there never was a clearer or more emphatic statement.

How a document of this importance should have remained for four years entirely unknown to the British Foreign Office, is perhaps one of the most mysterious circumstances in the whole Persian business, and apart altogether from the immediate situation in Persia, seems to demand some more explanation than the Government have yet given. "He" (Sir Cecil Spring-Rice) "regarded it as so unofficial that he did not send it home at the time, and that is why I never saw it." That is, so far as I know, the only statement yet made by Sir Edward Grey on this subject and it can hardly be regarded as a full and adequate explanation. Even although Sir Cecil Spring-Rice did not send home the copy of a document which he had presented without special instructions, under circumstances of unusual importance, did he afterwards make no reference whatever to it? He remained at Teheran more than a month longer and sent home other communications on subjects of all kinds. Was this alone omitted? On September 7th—only three days after he had presented his memorandum—he received telegraphic instructions from Sir Edward Grey to make a joint communication with the Russian Minister to the Persian Government on the subject of Agreement, to repeat, in fact—though in shorter and less emphatic language—the same assurances on the subject of Persian independence as he had made on his own responsibility three days earlier. In acknowledging these instructions, did he not say anything of his own memorandum?

Such questions as these naturally occur, and, in asking them, I make no charge against Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, whose eminent and distinguished services to his country are known to us all. I also accept, of course, most fully Sir Edward Grey's statement that he had never seen this document. I am inclined, indeed, to think that if he had seen it, the course of Persian affairs might have been different. But it may surely be asked how it came about that in a matter of such importance the Foreign Office should have made no inquiries, and at the end of four years could say, as they said last December, "We know nothing at all about it." —Yours, &c.,

PHILIP MORISON.

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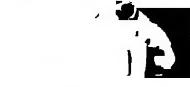
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Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 13. Annas 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, March 30, 1912.

Annual Subscription
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Germany, Austria and Italy

REUTER wires from Vienna on the 23rd — The Kaiser arrived to day and drove to the Schoenbrunn Palace, where the Emperor Francis Joseph welcomed him. The visit is being kept extremely private to save the Austrian Emperor from unnecessary fatigue. The German Emperor and the Austrian Emperor to-day had an hour's audience. Count Berchtold, Minister for Foreign Affairs, dined with Emperor Francis Joseph in the evening.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 24th — The King has left for Venice to meet the Kaiser.

Anti-Turkish Feeling.

A GREEK assassinated Kopassis Effendi, Prince Governor of Samos on the 24th with a revolver. It is believed that the assassin was incensed by the Prince Governor's Ottoman proclivities.

Indians in the Transvaal

The White Book promised by Lord Emmott on 19th February dealing with Asiatics in South Africa and the working of the Townships Amendment Act has been published. It concludes with a minute passed by the Union Ministers on 2nd December repeating the assurances that it is not proposed to interfere with certain vested rights of Indians. But it is added it is impossible to allow the attempts to acquire new rights. The Asiatic leaders appear to be making an organised attempt to invade towns where Asiatics had no rights before. The European community consequently is so exercised that the Ministers will probably be compelled to take action under the Townships Act, and enforce the conditions contained in the title deeds.

A public meeting of the citizens of Madras was held on the 27th under the auspices of the Indian South African League for the purpose of considering the condition of Indians in South Africa. The Hon Dewan Bahadur M. Audinayaryan presided and resolutions were passed expressing the concern of the meeting at the continued ill-treatment of Indian residents of South Africa and strongly urging Government to take definite steps to remove this imperial scandal, urging Government to watch carefully the progress of the Immigrants Restriction Bill now before the South African Union Parliament so that the resident Indian population are not deprived of their existing rights, and recording the sense of the meeting that the system of indentured recruitment is opposed to the best interest of the Indian people and requesting Government to terminate the system.

There were several speakers and the following letter from the Bishop of Madras was read — "I gather from what I have read on the subject that there is still need of continued effort and watchfulness to secure justice and fair treatment for our Indian brethren settled in South Africa. I hope too that something will be said on the subject of indentured labour in other parts of the Empire. I have had some experience of the system in Assam. It was worked there under the most favourable conditions possible and under every possible safeguard, but even there vices inherent in the system itself gave rise to intolerable abuses. In distant colonies conditions are far less favourable for indentured labour from India and safeguards cannot be as effective. I cannot understand how men who condemned indentured Chinese labour in the Transvaal as slavery can possibly uphold Indian indentured labour in British Guiana and the West."

The Week.

China.

REUTER wires from Shanghai on the 23rd — A party of Amazons dissatisfied at the Nankin Assembly's lukewarm approval of the principle of votes for women, invaded the Assembly House, broke the windows, mauled the guards and terrorised members, thus re-opening the discussion of female suffrage, although members meanwhile summoned soldiers for their protection.

Reuter's Agency is informed that the Eastern Bank is acting for a syndicate of Russian, French, Belgian, and British groups, the last mentioned consisting of Messrs Schroeders, E D. Sassoon and Co., Brown and Shipley, W. Greenwell and Co., Sir Marcus Samuel, and others. Negotiations are still proceeding. Reuter wires from Paris on the 23rd :—With reference to a rumour current in Pekin of the refusal of admission of the Anglo-Belgian loan to the Paris Bourse, it is declared in Paris that the matter has still not been considered.

Speaking in the Reichstag, the foreign secretary referring to China said Yuan-Shi-Kai deserved confidence and the Government would be master of the situation if it got money quickly. The German Government was pursuing in the fullest agreement with the other Powers the principle of non-interference. Germany would intervene against all attempts at the partition of China which must be preserved in its entirety. The economic open door must be guaranteed.

TETE À TETE



THE WORD OF GOD AS ENBODYED IN THE QURAN IS IN NO NEED OF THE PRAISE OF MAN. But it is something if even those who do not believe in that revelation are compelled to acknowledge its great merit, and if such appraisors include one

The Translation
of the Quran.
of the genus of Goethe, the Believers have reason to feel glad. That great poet wrote of the Quran that "detailed injunctions of things allowed and forbidden, legendary stories of Jewish and Christian religion, amplifications of all kinds, boundless tautologies and repetitions, form the body of this sacred volume, which, to us, as often as we approach it, is repellent anew, next attracts us ever anew and fills us with admiration, and finally forces us into veneration." This is no place to explain the need or character of the detailed injunctions of things allowed and forbidden, or of the legendary stories which contain moral guidance in the form most suited to human nature, nor need we discuss the amplifications, tautologies and repetitions by means of which the unity of God was preached with a unique insistence. But those who know how different the genius of Arabic is to most Aryan languages, and especially to those of modern Europe, will readily understand that the translation of the Quran which forms the standard of literary composition in Arabic —into the tongues of Europe is not likely to make a revelation of that nature very attractive to European readers. Considering the distaste of Europe for things Asiatic, and specially of things spiritual, it is not every day that we can expect even a student like Goethe to conquer the first "repulsion" and find attraction in the Quran and fresh admiration for what it inculcates. No wonder then that few Europeans reach the final veneration which Goethe attained. But if the Message of Unity is to reach Europe, and if the rationalism of the Quran is to force its way into that region, good translations into European languages are a great necessity. Probably some of our readers are aware that this has been undertaken by Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Syed Hasan Bilgrami, C.S.I., whose familiarity with the best literature of England is as great as his scholarship in Arabic. Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk is perhaps the best writer of English today in India, and many must have read his exquisite and rich verses without knowing to whom they were indebted for such elegant literature. As regards his knowledge of Arabic and of Moslem theology, few of our greatest Maulavis or Shams-ul-Ulemas could lay claim to his erudite scholarship. He is a voracious reader of books, in many languages and on all subjects, and the book that he has not yet read can hardly be worth reading. The fact that all this is known to comparatively few people is partly due to his repugnance to publicity in any form, and partly to the fact that his scholarship has been, if we may presume to say so, exceedingly selfish. He reads for his own pleasure and has forgotten only too often the claims of others even to a part of the pleasure that is his, pleasure which could enrich them greatly without in any way leaving him the poorer for it. But he is now busy in preparing for the public a translation of the Quran into English, and considering that he has selected for it the language and idiom of the English translation of the Bible, we can realize the difficulties as well as the magnitude of the task he has undertaken. We learn with great satisfaction that he has already completed six surahs and is, in fact, revising the last of them. This means that at least a quarter of the work is done. We trust God will grant him long life and health and the unimpaired vigour of his intellect to complete this great work. He writes in a private letter:—"All my time is taken up by my translation work, and weary work it is, though extremely interesting. I have to turn up so many books of reference—lexicons, commentaries, etc.—that the physical labour is immense, let alone the brain-work." But this is labour of which the reward in the Hereafter is the true paradise of the Blest, the *ridwan-allah* or satisfaction of Allah which transcends the beauty of the *hawâs* and the delights of the "pure drink." In this world, too, he has, besides his own satisfaction, which to one of his temperament must be worth many a

sulsove flattery from others, the satisfaction that hundreds of millions of mankind would bless him for what he is doing. All this must no doubt sustain him, but it is our duty to share the burden with him so far as we can. As far as references are concerned two or three competent assistants must be provided, and we trust His Highness the Nizam, Her Highness the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal, and His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Rampur would soon come to his assistance. We cannot conceive that these rulers can place this duty lower than any which they owe to themselves, their Moslem subjects, their religion, and their Maker.

We CONGRATULATE Mr. Salahuddin Khuda Buksh, M.A. (Oxon.), B.C.L., Bar-at-Law, on the publication of his "Essays: Indian and Islamic" in Probsthian's Oriental Series which includes Dr. A. K. Koamaraswamy's "Indian Craftsman"

and other interesting works on the East. The first essay in the volume deals with the "Spirit of Islam" and contains a mass of information about the early days of Islam as also about Pre-Islamic Arabia, and numerous comments on its essential features by German scholars. We are, however, sorry that a close study of the writings of these savants has led Mr. Salahuddin into an adoption of their manner also of referring to the Prophet of Islam. For instance, he writes in one place that "in fashioning his religion the Prophet adopted an eclectic method, retaining or rejecting from the older systems whatever seemed to him necessary and proper," and in another place he says that "Mohamed has not merely accepted dogmas and doctrines of Judaism, minute Talmudical ordinances, but has even adopted in their entirety some of the Jewish practices." Again he writes "His knowledge of Jewish and Christian books, at times faulty and imperfect to a degree, was derived almost exclusively from oral communications," and refers finally to "the sources from which the Prophet of Arabia received his religious inspiration." We fear these remarks do not tally with the universal Moslem belief that the solitary source from which Mohamed received his inspiration was the God whose messenger he was, and that, eclectic or otherwise, the doctrines of Islam so far as they are contained in the Quran are those fashioned by Allah Himself rather than by His Apostle. In the words of that great rationalist, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan,

مشرقاً و مغارباً كلام من مدارك

Moreover we cannot help thinking that expressions such as "the Prophet's extensive vocabulary of vituperation" are ill-judged and misleading, and it would have been better to avoid epithets such as "sanct monions" when dealing with a person who is venerated so universally in Islam as Hasan, the eldest son of Ali. It is, however, true that the writer is, as he claims, remarkably "clear and free from narrow sectarianism," for not only does he pass a true historical judgment on "the weak but well meaning Othman, but pleads with Islamic fervour for the removal of sectarianism. In the essay on the "Islamic Conception of Sovereignty" Mr. Salahuddin has ably dealt with the principle of election to the Caliphate and has explained how it was modified from time to time. But we doubt if he is strictly accurate in the remark that "the religious character of the Caliphate ends with the first four Caliphs," and that during this period the Caliphate was "a purely religious office." We are disposed to think that the distinction between things religious and mundane did not exist at all during that period, and that it was only when the Omayyads had turned the leadership of the Faithful unto the Caeserism of the unbelievers, the *Kasriwaniet* for which the sturdy and democratic Omar had rebuked Muawiya in his governorship of Syria during his own Caliphate, that the distinction arose for the first time. We are therefore not inclined to think that in the theocracy of the first four Caliphs they "only incidentally, as trustees and custodians of the faithful, administered the empire." Again, we think the writer has misunderstood the significance of Islam in writing that "the union of religion and politics, beneficial as it is at the earliest stage of national existence, tends, as the national outlook is widened and the national horizon enlarged, to stunt progress and stereotype society." In fact a few pages later the author himself supports our contention forcibly. He writes: "In Islam, theoretically at all events, the two functions of the sovereign and the priest were intrinsically interwoven with each other. Never was an attempt made to sever the two. Nor can any attempt be ever successfully made, as religion and politics are indissolubly bound up with each other." To our mind Islam solved the problem of Church and State in the only possible way, not by subordinating one to the other, nor leaving both as co-ordinate powers, but by merging the two into each other. This was the real strength of Islam. As for weakness, it lay in the men who subverted it and introduced into sovereignty the element of proprietorship. But if the Omayyads, most of whom were heathens, are to be blamed, so must those proud people be blamed who retired into "the corner of safety" to save their own little souls. That is a lesson which the good and the true have yet to learn, that the safety of the world lies not in the flight of its best men, but in

bold opposition to vice and wickedness and in the spirit of self-sacrifice. The most interesting chapter in the book before us, however, is the one on "The Shu'ubiyyah Movement in Islam." The history of this movement has important lessons to teach not only to Mussalmans to-day but also to other rulers who retain racial prejudices. Mr. Salahuddin writes that "its importance in the history of Islam can scarcely be exaggerated as it was one of the few potent factors which smote the Arab supremacy through and through and which sowed the seeds of disloyalty and disaffection, bearing their fruit in the rise of Abu Muslim and the overthrow of the Omayyad rule." He says: "Ostensibly the Shu'ubiyyites were those foreign converts to Islam who, while advocating the excellence of their own respective nationalities, refused to acknowledge the superiority of the Arabs." We believe the writer is justified in differing from Dr Goldziher and asserting that the movement "was not merely a literary warfare waged between the Arabs on the one hand and the foreign converts on the other, but a political movement having its origin and its basis in the political conditions of the times." In his parting sermon Mohamed had said, "O men, God has taken away from you the arrogance and pride of ancestry of heathen days. An Arab has no other excellence or superiority over a barbarian than what is secured to him by his God-fearing character and righteousness. Ye are all the progeny of Adam, and Adam himself is of the earth." "Truly the most worthy honour in the sight of God," says the Quran, "is he who feareth Him most, for the Faithful are brethren, wherefore make peace between your brethren." It was against this essential feature of Islam that the Omayyads warred, and it was indeed a pity that those who were the descendants of the Prophet or the descendants of his ascendants, instead of exerting themselves against a feeling of the racial superiority of the Arabs which the Omayyads encouraged, chose to fight for their own rights as the Prophet's successors. In these dynastic and personal conflicts the spirit of Islam was neglected, and though the Abbasides favoured the Ajam converts in their own obvious political interest, they too became partisans and helped the disintegration of Islam. The Caliphate that could have reflected that spirit in their rule was at last extinguished ruthlessly by the Mongols, and thereafter various nationalities among Mussalmans fought each for their own hand, and even the revival of the Caliphate by the Turks has not succeeded in re-creating the fraternity of faith which was brought into being by the Prophet of Islam. Individuals have always felt a brotherly feeling, but an organised Brotherhood is still absent. Who knows if the present misfortunes of Islamic countries may create the organisation as well? When it comes, we may be sure, Islam would be a living faith working for "good in the World and good in the Hereafter." As for the movement, with which the author deals exhaustively, he is right in saying that "it illustrates one supreme and eternal truth which all governments might well take to heart." It is this "Physical force might prolong the existence of the lucky politic but it can not insure its permanence. The only sure foundation of a government is in the loyalty of its subjects, but loyalty cannot be secured by despising them and excluding them from their legitimate share in the government and its administration. History repeats itself and those very problems which confronted the Omayyad statesmen nearly a thousand years ago are now before us, different perhaps in their setting, but in their essence unchanged." The Indian subjects dealt with in these Essays include an appreciation of Shahib which, however, is too general, though its literary merits are great. The essay on "Hindustani literature" has the same merits and perhaps the same defects. In dealing with the life of his father, Mr. Salahuddin has supplied a mass of most interesting information about the great Library at Bankipore which would always keep alive the name and public spirit of Khan Bahadur Khuda Buxsh Khan, C.I.E., who made a gift of his great treasures to the public. The writer deals in the last essay with the present situation and some of his observations are shrewd, while frankness in the statement of his views is one of the important merits of the chapter. Although we have followed the writer's example in dealing critically with his book, we trust none of our readers would be misled into thinking that we are not its admirers. It is one of the most interesting publications of recent times from the pens of India writers, and Moslem writers are so rare that the community must be thankful to Mr. Salahuddin for the close study and brilliant writing that have gone to the making of this bright volume. A perusal would more than repay the cost of the book and the time spent, and we specially commend it to young Mussalmans who are anxious to know more about the Faith and the history of Islam.

SOME time ago we published the fact that we had sent £400 (the equivalent of Rs. 6,000) out of the Turkish Relief Fund, Relief Fund collected by us to H. E. the Grand Vizier of Turkey, through the Bank of Bengal, Calcutta, and the Imperial Ottoman Bank, Constantinople, for the relief of war sufferers. Early this month we received a formal receipt from the Inspector-General of the Ottoman Red

Crescent Society of Constantinople, along with a letter from him and another from the Imperial Ottoman Bank. Unfortunately, in the burglary that took place in our office, the box containing these papers was carried away and we were unable to publish the letter of the Inspector-General of the Society. But three days after the burglary, we were informed by the Station Master of Sealdah that only an hour or so after the theft, and even before we ourselves knew of it, our box was found at the Station in a broken condition. The prompt, industrious and remarkably efficient police of Sealdah is, we believe, still contemplating to supply us this information. However, our box and papers had still to undergo a quarantine with the Calcutta Police, and have only now been returned to us—of course, with the usual sympathies and regrets. Apologising for the delay on behalf of the burglar, the Police and the Station Master, we now publish the Inspector-General's letter for the information of our expert readers.



تحت حماية مطر ملوكانہ
عثمانی ملائی احمد محمدی
مرکز عمومی
وادی

CONSTANTINOPLE, THIS 14TH 2 1912.

Dear Sir,

The Imperial Ottoman Bank, here, has paid us the sum of 400 £ kindly sent from you, through the Bank of Benegale, for the fund of the Ottoman Red-Crescent.

Herewith please find receipt for the above amount.

We cannot find terms to express you our deepest thanks for your encouraging work, and hope, you would, as Proprietor Editor of a paper, largely contribute to the development of our Society, which is meeting sympathy home and abroad and specially with the Islamic world.

* * * * *

Before closing, we thank you again for your successful efforts,

We remain, Dear Sir,

Yours very respectfully,

(Sd.) H. S. MEHMEDALLI, محمد علی
Inspecteur-General.

(Seal.)

عثمانی ملائی احمد محمدی

Societe Du Croissant Rouge Ottoman.

To the Proprietor-Editor of the "Comrade",
Calcutta.

IT WAS our intention to send the second instalment of our collections also to Turkey, when we read of Need of Funds in the efforts of the Right Hon'ble Mr. Amer Ali in sending a Red Crescent Mission to Tripoli, and its successful passage through Tunis. That inclines us to send the second instalment to him to London, specially as we are informed that the money sent from India to Constantinople appears mostly to have fallen into the hands of the Italians. As our readers know, money is contraband of war and the Turks have therefore had great difficulty in transmitting help of any kind to the seat of war. Thanks, however, to the efforts of Mr. Amer Ali, backed by the non-official support of our Foreign Office and the assistance of the French Foreign Office, the Mission organised by the British Red Crescent Society, which is formed under the auspices of the London Branch of the Moslem League, reached the Tripolitan frontier

safely. All these circumstances lead us to request Mr. Ameer Ali to organise, if possible, another Mission, composed of one doctor, one dispenser and one nurse, on our behalf, and send it to Tripoli as part of the British Red Crescent Society organisation. We have already been in communication with the Right Hon'ble gentleman, and intend to write to him by the next mail to accept our offer. As this offer is, however, in reality, not ours but that of our readers and others who have so kindly sent their donations and collections to us to transmit them to the proper destination, we look forward to them to redouble their efforts and make it possible for us to maintain in Tripoli a "COMRADE PARTY" throughout the war. We not only trust, but know that we do not appeal in vain.

IN THE midst of an exceptionally festive week came the sadness of farewell, the departure of the Hon'ble Sir James Meston to England, tempered as it was with the gladness of his official elevation.

We have already warmly congratulated Sir James on securing the charge of the United Provinces and have congratulated the United Provinces still more warmly on securing Sir James, and refer to his appointment again to-day because we believe the appreciation which Sir James has received from every quarter is unique alike in its warmth, its sincerity and its universality. First, it was the dinner given in his honour by the non-official members of the Council at which the Hon. Mr. Gokhale gave expression to a eulogy every word of which was amply deserved. He said "There is in Sir James a combination of qualities which must strongly appeal to everyone, whatever his race or creed or the political complexion of his views. He is a man of great ability—one of the most brilliant members of the Indian Civil Service. His devotion to duty, too, is remarkable, for many years he has been one of the hardest worked officials in the country. Then there are his scrupulous conscientiousness, and his high character. And, finally, everyone recognises in him the finest type of the English gentleman. No wonder, therefore, that Sir James enjoys in an unstinted measure the esteem and confidence of all classes. But the Indian communities see in him in addition an official of wide sympathies, of exceptionally broad and liberal views, one who not only understands but is friendly to their legitimate aspirations. Now we, the non-official members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, share these feelings for him with the rest of our countrymen."

He has been ever ready to help non-official members with suggestions, with advice, even with guidance, and there has never been anything forbidding about him. Often when he was immersed up to the very eyes in work, often when he was simply overburdened, many of us have had to go to him to consult him about our figures, or ask him for information which we could not obtain from sources available to us, feeling almost guilty in our own minds that we were adding to his burdens at such a time. But his great courtesy and his smile of welcome never failed, never was there the least suggestion of impatience, of annoyance or complaint, and we were invariably enabled to come away with the impression that the only thought in his mind was not that of the trouble we were giving him but of our trust in his friendly feeling which made us turn to him in our difficulties." Mr. Gokhale rightly repeated this warm appreciation in the Council itself before His Excellency, and it was in the fitness of things that his own chief, whose relations with him were throughout his secretaryship ideal, should add his own no less warm appreciation to that of the leader of non-official members. The Hon. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson said "My Lord, I would ask your permission to dwell for a moment on the retirement from his present office of one who has been for over three anxious years my invaluable colleague and my dearly loved friend Sir James Meston's distinguished services are so well known that it seems a work of supererogation to allude to them. It is not, I think, too much to say that for the last three years Sir James has been the guide, philosopher and friend of the Government of India. He has been more. He has been a helpful sympathetic and loyal friend to every Member of this Council. His unswerving devotion to duty, his entire subordination of all self-interest to the good of India, his ready sacrifice of ease, leave and even health in the interests of the public service, and his extraordinary capacity for carrying through the most difficult tasks without friction and with complete success are so well known to every one of us that it is hardly necessary for me to dwell on them. Sir James Meston's services during the last three years of stress and anxiety have been conspicuous and successful and it is impossible for me to exaggerate the deep obligation under which I lie towards him. I hope I may be permitted to say that we have placed the finances of India in a sounder and stronger position than they have perhaps before occupied, but if any credit does attach to the conduct of public business by the Finance Department during the last three and a half years, it should be attributed to Sir James Meston rather than to myself. I believe I shall be voicing the feelings of every one present if I say that we wish him health, prosperity and success in the high position which, on the recommendation of Lord Hardinge, he has been called upon by his Sovereign to fill." This was an appreciation as creditable to the chief as to his worthy lieutenant, and if Sir Guy was fortunate in securing such a Secretary,

Sir James was equally fortunate in securing such a superior officer. Last, but not least, came the praise of H. E. the Viceroy. Lord Hardinge said : "As regards Sir J. Meston, although it has been a great pleasure to me to appoint him to so high and important a post, Hon. Members can well understand, I am sure, what a loss he will be to me and the Government of India as Secretary in the Finance Department. I need not go into the question of his great but unassuming ability, but I am confident that his work and services will be to the great advantage of India in whatever position he is employed." To all these, the replies of Sir James Meston were short and the pattern of modesty, a quality which is as marked as his *sharafat* which none who sees him can fail to note. We wish him Godspeed and a safe return to India. The United Provinces can indeed be envied on their good luck, but who can say they do not deserve it ?

ONCE more we hear authoritatively that the Anglo-Russian Convention is based on the integrity and independence of Persia. But one effect of that Convention is that when there is alleged to be some commotion in Meshed it is the

Russians that proclaim martial law. Another is that when a paltry sum of 15 lakhs is loaned to Persia by the British Government, not a *paisa* of which she can touch, we are not above making an honest penny thereby, charging no less than 7 per cent. interest in spite of the excellent security of the Customs which Belgian officers control. In return for this we secure safe passage for our merchandise in the South, and, what is either worth nothing or worth everything, a recognition from Persia of an Agreement to which she was no party and which was signed behind her back. Is it so soon forgotten that between 1899 and 1903 Russia lent the then Shah no less than 4x crores at 6 per cent. interest, half of which was spent on the personal extravagances of that monarch, and that Great Britain tried hard in 1898 to lend this amount herself, but failing to impose the now paltry condition of appointing some European officers to control the Customs that were to be hypothecated, came down to an offer to lend the money even without this condition, though like the foolish virgin of the parable, much too late? Contrast the independence of Persia even under that amiable imbecile, Muzaffaruddin Shah, with what the Anglo-Russian Agreement has made it. Compare the Russian Army of Occupation in Northern Persia with the similar British force in Egypt with a larger area and greater population. Place the hitherto free appointment and dismissal of foreigners as its officials by the Persian Government side by side with the embargo now placed even on their transfer within the same zone. Compare and contrast all this and then compare and contrast the tyrant's rule of Mohammed Ali with the progressive reforms even of a harassed Mejiss, and say if the Anglo-Russian Convention has proved a safeguard of the independence and integrity of Persia, and if it is the Mejiss that has made the situation in Persia "as unsatisfactory as possible" or the Convention and the Russian influence which it revived after its almost complete disappearance on Japan's victory and the Persian revolution. Unless that is done it is no use holding up the Convention for the admiring gaze of multitudes. We know enough to say that Lord Hardinge's presence at the British Foreign Office, even though it could not prevent the signing of the Convention, was an assurance of sympathetic dealings with Persia. His successor there has dispelled that hope, but the presence of Lord Hardinge here and his first-hand knowledge of the bearings of the Persian question on India ought to be an assurance that even if there is to be no sentimental attachment towards the land of Firdusi and Hafiz, Sa'di and Omar, there would be some sense in our schemes for safeguarding our Perso-Baluch frontier, and guaranteeing the integrity of our own Empire.

The thanks of the Press of Calcutta are due to the Hon. Mr. S. Sinha, the editor of the *Hindustan Review*, who A Press Dinner. once more made this unsociable community his guest at an excellent dinner at the Calcutta Club a week ago and brought its members face to face with each other. We wonder how long Bengal and the late lamentable capital of India would permit Behar to give them a lead in such sociability and how long they would refuse to follow that lead. Instead of doing anything to remove the blot upon their escutcheon, the statesmen of Calcutta journalism still harp on the old theme of "honours where honours are not due." But like one of our journalistic chiefs and rajahs, we detest controversies and shall say no more about it, unless we find the belated composers ready to set up three-solid columns on the reasons that led Government to lop off the "K" from the title conferred on a sheriff who had the additional distinction of being a journalist. But as the composers did not share the dinner and its usual accompaniments, they are not disposed to appreciate our long-windedness. We therefore stop, only repeating once more our sincere hope that it will not be necessary for the mandarins of Calcutta journalism to be inoculated with a Delhi boil or the virus of a Delhi fever to become really human and sociable. To Mr. Sinha, our thanks once more.

The Comrade.

The Compulsory Education Debate.

II.

EVEN if it be granted that India can gain nothing by following the example of England or Japan, of the Philippines or Ceylon—for Sir Harcourt Butler said that “transmarine analogies” are unsafe—there still was the overland analogy of Baroda. There was no “fur coat” here, but as light and airy garments as the heat of the Indian plains required. Baroda was a test case and it was something more. The very rest with which the Hon. Member for Education defended the Government against the charge of lagging behind Baroda betrayed, what Mr. Gokhale had expressed as his belief, that the Government could never be satisfied with that position. It is therefore necessary to examine the figures of Baroda in some detail. After a lengthy reference studded with gleaming figures, Sir Harcourt Butler concluded that he hoped “we shall hear no more of lagging behind Baroda.” We are sorry to prove that hope somewhat illusive, for the case of Baroda is not so easily settled. Now, Baroda spends more than 12 lakhs a year on education out of total disbursements amounting to 137 lakhs, or about 9 per cent., whereas the British Government spends—and that after the rapid increase of the last few years—a little over 3 million sterling out of a little less than 80 millions, or less than 4 per cent. Sir Harcourt had tried to explain this last year by referring to the smaller needs of military defence in Baroda. But Baroda’s Army and Contingent commutation money cost it about 22 lakhs a year, or 16 per cent. of its total disbursements, while the Military Services cost us 20½ millions, or 25 per cent. But Baroda contributes to the British Indian exchequer its share of the Customs, Railways, Post, Telegraph, Mint and Opium revenues, and is to that extent contributing to Imperial defence in addition to its own Army charges. In any case, few Indians approve of our bloated Military Budget, and we shall not grudge Sir Harcourt a transfer of about 25 per cent. of the Military charges to the Educational Budget—if Sir Edward Grey and Russia would only permit us.

Coming to elementary education itself, Baroda spends 6½d per head of its population while British India spends a solitary penny. Of the population of Baroda 8·6 attend a school to 1·9 per cent. of British India, and while 79·6 per cent. of the boys and 47·6 per cent. of the girls of school-going age go to school in Baroda, only 21·5 per cent. boys and 4 per cent. girls do so in British India. But Sir Harcourt Butler is not disposed to accept this as a true basis of comparison. We should not compare the whole of British India with a small State like Baroda, but must compare the figures of adjoining territories. All this looks plausible enough if we forget that Baroda is not a compact area, but has four separate districts cut off from each other by intervening British and other territory, and that it has almost as great variations of land and population as British India itself. However, rejecting this basis of comparison we come to that selected by Sir Harcourt Butler himself, and we ask him if in all fairness he does not think it is wholly misleading. He takes the average of all the four districts of Baroda, and refusing to compare it with the average of all the districts of British India, compares it with the figures of the two best districts of Gujarat, Surat and Broach, because only a part of Baroda territory adjoins them. We shall say nothing about the adjacent Native States, such as Ban-de, Bharampur, Sachin, Rajpipla, Cbota Ugapur, Cambay, Lunawar, Palanpur, Radhanpur and the Kathiawar States. But may we not ask why no figures were quoted about the adjacent British districts of Khandesh, Kaira, Pauch Mahals, and Ahmedabad, not to mention the British cantonment at Deesa? If it is unfair to compare the figures of Baroda with the whole of British India, it is still more unfair to compare those of all the districts of Baroda with those of selected districts of British India. It is, of course, very pleasing to find that after 5 years of compulsion the literacy among males is 17·5 and among females 2 per cent. in Baroda, but 27·4 and 26 per cent. respectively in Broach and 24·7 and 3·5 per cent. respectively in Surat, and it may not be very disconcerting to find the school enrolment in Baroda 8·5 per cent. as against 6·9 per cent. in Broach when the attendance is only two-thirds in Baroda and generally three-fourths in British India. Mr. Gokhale, however, corrected the last set of figures, pointing out an enrolment of 9·5 in Baroda against 6·5 in Broach, and showed that the percentage of attendance to the total population was 13·6 in Navsari as against only 6 in Broach. What is still more important is that if comparisons are made district by district, Baroda would in many cases be ahead of the neighbouring British districts, for its figures are spoilt by the northern district of Kadi which adjoins Ahmedabad, and by the forest area of Nayaram.

In the latest summary of the report of the 1911 Census received only a few weeks ago, the Census Superintendent states that the “Navsari district . . . though having Animists as one fourth of its population, has on an average one literate male in every six . . . Kadi, having a large Thakarda, Koli, and Anja Kanbi population, stands last in the diffusion of the rudiments of learning, having only one literate male in every eight . . . In the city of Baroda there is one educated female in every 14. Then comes Amreli with 1 in 28. Then follow Navsari and Buroda districts with 1 in 40 and 54 respectively. Kadi stands last with only 1 educated female in every 90.” The general literacy (both sexes combined) is roughly 7, 9, 11 and 12 per cent. in the districts of Amreli, Baroda, Navsari and Kadi respectively. With such large variations, how can it be fair to take an average of all these four districts for comparison with the two best districts of Gujarat? A really fair comparison would, in fact, be a comparison of taluka with adjoining taluka, for, as the Census Superintendent remarks, “the talukas comprised in each district show very uneven results.” This is evident from the fact that in the one district of Navsari while the Navsari taluka has 1 literate in every 5 persons—which we do not think any taluka of Irroch or Surat can beat—there is 1 in as many as 44 in the forest taluka of Songadh, 1 in 45 in the similar taluka of Vakal, and 1 in no less than 90 in the jungle-covered Umarpada which is as much the abode of wild beasts as of men. If Sir Harcourt Butler is satisfied with not lagging behind Umarpada, he is welcome to that satisfaction, but if likes are compared with likes he will often have to hear about lagging behind Baroda till he leaves it behind on the road, whether it be the high road of voluntary effort or the lower road of compulsion.

Before we close the account of Baroda we must deal with two other points mentioned by the Hon. the Member for Education. He quotes the extremely cautious praise of Mr. Seddon, which is highly characteristic of that excellent official, and then he refers to the fact that the fines for non-attendance amount to over Rs. 60,000 a year and give an incidence per head of population of double the fee incidence per head of population in elementary schools in British India. As regards the comparative incidence of fines and fees, it amounts to this, that Baroda fines its subjects twice as much for ignorance as the British Government fines its subjects for attempts to obtain knowledge. But Sir Harcourt is not justified in concluding that the amount of fines indicates “a considerable measure of popular hostility.” The number of defaulters, as Sir Gangadhar Chitnavir mentioned, was 7,408 in the year 1909-10, and considering that 164,737 children were then at school, the percentage of defaulters is not great. The fact is that Mr. Seddon was from the first disposed towards severity in punishing defaulters, and, as he says in his report for 1909-10, in order to prevent half the girls who ought to go to school under the law but do not do so, and a good many boys that manage to escape, from absenting themselves from school, the maximum fine was raised from Rs. 2 per month to Rs. 5, and a continuous absence for ten days which rendered the parents liable to fine was reduced to six days. It is this which accounts for heavy fines, and it was to the escaping of half the girls and a good many boys that Mr. Seddon referred when he said that compulsion as then exercised was “by no means an assured success.” We trust it has not escaped the notice of the Member for Education that in 1910 there was issued a report of the Education Commission of Baroda presided over by Mr. Seddon himself. In that report Mr. Seddon and the Commissioners wrote “that the system of free compulsory primary Education initiated by the Baroda Government is a boon to His Highness’ subjects and should be persevered with and extended.” Since then, it has been applied even to the most backward areas, territories to which Mr. Gokhale would not dream of applying his Bill for some decades after its passage into law. If anything is certain it is this, that compulsory education would be continued in Baroda, and there is danger that those who still regard it as an experiment that may have to be discontinued in the near future may without sufficient reason be mistaken for those who make the wish the father to the thought. Compulsion in Baroda has been a success, for it has already doubled the percentage of children of school-going age going to school, and it is hoped to be a still greater success in the future. But if a well known soap “won’t wash clothes,” compulsory education in Baroda cannot have the retrospective effect of making unlettered dotards literate.

Mr. Gokhale had, however, given the instance of Baroda not so much to show its superiority to British India as to justify the resort to compulsion and to show the harshness of the fear of political danger and popular hostility against the administration, and he can justly claim that even if Baroda is lagging behind British India, there is all the more reason for the British Government to be of good courage and introduce compulsion. “That with a smaller general spread of education,” said Mr. Gokhale, “the Gaekwar could introduce compulsion was an argument against those who wanted education to be much more largely spread before introducing compulsion in British territory.”

To Baroda must now be added the overland analogy of another State, namely Sangli. Here the percentage of the total population at school was only 2, the same as the general average of British

India and also of the adjoining British territory. Sangli is, therefore, an even better test case for compulsion and the dangers of compulsion. Captain Burke, a British officer who acted as Administrator during the minority of the Chief, tried an experiment in compulsion under the very eyes of the Bombay Government, though it is doubtful if any one in the Bombay Secretariat noticed it at all. He felt that the school population should at least be 4 per cent of the total population of Sangli, and proceeding on different lines altogether, ordered that where the school population was not 4 per cent compulsion should apply, and that when it reached that proportion compulsion should cease. Every village with a population of 400 was supplied with a school, and the responsibility for the attendance of at least 4 per cent was thrown on the village officers. The result was that what Captain Burke desired was achieved in 3 years, and the number of school children was doubled, increasing from about 5,000 to nearly 10,000. So much can compulsion do, and that without causing any appreciable commotion.

As a matter of fact once education comes in the wake of compulsion, the feeling that compulsion is being used grows weaker and weaker and after some time almost ceases to exist. Most people when they talk of the evils of compulsion forget that in a thousand and one things they do every day they are acting on compulsion, whether that compulsion be applied by law, or religion, or public opinion. But as actions are repeated often and often the sense of obligation is by degrees weakened, habits are slowly formed and gradually character is developed. Commencing with compulsion, civilized mankind is as much shocked in the end with the discovery of the origin of character as Moliere's barber was when he learnt that he habitually spoke prose.

While on the subject of the hostility of the people towards an administration that would compel the ignorant to secure knowledge for their children, it must not be forgotten that whereas both in Baroda and in Sangli it was the State itself that took the initiative, Mr. Gokhale leaves this to the leaders and representatives of the people themselves. In the first place, there must be a certain amount of diffusion of rudimentary education before the Bill can become applicable to a particular area, and the exact amount of that diffusion has been left entirely with the Government. With 33½ per cent, or, if that is too low, 40 per cent of the boys of school going age going to school voluntarily, there will be about the same number that will be made to go there by the use of a mild but effective compulsion. That makes the chance of any great commotion against compulsion fairly small. In the second place, compulsion would rest not on the Government, which has already shown to the world how reluctant it is to resort to it, but on the people's representatives themselves. The Government would practically be a neutral body, and if the people and their representatives fall out, the danger would be the latter's and not one involving Government. In fact, those officials who dislike the growth of the representative element in the administration of the country will find in any such untoward result of compulsion the one opportunity after their heart of discrediting representative institutions in India. The Hon. Mr. Dadabhoy thinks that others may force the representatives of the people to go too fast, and is jubilant that a high official of his own Province quotes him with approval. We do not know whether Sir Reginald Craddock would find much room for consolation in this, considering that some of his ideal citizens whom he regarded as the best possible counsellors of a District Officer only the other day are then made out to be mere pawns on the official chessboard. Nor should we think those ideal citizens would be much gratified at this exposure. As a matter of fact, the Hon. Mr. Dadabhoy is himself a representative of those representatives, and such suggestions are likely to make people curious to know whether he owes his elevation to the Council to the good offices of a District Officer. For our part, we foresee no commotion, but even if there is some in stray localities, it will not only give the malicious an opportunity of creating estrangement between the constituents and the men of their choice, but it would also bring the Government and the representatives of the people closer than ever. That in itself would be such a blessing that all those who desire to see both the Government and the non-official leaders become more responsible in administration and in criticism, would bless Mr. Gokhale for having introduced such a unifying measure in the country.

However, wherever there is fear of considerable hostility being aroused against compulsion, the remedy is entirely in the hands of Government itself. It need not in such cases accord the necessary sanction to the application of compulsion. It is said in reply to this that Local Governments will then find it very difficult to go against the popular demand for compulsion. We do not know what those who talk like this of Local Governments take them for. They have had the courage to oppose the Bill in every case in spite of the almost unanimous demand of all the Provinces, and yet it is seriously asked how a Local Government could possibly find enough courage to refuse the demand in some remote district or stray municipality. Verily this

is a case of the elephant managing to escape bodily through an opening, but getting its tail stuck in that narrow aperture.

If with all these safeguards in the Bill, Government has not courage enough to march ahead, we are rather sorry for it. But it reminds us of one of Mr. Kipling's short Simla stories in which a hill captain making love to a grass widow in the undisturbed retreat of the Simla cemetery was caught there by a sudden downpour of rain and saw a grave that was newly dug filled with six inches of water. He pitied the fellow that would have to lie in that dismal and damp cavity, but himself died the same evening in a landslip, and had to be buried in a grave with a foot of rain water where he had objected to a bare six inches some hours before. It is not by a lack of courage that dangers are avoided, and the history of the British in India supplies ample evidence on that subject. Dangers have to be faced, not fled from, and as Mr. Gokhale says, "danger really lay not in a diffusion of education but in the withholding of it." After all, "perpetual ignorance for the mass of the people was too heavy, too terrible a price to ask for all the advantages which the most enthusiastic supporter of British rule could claim for it", and we know that our King and his representative in India do not mean to exact that price, but, on the contrary, wish to make the education of the masses the greatest advantage and the surest prop of that rule.

Another objection was urged that even if compulsion is not dangerous it is superfluous, and education can for long grow indefinitely on a voluntary basis if only educational facilities can be provided. It is not compulsion, say the objectors, that is wanted, but more schools. It is said that more money is wanted to open schools where there is already a demand for them on a voluntary basis, and in the United Provinces some schools have had to be closed for want of funds. Are we then to stop the expansion of the voluntary system in the backward areas in order to make experiments in compulsion in the more advanced localities? Mr. Gokhale's reply to this was given in his first speech by anticipation, and we wish Sir Harcourt Butler had answered that contention instead of repeating one that had already been met with. "There were," he said, "two distinct factors operating to produce a low school attendance in the country, first, a grievous inadequacy of schools and, secondly, the apathy of parents in many places where schools existed. And the remedy for that state of things was also twofold (1) an obligation thrown on local bodies to provide adequate educational facilities, and (2) an obligation thrown on parents compelling them to send their children to school. It was necessary to provide for both obligations and ensure their simultaneous enforcement." It was incumbent on the Government members to show that where educational facilities had already been provided there was adequate attendance. With educational statistics by their side, they yet failed to prove that no school had to be closed on account of the parents' apathy and that none was in a moribund condition for the same reason. On the other hand, some of the papers received by the Government of India on the Bill unmistakably showed that these conditions existed largely, and the fact had already been admitted by Mr. Orange. As for schools being closed in the United Provinces for want of funds, we wonder whether Sir John Hewett could not divert some of his generosity from exhibitions to schools, and whether the Government of India could not place that backward area in the same financial position as other Provinces by readjusting the Provincial Settlement on the basis of a four-eighths Provincial share of its Land Revenue instead of the wholly exceptional three-eighths share allotted at present. Mr. Gokhale leaves it to the pressure of public opinion to compel local areas to provide educational facilities, instead of incorporating the principle of the English Act of 1870, compulsory provision of such facilities, in his own Bill. The reason for this difference is not far to seek. As another resolution of his, supported this time by the Hon. Mr. Dadabhoy, also indicated clearly, it is impossible to press local bodies to spend more largely on education when we know that their resources are wholly inadequate even for their present liabilities. The utmost that could now be done, and is done in the Bill, is to insist on the provision of educational facilities on all local bodies desiring to introduce compulsion, and to demand from them a substantial fraction of the cost. In Baroda, however, H. H. the Gaekwar has made it incumbent on all local bodies to devote a third of their resources to education, and where this entailed too great a hardship to begin with, he supplemented the allotment from the local cess with a grant from the State. But it is impossible to say whether a statutory obligation of this nature can be thrown on local bodies in British India also, unless a searching enquiry into the adequacy of local resources for local burdens takes place.

Yet another objection against compulsion was that in view of the corruption prevailing in the lower strata of Government servants, compulsion would lead to petty exactions and harassment of the people. We wish all this was remembered when the question of the powers of the Police in India was discussed. It is indeed strange that the man who would be a lamb in the Police would forthwith become a lion when entrusted with petty duties in connection with compulsory education. Did this fear ever worry an administrator who,

gave inquisitorial powers to the Police? Did it prevent compulsory vaccination and has it led to all these conjectural evils in that Department? We can ourselves rely on some slight personal experience of corrupt village officials, and we may add that those in Baroda do not lag behind their confrères in British India in the matter of illegal use of authority. But while compulsion is not directly to be exercised by these under Mr. Gokhale's Bill, it is so exercised in Baroda. There it is the village Patel that is the sole judge in the case of early offences. He has powers to condone the first three offences of a defaulter. Thereafter he has authority to punish him for the next two offences. When all these powers have been exhausted, the cases go to the Taluka or Tahsil Officer. There is no popular Committee such as Mr. Gokhale proposes to deal with these cases. Yet what are the results in Baroda? It is not the people that complain of their Patel's exactions, but the Patel himself who finds it wearisome to collect the fines, and generally recommends the defaulters to the Taluka Officer for leniency. We wish some of the most volatile critics of the measure spent three months in Baroda watching compulsion in actual working order instead of wasting their own time and the Council's in condemning it for hypothetical dangers and conjectural fears. The Hon. Messrs. Dadabhai and Shah would profit much by being posted as Taluka Officers in Baroda, preferably in the forest tracts of Navsari. We hope their constituents would insist on this preliminary training for the intelligent discharge of their duties.

The Viceroy on Turkey and Persia.

HE THE VICEROY wound up the session of the Imperial Legislative Council with a speech of absorbing interest, with the greater portion of which we hope to deal in detail on another occasion. Two of the subjects that almost monopolize the attention of our readers are the war between Italy and Turkey and the late of Persia, and in an unusual reference to both these His Excellency showed a consideration for Moslem feeling in India which deserves the gratitude of that community.

It could not indeed be expected that the Viceroy would show any marked leaning towards either of the belligerents in Tripoli, but it is enough, if he is sensitive to Moslem feeling on the subject of that war, and if in his capacity as the head of a Government ruling in His Majesty's name over a fourth of the total Moslem population of the world, he not only communicates his impressions of Moslem desires to His Majesty's Government but also advises that Government to assay at their proper value the sentiments of twenty million subjects of the King. They must, indeed, be grateful to him for taking prompt and effective action with regard to the feared bombardment of Jeddah and Yembo and the blockade of these pilgrim ports. But we hope it has not escaped Lord Hardinge's notice that the Mussalmans of India, so often credited with fanaticism along with their co-religionists abroad, had with the exercise of a very remarkable self control, maintained a patient attitude in the face of such provocation, leaving the protection of the Holy Places to Him Whom neither slumber seizes nor sleep. They feared that if they betrayed much excitement they might be playing into the hands of Italy, who seeks to force intervention on the Powers after having burnt almost her last cartridge at the same time that she burnt her fingers. We are glad that "His Majesty's Government have, in conjunction with other Powers, already taken steps to mediate with a view to securing an honourable peace." But we do not think any peace would be honourable in which an aggressor was allowed to remain in possession even of an inch of the land to which he had no claim or title, on which he descended much as a group of bandits would descend on a peaceful, defenceless and unsuspecting hamlet, which he turned into a shambles as few bandits would do, and yet which he is wholly unable to secure, in spite of every advantage that wealth, numbers and appliances can give, simply because he lacked the courage that entitles even a bandit to some admiration.

Lord Morley had recognised on a previous occasion the legitimate character of Moslem sympathies in India with Moslems in trouble abroad, and now the Viceroy sets his seal on that *legitimation* by referring on so public and important an occasion to "external affairs in which the interests of a very large and influential section of the community are sentimentally, though indirectly, affected." We can assure his lordship that such frank recognition of the extra-territorial patriotism of the Mussalmans of India is an act of wise statesmanship for which the Government of India would never have reason to regret. It is only the short-sightedness of those who seldom see even a few feet beyond their noses that leads to discontent and trouble. When Lord Hardinge, who is not unfamiliar with Islam elsewhere, has done this, we trust he would follow it up with a clear intimation to His Majesty's Government that if Great Britain wishes to strengthen still more the undoubted loyalty of Indian Mussalmans she should show in the future a more unmistakable leaning towards Islamic States, and should for the present refrain from pressing peace on

Turkey on terms which a self-respecting Power cannot be expected to accept. In fact, even while the war is in progress, England can endear herself to the Moslem subjects of His Majesty by checking the masterfulness of Lord Kitchener in Egypt, where, it appears, neither treaty obligations, nor international law are being respected, and by asserting herself in the cause of peace and justice if any of the Balkan States take advantage of Turkey's difficulties and provoke her beyond endurance. There is in all this nothing unfair or too ambitious; but whether these suggestions are acted upon or not, it is undoubtedly that a coercion of Turkey to give up any of the rights that she possessed in Tripoli before the war would produce just that feeling in India which His Excellency and all friends of the Mussalmans and of their Government would devoutly wish to avoid. As His Excellency explained, "the almost unprecedented distinction of the simultaneous conferment of these two orders by the Sultan on His Majesty the King Emperor is a striking act of confidence and goodwill," and we trust that such profound confidence and great goodwill would be amply reciprocated.

Tempted by the example of Sir Amy Fleetwood Wilson, the Viceroy also indulged in a retrospect and looked back "to the days when our Indian revenues were clouded by two great shadows, the fall in exchange and the fear of invasion from our North West frontier." With reference to the latter, His Excellency said that a heavy toll was being taken on our revenues by this incubus, for the defence of our frontier and the preparation of our army for war formed one of the two outstanding features of the period which His Excellency reviewed. The Viceroy is now satisfied that the two great cycles of expenditure, which filled the rich years between the famine of 1899 and the crisis of 1907 and, overlapping each other, between them swallowed up the fruits of our prosperity, have now disappeared. "The situation," said Lord Hardinge, "has now entirely changed. We leave it to the Hon. Mr. Gokhale and the officer in charge of the inquiry into high prices to discuss and explain how far, if at all, the currency policy of the Government in recent times has removed the first incubus, and whether the change in situation is merely one in which the misery only changes its shape and form but retains its character. But so far as the defence of India is concerned we shall examine somewhat closely the statement that the momentous change that the Russian Agreement brought into our relations with our great Asiatic neighbour removed the menace on our frontier and the rapid growth of our army expenditure has now been checked and curtailed."

It is not only because Lord Hardinge is the head of the Indian administration that great weight attaches to such a pronouncement. He has had a distinguished and a long career in diplomacy, and has therein acquired knowledge both of Persia and Russia, and more important than all, he was intimately associated with the negotiations that resulted in the Anglo-Russian Agreement. His was the arduous task of the green room attendant, and his the prompting in the wings. We may go even further and say that the diplomatic situation, dangerous as it always was, became far worse when he left charge of the Foreign Office and Sir Arthur Nicholson who made his *début* with the "Ultimatum" to Persia of October 16th, 1910, took up his part behind the scenes.

Now, to take up the defence of India first, we are not sure that His Excellency is wholly justified in claiming that it has been secured. So long as Persia remained an effective barrier between us and the Muscovite, our energies were mainly concentrated on the Indo-Afghan frontier. During the last 35 years nearly we had contributed materially to the strengthening of Afghanistan, the first line of our defence, and had endeavoured to induce the tribes between us and Afghanistan to become as friendly as frontier tribes can become. That was our second line of defence. When Lord Kitchener came out to India, he found himself face to face with an aggressive neighbour who had unmistakeable designs on our property and lived only a few doors from us. He also found that instead of providing fully against that danger, our military policy was still based on the hasty, vindictive and suspicious basis of 1858. In spite of the fact that Lord Curzon was creating more than a ripple on the surface of the Indian waters, he saw that our Army was not required in the interior but must needs be concentrated on the North West Frontier. Accepting his verdict, we permitted him to reorganise our defences at a tremendous cost. That was our third line of defence. Behind that there lay nothing but the last and unfailing line of defence, the unflinching firm loyalty of the people, emasculated and cowed down, it is true, but still anxious to maintain British rule in India in the belief that the Union Jack was the flag of liberty and law, and taught by their assiduous British teachers that Russia was the enemy of both. But what is the situation to-day? In October 1886, Sir John Tenniel drew a two-page cartoon for *Punch* over the legend "What of the Night?" Dame Europa was then represented as anxiously scanning the skies, and the only constellation pictured on the firmament was the Great Bear of the North in a posture of stealthy advance. We do not desire to be the prophets of evil, but scanning the political skies as we do nightly, we still see the stealthy advance of the Northern Bear towards India. All that has been altered is the route. The destination is still the same. In military

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phraseology, the frontal attack which has been proved in recent warfare to be mostly disastrous to the attacker, has been given up. But our Perso-Baluch flank is being turned and we seem to be hypnotised by the stealthy motion of the Bear and lulled to sleep by the soft lullaby of its footfall. When the Anglo-Russian Agreement was made the *Times* wrote that "hitherto the real danger of Russian expansion lay in the fact that Russia might, by way of Persia and Seistan, reach Baluchistan and our Indian frontier, and then by some strategical road slip past our great defensive position on the North-West Frontier." How has that real danger then been removed? Instead of making the advance of Russia by way of Persia and Seistan on Baluchistan and our Indian frontier impossible, we are ourselves providing the strategical road by which Russia could slip past our great defensive position on the North-West Frontier. The desert and swamps which constitute the greater portion of the British sphere of influence are a poor enough barrier when we know that even the North Western barrier has not kept back a determined invader of India. But a trans-Persian Railway— which is no less likely to destroy all independence in the case of Persia than the Suez Canal has done in the case of Egypt—is being seriously discussed, and Colonel Yates in the Debate in the Commons on the Address "saw no reason why those railways should not be sanctioned without delay." He added, "If a trans-Persian Railway was constructed it was important that there should be a clear run for British goods from India. The gauge should be the same as that on Indian railways, at any rate as far as Isfahan, the capital of Southern Persia." We ask, could anything be more fatuous? If such a railway is constructed, would it provide a clear run only for British goods from India and not an equally clear run for Russian troops to India? It is as if an engineer who wished to drain away the sewage of a ship bored a big hole in its bottom, forgetting that if the sewage could thereby escape out, the rushing tide could also escape in. And what is there to prevent it? The *Times* found its consolation in the Anglo-Russian Convention, just as a certain old lady found hers in that soothing word Mesopotamia. "The fact that we have secured from Russia a pledge to refrain from intervention in these regions is a sufficient compensation." And yet it is not as if this is the first time that Russia has given a solemn pledge. Did not a broken covenant in March 1885 bring England to the verge of war with Russia? Did not Mr Gladstone, in his famous speech on the 27th April of that year, say in the tones of thunder, "We cannot close this book and say we will look into it no more"? We should like to quote here the words of Prof Browne—that truly chivalrous Englishman and ardent lover of Persia on the subject of such pledges. Referring to the assurances given by the British Minister at Teheran to the Persian Foreign Minister on the 4th September, 1907, he wrote in his book on the Persian Revolution:

This England pledged her honour not merely as regards her own course of conduct, but as regards Russia's, a rash pledge, as some may think, for what would England do if Russia should break her promise?—a contingency, if the history of her former proceedings in Central Asia be considered, which cannot be regarded as wholly impossible. She scarcely could, and certainly would not go to war for a breach of an Agreement especially designed to secure peace, and her only other course would be to go on pretending that Russia was observing the Agreement as loyally as herself, until the facts of the case could no longer be ignored, and then to declare that she could not consent to be bound by an Agreement which did not bind the other contracting party, and that henceforth the Agreement must be regarded as null and void.

Who shall say that this forecast is too much in the vein of Cassandra? We already see that war cannot—some responsible people even say dare not—be declared. We shall not be so uncharitable as to say that the other course, the course of consciously false pretences is being followed, for luckily there is still a middle course, the comfortable and smooth highway of self-deception. But even if this prophecy is fulfilled to the letter there is more at stake than the disappearance of the Agreement. There is still the real danger of Russian expansion, and if Colonel Yates can have his way, Russia will have a fine rail road whereon to continue her peaceful progress towards the Indian Empire.

His Excellency speaks of the check and curtailment of military expenditure but the economies loudly promised a year ago have resulted in this. After that expenditure had been "subjected to close examination in every branch during the current year, in the first instance by the Heads of Departments at Army Headquarters and afterwards by an informal Committee over which the present Chief of the General Staff presided", the Budget that has just been passed took account of Rs. 28½ lakhs of "permanent economies or temporary avoidance of expenditure". Considering the tremendous advertisement for which the friends and foes of economy were alike responsible, and considering also the fact that our Military Budget amounts to 31 crores, is not this wonderful aggregate of "permanent economies" and "temporary avoidance of expenditure"—how much of each, we are not told—of the same species as the mouse that was born after the labours of the mountain? What is even more significant, His Excellency has not even tried to convince us that these eternal and ephemeral economies are the result of the recognition of a change in the

military situation. We, in fact, claim that it is the prospective loss of the Opium revenue and the demands of education and sanitation which are daily growing bolder and more insistent, that have compelled the military authorities to clip and prune. We shall certainly await the result of the Nicholson Committee; but present indications are that far from going back to expenditure of the days that preceded Lord Kitchener's re-organisation, we shall have to undertake another costly re-organisation on our Perso-Baluch border. Should Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson by some misfortune not return after his well-earned rest, and should Sir William Meyer be given the financial portfolio, we predict, more in sorrow than in arrogance, that military expenditure would once more go up. We already hear the rumbling in the skies that presages after Sir Guy the deluge so long delayed.

We have purposely devoted our attention here to the Indian aspect of the crisis, for in this *Kaliyuga* no sentiment seems to have any effect unless it is a sordid one, and no misfortune plays the magnet to our sympathies unless it is in some ways brought home to us. But for all that, the Persian aspect of the crisis is full of tragic interest. We shall not question the accuracy of His Excellency's statement that "in Persia the situation during the past two years has been as unsatisfactory as possible." We shall not even enter into a discussion of the steps which the Government of India took in trying to improve the situation. As a matter of fact we dealt with that euphemism of "strengthening the consular guards" with four squadrons, and the readiness of the rest of two whole regiments to embark, when that step was first projected. We have also on a previous occasion praised the good sense and moderation of the Government of India in dealing with Persia after the Smart incident, and we are ready to do so again, even though we are doubtful about the propriety, as judged by pre-existing usage, of sending a British Government escort of half a squadron with specie belonging to a Bank. We agree with most of what His Excellency said about the expansive tendencies of all foreign interference in weak countries, and are glad that in spite of the mischievous activity of the Forward Policy School among the advisers of Government, better counsels prevailed. But we venture to ask if we are not being thrown from the frying pan into the fire when instructions are being issued to the Resident at Bushire, doubtless at the insistent suggestion of Sir Percy Cox himself, "to open negotiations with the tribes for the punishment of those who led the attack upon our convoy, and for the proper guarding and security of the British and Indian caravans passing along the main trade routes of the South." This explanation may or may not dispel "the fears of those who have imagined that we had leanings towards the partition of Persia with Russia," but it creates the still greater fear that His Majesty's Government is ignoring the Central Government at Teheran altogether and setting up an *imperium in imperio* in that unfortunate country. It is an open secret that some tribes had years ago offered to place themselves in direct relations with Great Britain, but the suggestion of this tremendous *coup* was relegated to a musty pigeon-hole as too dangerous to touch. To-day we see that *coup* not only being considered but in fact acted upon, and we are asked to believe that this would keep intact the integrity and independence of Persia. We would here draw attention to what the correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* has stated about the new administrative settlement, and it would now seem that because Teheran is in the Russian zone, its Central Government is left to the tender mercies of Russia, while, "in view of the necessity of looking after our own interests," we have set up a different machinery to administer, or leave to us to administer for it, the British zone in the South. And yet, who dare talk of a partition of Persia? Verily words have changed their meanings when we feast and exchange toasts over the rapid recovery of the patient only because, in the words of Mr. Lynch, a Liberal M.P. who has large commercial interests in Persia, the patient "is lying between life and death, parcelled out, almost dismembered, helpless and friendless at our feet." Who talks of partition at this moment? God forbid!



Anecdote.

MICHAEL CASEY, a politician in San Francisco who has been in office and on the city pay-roll for many years, was addressing a meeting of his fellow citizens. It was a labour meeting. "You men must know," spouted Casey, "that you are the great body politic in this city. You are the roots and trunk of our great municipal tree, while we who represent you in office are merely the branches on that magnificent tree."

"True for you, Mike!" piped a man in the back of the hall. "But did ye ever notice all the fruit grows on the branches?"



The Council.

BY THE HON MR GUP.

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please."

—As You Like It

February 27th (contd.)

COUNCIL met again to-day, with Sir Guy still in chair. Diffident about giving rulings like all Vice-Presidents, and not having the privilege of a Judge to make laws which the legislature never contemplated, Sir Guy was anxious to dissociate himself from altering any Council rule. But in order to save time wasted in reading out questions, shrewdly threw out suggestion to hon. members who dream of Parliamentary Government to adopt "the formula which obtains in the English House of Commons where a member, instead of reading out at length the question standing in his name merely says, 'I beg to put question No. 74, 397, 426,' or whatever the number may be" Dig'er-Patty thought it far better to do this than postpone his dramatic tea-parties as he had to do on the preceding day, nearly missing a cosy corner dinner into the bargain, and the Free Lance of the Tiwans thought it would then be possible even for him to put a question or two in the course of three years without having to spell it out before the Coun". Bhupen, the wise, was most satisfied, however, for if one formula of Parliamentary Government in England was adopted now, who could stop him from taking the whole procedure as *dattak* one of these days?

So Mud Holkar was the first to name the number of his questions and pause for a reply. Pointed out huge loss resulting from railways from the commencement of construction to 1894-95 and asked for detailed information hereafter. Railway Sweeper gladly accepted the figure for losses before he laid himself out for the State railways to run over in their smooth career, but when it came to more recent times, rushed into the realms of the occult such as the great development of trade and agriculture which increased State revenue in a mysterious manner.

Dig'er-Patty anxious to know if Council Regulations were on executive anvil for some more tinkering, and if so, whether non-official Vulcans would be allowed to forge lighter chains for Representation. Reggie admitted the obvious, but when it came to non-official hammering, took cover behind the Local Governments, pending receipt of whose proposals it was impossible to say what may happen. After all, matter far too important to talk about without consulting the Gibsons and the Georges, the Johns and the Charleses, the Louises and the Harveys. Surely Dig'er-Patty doesn't think it to be quite so simple as the annullment of the Partition and the transfer of the Capital?

The Mild Hindu learnt from Beethoven that the permanent future of the South-African grievance was still the thing of beauty and the joy for ever that it had hitherto been, and correspondence was still in progress, the Secretary of State and the Government of India protracting their virtuous sympathies for the Indians while Nasal was making a holocaust of men's responsibilities and women's honour.

Also informed Cross-Bencher that as perhaps the Secretary of State had been kept exceedingly busy in saying "Yes" to Government of India on other questions as fast as ever he could, he had found no time to reply about Indian disabilities in Canada.

After this preliminary canter, the second heat of the Mixed Marriage Stakes commenced, and the East Bengal Shetland was the first to start off. Dig'er-Patty, by the Grace of God, Defender of Monogamy, thought it his duty to accord his full 4 feet 7 inches of support to this lofty measure, specially because "the stalwart champions of orthodoxy" had opposed it. He failed to see how it harmed any one if people "stuck to the religion of their forefathers" and to the intermarrying propinquities of their own.

The Moslem Dowager who had been taking copious notes on the previous evening asked permission to explain some points of his submission which may have caused misunderstanding, and having obtained it, politely corrected Mud Holkar about nationalism, and then turned to Hon. Longfellow, the lofty beacon light of Behar. Referring to his forcible speech, said he was not in a position to know what circumstances produce surprise in Hon. Longfellow and lead to emphatic expression. Quoting from the last word on marriage law of Islam from Longfellow's Sole Leader by Special Appointment, convinced Council that Hon. Longfellow had shot the long bow a little, and was then turning towards the Bombay Duck when Bhupen Babu, knowing well the habits of the Bar, rose to a point of order. Was that a personal explanation or a reply? Sir Guy hesitatingly referred to special position of Moslem Dowager on a subject with which Dowagers are generally so intimately familiar, namely as marriage, and the Dowager went on. Confessed that he knew of the Bar trick, but had left it on the doorstep of the High Court when he adopted the Dowager's weeds for the Bar-maid's gown, and saying, "I will never snatch a reply", was snatching one boldly, when Bombay Duck thought two could play at that game and put in a rejoinder. Had the Dowager stood his ground when interrupted as hon. members generally do till they are made to resume their seat all would have been serene. But the Dowager is most punctilious in these attentions to the hon. members and sat down the moment Bombay Duck rose to the surface. Sir Guy whose eyes were riveted on his lawful companion, did not see the smoke from the direction of the Bombay Duck before the report of his volley was heard. So concluding that the Dowager had explained all he had to explain, severely announced his intention of not allowing discussion to degenerate into the bandying of legal opinions, and saying that the Dowager was entitled to an explanation and had made it, ordered the discussion to proceed.

The Gurguri then backed "my hon leader, the Mild Hindu" and appealed that Bill be not thrown out at this stage. Thereafter rose Bhupen Babu gay in the irresponsibility of a reply after the Government had rejected the motion.

What was with the Bombay Duck and Hon. Longfellow! an "intellectual minority" became in his hands an "intellectual aristocracy," and Council wondered if before long it would become an "intellectual oligarchy", and thereafter an "intellectual despotism". Hitherto the despotism more evident than the intellect, but nature abhors a vacuum and that too may come in time. Bhupen Babu thanked Reggie for not forgetting his poor relations even in affluence after his translation to a higher sphere and for retaining

30th March.

to some extent his sympathy with Bhupen which he had expressed in the days of his poverty as a mere Chief Commissioner. But having done this, reminded Reggie that if and the bushman could count only up to 3, that did not disprove the existence of Integral and Differential Calculus. But, by the way, who is Integral Calculus and what relationship does he or she bear to Differential Calculus? They may both be living, and for aught that we know in our own street or just round the corner. But has anybody met them, wished them or talked to them? Is anyone on calling terms with them, or knows them well enough to share his steak or chop with them? As for Reggie's second test for social reform legislation, Bhupen politely pointed out that this was not the Orange Free State, but bondslave Bengal where no one waits for Government action if there is an overwhelming majority in favour of a measure. Here they force the Government to proceed to action and thereafter thank it for its spontaneous statesmanship. Who said the Partition, Ish?

Turning to the Moslem Dowager with his two anna share in the administration, claimed kinship with him. "For though he may be sitting on Government benches, he is one of us in our ideals, one of us in our methods, one of us in our pursuits, and we are proud that he is where he is." The Sergeant of the CID on duty looked suspiciously in the direction of the Dowager and wondered in what Samiti he had figured before, forgetting that he was only loyal and sturdy Bebar and that it was only Bhupen's way of tarring his friends with his own brush. As for the rest what mattered it whence the daughter came so long as she was the bride in another family? Did not Ruth say unto Naomi, "Whither thou goest, I will go, and where thou lodgest, I will lodge thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God?" After trying to establish kinship with the Dowager, and pointing out that he had got over many a legal difficulty in securing the release of a law breaker in the past and should now get over those of Bhupen's, he reminded him that the idolators with whom the Quran dealt and for whom hell-fire had been kindled were only "the worshippers of the stars" Dig'er Patti wondered why Bhupen had left him out when he was distributing free permits to heaven to all and sundry among the-idol worshippers. Were not the "stars" worthy idols to be worshipped, specially when connected with the "Empire" on which the sun of his munificence never sets? Could he not claim, too, that in the dear little images he set up he did not worship the images, but "the divine qualities which are supposed to be embodied in the images"? The many friends of aspiring Nawabdin heard with pleasure that Bhupen Babu had been authorised to select judges of the High Court, for he quoted "the authority of another eminent Muhammadan lawyer, Mr Justice Abdur Rahman, who has written a very valuable book on Muhammadan jurisprudence." A man of long memory, Bhupen said he did not know what Sir Roland had meant when he said that the Rajput brides of the Great Moghals had to make "a nominal profession of Muhammadan faith," though he knew perfectly well, and even better than that author of the remark himself, what Mr. Ameer Ali meant by the legality according to Moslem Law of the marriage of a Mussalman "with a Hindu woman whose idolatry is merely nominal."

Turning to other speakers, hoped it would not be impertinent in him to tickle the vanity of the Khan Bahadur, and immediately tried the sweet uses of flattery though with indifferent success. Then came the turn of white-robed Orthodoxy. "His opinion on questions of Hindu practices are entitled to the greatest weight." (The Pandit felt elated.) It would be a good day for us if men of his type were able to rise above the environments of their life. (The Pandit sank once more into the doldrums of conscious virtue) "My brother the Sweeper?" Excellent, excellent! We are evidently getting on. But—er did he see his brother the sweeper in the Faridpur Conference when one of them who got up to speak forgot to commence his oration with praise of Brahma, Vishnu, or Shiva, but plunged straight into the serried phalanx of the Brahmins and talked equally straight? Had the Pandit then heard his brother the sweeper, he would have had to issue an expurgated edition of that catholic-spirited expression. "What is the bond of Brotherhood? If the Sweeper brother of his happens to touch him even accidentally, he will incontinently run to the Ganges to have a dip to have himself purified. ('I can never bathe too often,' says Prof. A.B.C. on 'Hygiene, Ancient and Modern' [Extract from 'Hindu Superiority']) or take a big dose of cowdung to purify himself from the impurity of the touch. ('It is marvellous,' writes Dr. Z.Y.X. in his great work, 'Bacteriology of the Aryans in the Arctic Regions,' 'that the ancient Aryans discovered the germicide properties of cowdung 5,793 years before modern Germans chanced upon the discovery' [Extract from 'Hindu Superiority'].] If the Sweeper brother happens to touch his food, that food must be thrown into the street. ('Little does the unheeding multitude know,' says Prof. O. P. Q., 'how many million times a billion microbes cluster on a trillionth part of a square millimetre.' 'The collectivism of Bernard Shaw and the Fabian Society would pale into insignificance,' writes Dr. J. K. L. in 'All for All,' 'by the side of what the ancient Aryans had achieved five thousand years ago . . . Even to-day no Indian housewife would selfishly keep to herself the

overnight leavings of her poor supper or the morning sweepings of her humble home, but with admirable altruism will deposit them on the crossing, that is if no well-dressed passer-by happens to be near enough on whose heart she could drop them.' [Extracts from 'Hindu Superiority'.] (Even if he overlooks the food that he takes, that food must be thrown away.) 'Modern Science has re-discovered as a marvellous truth many a scientific truism of ancient days; but even Modern Science has yet to decipher what the ancient Aryans had scribbled on the tablets of inductive reasoning on the deleterious effects of the ray of light which, emanating from a low-caste eye, chanced to alight on high caste food'. [The devil only knows who wrote this or where, but daresay you can find all about it in that Encyclopaedia Panayrica known as 'Hindu Superiority'] Truly enough his brother the sweeper would object to having his womenfolk married to Brahmins or Kshatriyas. I do admit that and I say that it is the only trait that is good in the sweeper cult, for if every shred and vestige of self-respect has been taken away from him, he is not willing to let his women go to others on terms of concubinage, for there can be no valid marriage between his women and ourselves."

When these compliments were being showered on Orthodoxy by the Arch-Heterodox, the temperature of the room had shot up suddenly and the atmosphere was close and oppressive. The thunder of Bhupen and the lightning flashes on the high-souled brow of the Pandit presaged a tremendous storm. The Railway Sleeper, with a perpetual overpressure on the valve, would no doubt have unbuttoned himself by unbuttoning the waistcoat as usual. But the unbuttoning of the frockcoat displayed a soft shirt front with not even as much vestige of a waistcoat as, according to Bhupen, the Sweeper is permitted to possess of self-respect. The Railway Sleeper was always for making a clean breast of everything and here was a snow white one for the world to see.

Bhupen had not, however, done with the Brahmins yet. "You ask me where's the agitation of non-Brahmins? Then hear. The spirit of Machiavelli himself would have stood aghast at this Brahmanical ingenuity in being able to retain their power over a credulous people by imposing upon them the veil of ignorance through all ages and through all times (Boatlaar Saheb thought the condemnation was perhaps too harsh for what STATESMEN-ship could easily educate the masses). The Khan Bahadur wants evolution and Burly Raja hates a revolution. If you do not provide for means of safety, I may tell you that that revolution will come at no very distant date and I may tell you that it will be a bad day for all those who now sit upon pedestals of privilege and power." (Sir Guy turns pale and moves uneasily in the Presidential Chair.)

Then came the turn of Hooda. Sincerely pleased at his losing caste with non-officials and sauntering uneasily on the fringe of the caste of officials. But he was brought up at that nursery of "Discontented B. A's", the Presidency College of Calcutta that was and not at the conjectural University at Dacca that may never be. Well, Burke had now been tabooed even at the Presidency College, but when Hooda and he used to be fed as *les enfants terribles* on the pure milk of the Benthamite word, Burke still supplied fond for their childlike prattle if not for reflection. And what did Burke say to the electors of Bristol on the position of a representative of the people? Don't know what Burke said, but know pretty well what Sir Guy said from the pedestal of privilege and power. "Leave Burke alone and come to the Bill." Nothing daunted, Bhupen bowed his head before the blast, and when the legions of Sir Guy's administration had thundered past, came back to Burke. Sir Guy came in not pursuit once more, and said, "Hon. Member is now doing what I represented to him. I did not consider that he was entitled to do." Once more the loyal and obedient head of Bhupen was bowed in bumble submission to "the settled fact" of Sir Guy's authority. "I have not for a moment disputed your dictum. But, to come back to Burke"—and thereafter he said everything he had to say, for if Sir Guy's authority was a "settled fact", the words of Bhupen also happened to be almost irrevocable. If Hooda would not give out his own views but would rely on those of his constituents, so be it. One of the objections is that a true Believer will not be able to marry a combination and permutation of many wives taken four at a time. (Hooda: "I never said that Allah knows one is enough." He, however, failed to declare if the worshipper of Alah found even that too much.)

Two adversaries had yet to be dealt with and Bhupen now sent his shafts in the direction of big Burly and the agile Gurkha-like figure of the C. P. scion, Cheery Chitnis. "Hello Burly, is that you, my pretty little Beelzebub of other days?"

To whom th' Arch-Heterodox,
And thence in Ind knows Bhupen, with sharp words
Piercing the Burly bosom thus began.
If thou beest he, but O how far! I how chang'd
From him who in the happy Realms of Light
Clothed with the incandescent Brahmo brightness—
Man's Kilian that shineth the Sun of God—
How chang'd from him who greatly did outshine
Myriads of luminaries, him whom mortal length
United thoughts and counsels, equal hope.

And hazard in the glorious enterprise
Of Brahmodom's first fresh iconoclasm,
Joined with great Pandit Shiv Nath Shastri,
Before the evil days of this Imperial League,
Partition thoughts and lordly Council style.
And this strange union with another Pandit
In equal ruin Unto what Pit thou seeest
From what height fall 'n, so much the stronger proved
Official thunder and the lightning flash
Of Orthodoxy, and till now who knew
The force of these dire arms? Yet not for these,
Nor what the white-robed Pandit with his Reggie
Can else inflict do I repent or change
That fixed mind which did at last unseal
A settled fact, a mind that will not change
Because, like shifty Krüger of the Boers,
Or flighty Dowager of Celestial China,
Holding resolute to change his capital,
And in outpouring rain, with flashing skies,
And reverberating salvoes of departure
From heaven's own artillery, takes his flight
With splintered flagstaff and with tattered flag.
My high disdain, from sense of injured merit,
That with the Brahmins raised me to contend,
And to the fierce contention brought along
The intellectual aristocrats.
That durst dislike the reign of Orthodoxy,
That Shaivat and the Shastras both condemn,
And heed not Heli-fire nor awaiting Karma,
Their utmost power with adverse power opposed
In dubious battle near the Mosque and Temple
And shook the Mullah's and the Pandit's thrones.
My word, 'twas fun! What though the Bill be lost?
All is not lost. The Press is still there,
So is the public platform whence to shout,
It's not the pen far mightier than the sword,
And is not tongue the mightiest of them all?
The everlasting tongue, immortal pen,
And courage never to submit or yield,
To Brahmin, white or yellow, black or brown,
And never to weep a settled fact,
And what is else not to be overcome?
That glory never shall the Pandit's wrath
Extort from Bhupen Rose—so long as torture,
Is kill'd or even scotch'd, thanks to Mackarness.
To bow and sue for grace with suppliant knee
Before the Brahmins, that were low indeed,
That were an ignominy and shame beneath
This downfall, since by votes of the officials
Even shadowy Orthodoxy cannot fail,
Since through experience of this sad defeat
In tongue more fluent and in pen more facile,
We may with more successful hope resolve
To wage by force or guile eternal war
Irreconcileable to Brahmindom
That now triumphs and in the excess of joy
Soul-rending holds the tyranny of Earth,
Of Air and Water, eye, of Heaven and Hell.

Aster this Miltonic harangue, fell into prose, again and while
accusing Burly Raja of being like the nobleman who

"Stiff in his opinions, always in the wrong,
Was everything by starts and nothing long."

relieved him greatly by assuring him that he would not go on with
that quotation. But as a parting shot, opined that Burly Raja
"naturally felt alarmed at the confusion of Hindu laws which might
upset inheritance, succession and adoption," the Burly Raja being
a graft of the Punjab on the Bengali stock.

As for Cheery Chintas, thought he was,

Willing to wound and yet afraid to strike,
For 'ear official guru may not like;
Afraid to blame, not eager to commend,
A twin's son, a far too "fearful" friend
But ever strong upon the stronger side,
With bland official ready to divide.
Great Fortune's champion, that don't never fight
Unjoes, he sees ahead the beacon light,
A face with smiles or frowns incarnadined,
A guide that's cruel only to be kind.

The final Siren song was addressed to the Moslem Dowager
"He is afraid of difficulties. Where is my friend's courage?
A lack of courage and in Bengal? Extremity is the trial
of spirits, when the sea is calm all boats alike show master
ship in floating' I invite you to come out with me into the
open, it may be to a rough and tempestuous sea Will you
come with me? (Who said, 'Meet me alone by moonlight?')
I invite you not to a pleasure excursion on the placid bosom
of the Hooghly. (No reference to the placid bosom of the Hooghly
at Kaliagh, it's a festival morning floating like a life-buoy. Honi
soit qui mal y pense.) I invite you to undertake the task of social
reform Are you afraid? If you are (and the Dowager nodded
assent) I bid you good-bye. (The Dowager's eyes became moist.) I
want trusted men who will stick to me whether I float or whether I sink.
(The 'Man at the Wheel' sitting behind Reggie, his chief, who had
been travelling on the placid bosom of sleep woke up suddenly and
felt inclined to shout 'Ahoy!' on the top of his voice, but recovered
in time.) Must we for ever range ourselves in rival camps? Must
we look on helplessly without being able to render each other
assistance, while members of our community are being swept
down the current of time." Suddenly changing the figure and
turning from a venturesome voyager to a builder of bridges, ex-

claimed, "If I provide a bridge which the venturesome might
tread, will you prevent my putting up the first prop?" Hon.
Longfellow acknowledged the obvious compliment and there-
after the Council divided. The "intellectual minority" numbered
11 to the 43 of the bloated majority, the unintellectual proletariat.
Bhupen's Bridge stood there shaky and unreliable, with but eleven
spans, and one of them Dig'er-Patty. But wonder of wonders,
ninety-nine days' wonder. Melancholy Madge for once voted
with the non-officials and was one of the inter-marrying aristocracy
of intellect



Petty Larceny.

(BY OUR SPECIAL KLEPTOMANIA).

[MOTTO.—"Wit is your brightness therefore steel it where-
soever you find it." - Rigmarole Veda.]

A LADY canvasser called on old Farmer Giles and proceeded
to cross-examine him on the subject of his political faith. Every-
thing else proving satisfactory, she produced a formidable document.

"I have here," she told him, "a petition in favour of the
woman's suffrage movement, and I should like you to sign it."

The old man was unable to read, but he took the petition and
regarded it with a suspicious eye. Finally he handed it back.

"No," he said, with an air of finality, "no; I don't hold with
movements. A woman that's allus a-movin' is allus gettin' in
trouble. If you've got one that will keep her quiet, I'll sign it."

"Well," said the artist. The critic fixed his eyeglass and
examined the canvas. He went close up to it, then moved away
from it; then viewed it from the south-west corner, then tried it
from the north-west wall. "Good!" he said, finally. "Distinctly
good! One of the best pictures of a coal-mine I've ever seen!
Perhaps the lightning—"

"Coal-mine, sir!" cried the artist. "Coal-mine!" He glared
at the critic angrily and clenched his slender fingers. "It's
a bird's-eye view of Blackpool! You are an ass, sir!"

"Oh, am I?" retorted the critic warmly. "Well, that may
be. But let me tell you that, if that picture represents a bird's-eye
view of anywhere, I'm thankful that I'm not a bird!"

IN CORRECTING the exercises of her class a teacher recently
observed a new name inscribed on one of the papers—Will Evans.
She looked round the class, but could see no new boy. Not a little
puzzled, she requested Will Evans to stand.

Up jumped Will Jones, and the teacher got more puzzled still.

"Your name's Jones," she said "not Evans!"

Will looked not a little abashed, and shifted uneasily from
one foot to the other.

"Please, ma'am," he said, "it's owing to family trouble. I
didn't do it, please, ma'am."

"But," she said, sternly, "I repeat, your name is Jones."

"Please, ma'am," said the boy, "it's changed now. Ma's
married the lodger!"

"HAS your wife recovered the bracelet she advertised in my
paper as having lost?" inquired the editor of his friend Smiles.

"She has," said Smiles. "But——"

"There you are!" chuckled the editor. "That proves what
advertising will do."

"I know, but——"

"We have a circulation, my boy, a circulation! Advertise
a thing one day and you get it back the next. I tell you——"

"Wait a minute! Your paper didn't help us."

"Didn't help you? You say you got the bracelet back?"

"I know, but you see my wife lost the bracelet on Monday."

"Yes."

"On Tuesday she advertised in your paper?"

"Yes."

"And on Wednesday she found the bracelet in our dressing-table
drawer!"

"THAT 'live topic' printed a while ago about the chemist
who got tired of letting postage-stamps go on a customer's charge
account was not a circumstance to an experience I had this week,"
another chemist said.

"One of our well-to-do customers—a woman, of course—asked
me over the phone if I had change for five pounds. When I said
'Yes.' She inquired if I could send the boy up to her home with it.
The boy had errands enough already, but I did not wish to be
liying, so I sent him."

"She opened the door for him herself, and, upon receiving the
five pounds in change, smiled amiably and said 'Tell Mr. Squills
to charge it, please,' and sweetly bowed the boy away."

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

REUTER wires from Teheran on the 23rd.—In reply to the Anglo-Russian Note Persia assents to the conditions of the advance of £200,000, of which sum a considerable portion will be allotted to the new Gendarmerie. It promises to disband the Irregulars and organise a regular army, proportionate to the needs of the country. Having proved its goodwill, Persia hopes to obtain the help of the two Powers, firstly for a loan necessary to realise the reforms, and, secondly, for the evacuation of Persian territory by the foreign troops as soon as possible.

Lord Lamington reached Bombay on the 22nd and went straight off to Karachi *en route* for Bushire. The visit, though no doubt partly dictated by Lord Lamington's interest in Persian affairs, is of a private nature and has been undertaken in the "after" course of a recent "cure" at Wiesbaden. It would have been made last year but for political necessity which kept most of the members of the House of Lords near home at the time.

Lord Lamington hopes to return in time for the annual training camp in June in Lanarkshire of the regiment of Yeomanry which he commands, but may re-visit India next year with Lady Lamington, a trip to Cashmere being his main object.

Reuter wires from Teheran on the 25th.—Salar-ed-Dowleh has rejected the suggestion of Britain and Russia that he should quit Persia in exchange for a pension. He claims the Kermanshah district as a principality for himself. A message to the *Times* from Teheran says that Britain and Russia will probably now order him to leave the country.

In an article on the situation in Persia the *Times* praises the measures which have killed the arms and contraband traffic in the Persian Gulf. The paper adds: "It remains for us to see that the traffic is not surreptitiously revived. We are thankful for the friendly co-operation of the Sultan of Muscat but it needs no great knowledge of oriental officials and the ways of some European manufacturers dealing with them to see that the supervision of the trade at Muscat may not be very thorough."

Lord Hardinge speaking at the meeting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council on the 25th made a brief reference to the Persian situation. His Excellency said: "In Persia the situation during the past two years has been as unsatisfactory as possible, in so far as British and Indian interests are concerned. In the south of Persia anarchy reigns supreme, the Persian Government having neither power nor authority, while order in the Gulf ports is maintained solely by the presence of the British East India Squadron in the Persian Gulf. British and Indian trade interests have suffered severe losses, many caravans having been robbed and the muleteers killed by tribesmen, so that no caravans can now proceed in safety along the main trade routes. Within only the last few days 150 Indian troops have had to be landed at Lingah to protect the Consulate and British and Indian lives and property from the threatened attack of 2,400 tribesmen. Six months ago, owing to an attack made upon the British Consulate at Shiraz, which I may add was very bravely repulsed by a small handful of Indian troops acting as Consular guards, it was decided to strengthen the escorts at Bushire, Shurz and Isfahan, and four squadrons of the Central India Horse were sent to Persia for distribution between these towns and for the protection of British and Indian life and property. Shortly afterwards when the British Consul at Shiraz was proceeding with a caravan with specie belonging to the Imperial Bank of Persia escorted by half a squadron of the Central India Horse, they were attacked by the very men who were employed by the Persian Government as road guards, and they lost a few men killed and wounded, amongst the latter being the British Consul. The ordinary course under such circumstances would be to demand from the Persian Government the punishment of the offenders and reparation. Such a course under existing circumstances is not likely to produce much result, and the only alternative course would be to take the law into one's own hand and to send a punitive expedition. To act on such lines there would in my opinion be serious objection since it might involve us in a situation in Southern Persia from which it might be difficult to extricate ourselves and which might eventually lead to the partition of Persia. Such a policy is entirely opposed to the views of the Government of India, whose hope and desire are that the integrity and independence of Persia may remain unimpaired. In view, however, of the necessity of looking after our own interests, we propose, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to instruct our Resident at Bushire to open negotiations with the tribes for the punishment of those who led the attack upon our

convoy and for the proper guarding and security of the British and Indian caravans passing along the main trade routes of the south. The explanation of our policy will, I trust, dispel the fears of those who have imagined that we had leanings towards the partition of Persia with Russia. We have, I maintain, acted with much patience under circumstances of grave provocation, and our one hope is that we may yet see peace and order restored in Southern Persia in the near future. There are, I know, certain critics who declaim against the Anglo-Russian Agreement in connection with Persia, and ask of what use it can be in view of the presence of Russian troops in Northern Persia. To those critics I would reply that the fundamental basis of the Anglo-Russian Agreement is the independence and integrity of Persia, and so long as we are a signatory to that agreement, we are able to exercise a moral influence on our co-signatory where we could not use material pressure. Russian troops have not entered Teheran and within the last few weeks they have been withdrawn from Kazvin. It is my own conviction that, were this agreement not in force, the partition of Persia would already be an accomplished fact.

King George received in audience Sir Walter Townley, on the 26th, who has been appointed Minister in Teheran.

Replying to Sir John Lonsdale, in the House of Commons, Mr Montagu said that immediately on learning of the robbing of Mr Moir by the Bakhtiaris Sir George Barclay, British Minister, made representations to the Persian Government and the Bakhtiari Khans who would doubtless do their best to restrain their men. Sir George Barclay having since received details of the goods stolen was presenting a claim.

Persia had undertaken to pay compensation for the attack on Consul Smart as the first charge on the next loan.

Feeling in India.

A meeting of the representatives of Hindu and Muhammadan communities was held on Thursday afternoon at the Town Hall to consider the present situation in Persia and to make a joint appeal to Great Britain asking her interference in the matter for the preservation of the integrity and independence of Persia. The meeting was well attended.

Dr Rash Behari Chose, who was unanimously elected to the Chair, during the course of his speech said:—

We have met here Hindus and Muhammadans to-day to appeal to His Imperial Majesty's Government to use their influence in maintaining the constitutional government which has been established in Persia. As loyal British subjects it is at once our privilege and our duty to make this appeal. In the opinion, however, of an anonymous writer in the *Fortnightly Review* in expecting England to intercede in an affair which does not primarily concern her we are guilty of veiled treason to the British Empire. When I read this effusion I could not help asking myself "stands England where she did?" When did England cease to be the hope of freedom, the curb of the tyrant? When did her glorious flag cease to be a signal of rallying to the combatant and of shelter to the fallen? When did her noble sons cease to do all that lay in their power to extend to others less favoured the benefit of those free institutions which they have enjoyed for generations and which have made them the envy of the whole world? It was certainly not so in other days.

Gentlemen, it is not we who are guilty of treason in asking England to use her influence in securing a constitutional government for Persia. It is the anonymous writer who is guilty of treason not veiled but open, of treason to his own country, of treason to those glorious traditions which have made the name of England so dear to all who are oppressed and downtrodden, to all who cherish high aspirations and are fighting in the cause of order, and of good government. It is impossible, said Mr. Gladstone on a memorable occasion, that the affairs of foreign nations can ever be indifferent to a country like England. If it is impossible, he added, that England should forsake the interest she must naturally feel in the struggles of a people for justice and for freedom.

Gentlemen, I would like to speak with all possible reserve. But there are occasions on which it would be nothing less than a crime against humanity to maintain silence, and this is one of them. Russia, as you are aware, is solemnly pledged to respect the

integrity and independence of Persia and we hope she will keep her plighted word. But we cannot forget that it was a Tsar of all the Russias who said to Talleyrand—"You are always talking to me of principles, as if your public law were anything to me, I do not know what it means. What do you suppose that all your parchments and your treaties signify to me?" We cannot also forget that since the days of Alexander I, by a most sinister application of Darwin's doctrine, "might is right" has been with some powers the guiding principle in their international relations. But whether Russia means to keep her promise or not, we are confident that so long as, in the words of His Excellency Lord Hardinge, to whom we cannot be too grateful, England is a signatory to the agreement she will be able to exercise a moral influence on her co-signatory where she could not use material pressure. We are equally confident that so long as his Lordship is at the helm of the administration in India, that moral influence will never cease to be exerted and exerted with success. Diplomacy, we all know, hath her victories no less renowned than war and with such a protagonist in the arena we need not fear defeat.

Gentlemen, I need not remind you that the present situation in Persia is very grave. Indeed it contains all the elements of a tragedy and one of the saddest in history. At the very moment she was "mewing her mighty youth and kindling her undazzled eyes at full midday beam," she finds herself engaged in a deadly struggle for her very existence. Who can withhold his heartfelt sympathy from her in the dark days through which she is now passing? Who will not fervently pray that victory may ultimately crown her efforts? Who will not fervently pray that renovated and regenerated she will again bewitch the world with her arts and her literature, that literature so full of spiritual inspiration, so full of wisdom, so full of sparkling wit and lyrical grace, which has been the solace and delight of generations of cultured men, not only among Muhammadans but also among Hindus and Christians?

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea moved the following resolution—Having regard to the present critical situation in Persia and the uncompromising attitude of Russia towards the Persian Government which has given rise to apprehension in the minds of His Majesty's Indian subjects as to her intentions, this meeting desires to express its opinion that the integrity and independence of Persia should be respected and maintained and that the Constitutional Government established there be given a fair opportunity to develop her resources and promote the welfare of the country.

The motion was supported by Messrs. B. Chakravarti, Mohamed Ali, Mahmudul Huq, E. P. Ghose, Unruddowlah, Wahid Husain, and Hakim Abdur Rauf.

Mr. J. Chaudhri moved the following resolution—That this meeting respectfully appeals to His Majesty's Government to use its influence with Russia and persuade her to withdraw all causes of irritation.

The motion was supported by Messrs. Ariff and Roome.

Mr. Sharif proposed and Dr S. K. Mullik seconded that copies of resolutions 1 and 2 be forwarded to the Government of India and the British Government.

The Meeting dispersed after a vote of thanks to the chair.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT)

Teheran, March 3.

The British and Russian Governments have each advanced 35,000 tomans (about £5,833) to Persia to pay off the ex-Shah's followers, and as soon as they are paid he will probably leave the country. He has already removed to the Island of Ashurada, from which he originally entered Persia. An unchastened Oliver Twist, he continues to bargain over his pension, but the Powers refuse to transmit to Persia further requests for more than 75,000 tomans annually, which Persia now agrees to give. The sum advanced to pay the followers will be deducted from the instalments of the pension. Similar Anglo-Russian representations have now been made to Salar-ed-Dowleh.

The preliminary advance is a portion of the £200,000, which will be paid when Persia accepts the terms of the Note. The delay was due to the difficulty of finding a formula for acceptance of the Anglo-Russian Convention consonant with Persian *amour propre*.

It is hoped that a solution will be found for the Turco-Persian incident in the shape of the special salute for the Ambassador when he enters Teheran.

St. Petersburg, March 2.

The ex-Shah has left Ashurada Island for Baku on board a Russian ship.—(Reuters.)

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT)

Teheran, March 4.

The incident concerning the Turkish Ambassador appears to be closed. The military officer responsible for the *contretemps* has been recalled to Russia, and a salute will be given to the Ambassador at a later stage of his journey from Resht.

On the 5th March Mr. Morrell (Burnley, Min.) asked the Secretary of State what was approximately the total number of Russian troops now in Persia, how many of these had entered the country since 10th November the date of the presentation of the first Russian ultimatum and, whether since that date any Russian troops had been withdrawn from Persian territory.

SIR E. GREY As regards the total number of Russian troops in Persia, I have no later information than that contained in my reply to the question asked by the hon. member for Leicester on the 20th ultimo. I understand, however, that orders have been issued for the withdrawal to Russia of the Russian troops at Enzeli and Resht, and also for a withdrawal from Kazvin a part of the force withdrawn from Kazvin will remain at Enzeli and Resht, the remainder returning to Russia. A considerable reduction in the force at Tabriz has also been ordered.

Mr. Morrell asked whether the Persian Government had consented to the terms of the joint Note with reference to the proposed loan.

SIR E. GREY His Majesty's Minister at Teheran has not reported that a reply has yet been received from the Persian Government.

Mr. Morrell asked what were the terms of the present appointment of Monsieur Mornard, whether it was proposed to make it permanent, and whether the Persian Government protested against the appointment.

SIR E. GREY I will send to the hon. member a copy of the Decree of 6th January appointing Monsieur Mornard provisionally Treasurer-General. It is of considerable length. As regards the second point, I have nothing to add to the statement that I made on the 21st ultimo, to which I would refer the hon. member. With regard to the third point, the Persian Minister in London intimated verbally some time ago objections on the part of his Government, but I have received no official protest from them.

A Russian Lament for the Ex-Shah.

The Novoe Vremya in its distress at the fate of the ex-Shah, breaks out into a long lament over the supineness and ineptitude of Russian diplomacy, which, it alleges, allows itself to be led by the British Foreign Office into paths not at all compatible with Russian interests. Russia, it says, "has in Persia incomparably greater material interests than England, and one might have thought that the leading part in Persian affairs would have been assumed not by English but by Russian diplomacy. In reality, however, it so happens that Russian diplomacy is always painfully trying to evade the obligations imposed on it by the circumstances and confines itself to merely supporting the decisions arrived at in London."

As an instance it quotes the attitude of the Russian Government towards the ex-Shah. Time was, it declares, when Russia and England pursued a system of non-intervention in Persian domestic affairs. That was during the revolution, which was followed by the deposition of Mohammed Ali. Then the latter reappeared "without an army, without money, without European instructors, without arms." From a European point of view his enterprise seemed perfectly hopeless. Nevertheless he proved himself able to hold his position and to extend his influence. At the present moment he has at his disposal an army which, though irregular and unreliable, is nevertheless able to cope more or less successfully with the Government troops. In accordance with the once adopted system of non-intervention, Anglo-Russian diplomacy ought to have looked on this movement with the same impartiality and disinterestedness as it did the revolution. Yet this system is now discarded. British diplomacy has declared that it will in no case recognise Mohammed Ali should he recapture the throne. The Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs has declared that he does not share this view, and does not see the reason why Mohammed Ali should be refused recognition in case the population should recall him to the throne. Yet at the same time Russian diplomatic agents are instructed to advise the ex-Shah to leave Persia, which to the extent of one-half has already been reconquered by him!

The Novoe Vremya adds: "Here, as before, the decisive factor for Russian diplomacy has been not the consideration of Russia's own material interests, but the anxiety lest the Persia Committee in London should be offended."—*Manchester Guardian*.

The Russian Troops in Persia.

(FROM A "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" CORRESPONDENT).

ACCORDING to trustworthy information received from Persia on 3rd March the numbers of Russian troops at present occupying various places in that country are, as nearly as can be ascertained, as follows:—Tabriz, 5,500; Khot, Urumia and Salmas, 1,700; Enzeli, 5,000; Gilan and Kazvin, 6,000; Mazandaran, 500; Astrabad, 500; Khurasan, 2,300; Hamadan, 300; total, 21,800. Some of the Tabriz troops, with 20 guns, were withdrawn some days ago, and it is said that some will be withdrawn from Karvin in a few days.

The following telegram was sent by Shua-us-Saltana, brother of the ex-Shah, on 19th February to Yusuf Khan of Herat, one of the leading reactionaries at Meshed, from Astrabad by means of the Russian Consul:—"Your representations have reached the August Presence, and were a cause of gratification. The Royal retinue will set out to visit the Holy Shrine of the Imam Riza (r., Meshhed). Convey my sincere salutations to my loyal and zealous brethren of Khurasan. (Signed), "MALIK MANSUR SHUA-US-SALTANA."

Russia's "Sacrifices" in Persia.

The Novoe Vremya continues to agitate for the occupation of Northern Persia by Russia. In the course of a long article—one of the series—its special correspondent now travelling in Persia describes the wealth of the province of Azerbaijan and the unruly frontier population and says:—

"Azerbaijan will for ever remain a menace to us if we do not restore order there. Our trade with Persia, the future railway to Tabriz, the interests of Russian subjects in Azerbaijan, all demand energetic intervention free from all half measures. Looking at our troops at Tabriz, I involuntarily ask myself 'What did these people die for? What was the object of their coming to Persia and fertilising with their blood the fields of Azerbaijan?'

"The unselfish Russian soldier gets no profit from military conflicts—he does not rob, he does not oppress the inhabitants, and only fights from sheer duty. Our officers in Tabriz are the very incarnation of modesty so far as conduct is concerned. I well remember the British officers at Alexandria and Port Said—their provocative behaviour, their impudent attitudes, their legs thrown on the chair in the foyer of the theatre. Then everything spoke of the British occupation of Egypt, whereas our troops in temporary occupation of Tabriz express the sovereign power of Russia by their arms alone."

"What a number of victims, of martyrs tortured to death by the Persians, what an amount of anxiety and trouble! Has it all been in vain—has it all been only for the sake of our prestige in the East? Shall we stay and then withdraw in peace, having granted an amnesty to Tabriz? According to the Koran the land belongs to those who have poured out on it its water or their blood?"—*Manchester Guardian*

Russia and England in Teheran.

THE Teheran correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* describes the situation in Persia in the following words:—

"The Persians are trying to obtain an abatement of the Anglo-Russian terms, but the representatives of the two Powers return all their notes on the subject unopened. The terms will therefore be accepted one of these days, and Persia will cease to be an independent State. The terms specially insist upon the recognition of the Anglo-Russian agreements. Accordingly the two Powers will jointly control all measures in the neutral zone, and each will control the measures taken in its own sphere. No economic influence will be accorded to third parties except with the consent of the two Powers. By way of reward Persia will receive a small loan, from which, however, considerable deductions will have been made. The Persian paper speak to-day about the abolition of all Ministries and the establishment of a simple administrative Council, which would probably be placed under Russian guidance."

The correspondent further states that whereas no foreigner could hitherto acquire landed property in Persia, a Russian bank has now been for weeks acquiring villages and estates to which it had formerly advanced money.—*Manchester Guardian*.

We would draw attention to the very alarming account of the new scheme in Persia which we publish from the *Frankfurter*

Zeitung. The Teheran correspondent of this newspaper says that the scheme is being imposed on the country, and that the Persian protests are all returned unopened. Even more serious is the account of the terms. They insist, he says, on the recognition of the Anglo-Russian Agreement. That we knew already, but what follows is worse than anything that has appeared even in the Russian papers. "The two Powers," we are told, "will jointly control all measures in the neutral zone, and each will control the measures in its own zone." This is partition pure and simple. Nothing that Sir Edward Grey has ever said would have led us to suppose that anything more was in question than appointments of foreigners to offices. Now "all measures" are said to be included under the control. And, further, the control is not even a joint control except in the neutral zone, which matters very little. Teheran is itself in the Russian zone, and the description of the correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* as it stands would mean that measures taken by the Central Government are to be under the sole control of Russia. It is almost incredibly bad, but the delay in the production of the terms of the Note and the vagueness of the official accounts of it fill us with uneasiness. The substantial accuracy of the account ought, we think, to be tested by a question in Parliament, if it is wrong, as we still hope, Sir Edward Grey should surely welcome the opportunity of contradicting a report so alarming.—*Manchester Guardian*.

There is one definite piece of good news from Persia. The ex-Shah has left the country at last. He was reported, first, as having landed on one of the islands in the Caspian, and then as having sailed for Baku. His "soldiers" have been paid with money advanced to Persia by the two Powers, and his pension, subject to a rather small deduction, will be continued. It is not creditable to their diplomacy that after proclaiming the forfeiture of this pension, the two Powers should again have imposed it on Persia. While the Shah has this money, he will always be in a position to repeat his intrigues. The Persian Government is now debating with the two Legations the exact terms on which it is to recognise the Anglo-Russian Convention. It will be a grave derogation from its sovereignty if it is merely required to recognise a monopoly in the matter of concessions within the respective zones. But if the *Frankfurter Zeitung* is correctly informed, it is much more than this which is demanded—something amounting to a general management or control. We have never doubted that this would be the result, even of an economic partition. But to impose it in set terms would be an act of cynicism rare even in these days of predatory Imperialism.—*Nation*.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

	Rs.	As.	P.
Mohammed Azam Makhdoom, Esq., Aligarh	...	2	0
M Asghar Khan, Esq., Shamsabad, Agra	..	20	0
Mrs Said Mohamed Khan, Etah	..	15	0
Mrs Rahmatullah Khan, Ruth	..	10	0
S. Nasir Hasan, Esq., Nurhut, Gya	..	4	0
Shaikh Sanavuddin, Esq., Cawnpore	..	5	0
Samiuddin, Esq., Allahabad	..	125	0
M. Azmatullah Ansari, Esq., Mianganj	..	26	10
Abdul Latif, Esq., Dera Ismail Khan	..	6	0
Through A. Rahman, Esq., Rangoon —			
A. Rahman, Esq.		5	0
Nazir Ahmed, Esq.		5	0
Messrs. Bazlus Sanad and Abdul Wudood,			
Rs. 2 each		4	0
Messrs. Rahmatullah and Yusuf Daudji, Re. 1			
each		2	0
Abul Hashim Khan Choudhry, Esq., Chittagong	..	20	4
H. M. Azmat Ali, Esq., Aligarh	..	58	2
Less M. O. Charges	...	4	0
Amount received during the week	..	307	12
Amount previously acknowledged	..	12,924	10
TOTAL Rs. 13,232. 6. 6.			

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 24th:—Assim Bey, Minister for Foreign Affairs, has expressed optimism as to the general situation of the relations with the Balkan States, which he said, did not inspire uneasiness. He declared that Turkey would enter into negotiations for peace with Italy, provided she were not called upon to recognise the annexation of Tripoli. With reference to the Turco-Persian Frontier Commission now sitting at Constantinople, he said, that if an agreement were not reached the matter would be submitted to the Hague Court of Arbitration. Assim Bey said that Russian assurances with regard to the movement of troops were satisfactory, and that M. Charkoff's recall from his position of Ambassador in Constantinople did not imply any change of attitude on the part of Russia.

Lord Hardinge speaking at the Imperial Legislative Council on the 25th said —

I should now like to turn your thoughts for a few minutes to external affairs in which the interests of a very large and influential section of the community are sentimentally, though indirectly, affected. I do not wish to touch on the question of the war between Turkey and Italy beyond to express our profound regret that hostilities should be in progress between two countries so friendly disposed towards Great Britain, and to add that I happen to know that His Majesty's Government have in conjunction with other Powers already taken steps to mediate with a view to securing an honourable peace. When, however, it appeared that there was a likelihood of hostilities being extended by the Italian naval forces to Jeddah and Yamboo, I immediately drew the attention of His Majesty's Government to the very serious anxiety that would be created by an attack upon the ports leading to the holy cities of Islam, and by an interference with the pilgrim traffic to those ports. Representations were at once made to the Italian Government by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and satisfactory assurances were obtained.

Having already mentioned the friendly disposition of Turkey towards Great Britain, I should like to inform the Members of my Council of a significant incident which occurred only a few days ago, and of which I only learnt yesterday. The King received on 21st March, a Special Mission from the Sultan of Turkey, consisting of the Turkish Ambassador, the Councillor and two Secretaries of the Turkish Embassy, and Reshid Bey (Conseiller Legiste of the Sublime Porte) who presented to His Majesty an autograph letter from the Sultan, and also the Order of the Khandani-ali-Osman and the order of the Imtiaz conferred on the King as a fresh proof of the Sultan's desire to strengthen the friendly relations and cordial ties now existing between the two Empires and as a special mark of His Majesty's sincere friendship towards the King. The point is that the almost unprecedented distinction of the simultaneous conferment of these two Orders by the Sultan on His Majesty the King Emperor is a striking act of confidence and good will which I am sure will be appreciated by the Mahomedans of India.

At a meeting of the Muhammadans of Bombay held on the 26th resolutions were passed thanking the Government of India for the action taken to prevent the bombardment of the Red Sea ports for the holy places. One resolution was "that this meeting of Bombay Muhammadans humbly requests the Sublime Porte to furnish authentic news of this war to Indian Muhammadans through the Turkish Consul-General in Bombay, so that misunderstandings and misrepresentations may not occur."

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, March 3.

The official Army list of killed published yesterday gives the following list of dead or missing from the beginning of the war till March 2, inclusive:—Officers, 37; rank and file, 822.

Rome, March 4.

At 7 o'clock yesterday morning the Italian position south of Derna, Fort Lombardia, was attacked fiercely by Turks and irregulars, probably commanded by Enyer Bey, with the object of ousting the Italians and forcing them back to the coast. The engagement lasted till nightfall. As a result the Italians were left in possession of all the positions contested during the day.

The official report declares that the Turkish losses were very great. One hundred and fifty men were killed and wounded on the Italian side.

An Arab night attack was also repulsed at Gargaresh after 25 minutes' sharp fighting.

The success of the Italians at Derna, as also at Margheb, was entirely due to the use of the bayonet, the Italian troops thus proving to the Turks that they are perfectly able to sustain a hand-to-hand combat when occasion demands.

The battle is considered one of the most important during the war. The Turkish plan consisted of a preliminary Cavalry attack with simulated flight to draw the Italians from their fortified position, the major part of the army being held in reserve in order to make a combined attack on the Italian protecting force. General Trombi, however, promptly countered by sending large reinforcements, consisting mainly of Alpine regiments, thus turning the tables on the enemy.

Perim, March 4, 6.50 P.M.

An Italian cruiser is at present bombarding Dubab, 20 miles north of Perim (Reuter.)

Constantinople, March 4.

The Sultan has decided to confer on the Sheikh El Senussi a decoration set in brilliants and a sword of honour studded with precious stones in recognition of the sacrifices made by him for the Islamic world in aiding the Turkish defence in Tripoli (Reuter.)

Rome, March 5.

A semi-official despatch from Tripoli of to-day's date says that yesterday morning the Eritrean Battalion, with 600 Rifles, and detachments of Cavalry and artillery, during a reconnaissance in the direction of Birre Cerit was attacked by 300 Arabs. The fight lasted from 11 A.M. to 5 P.M., when the enemy were compelled to retreat. The battalion returned to Al Zara at nightfall, with 9 dead and 25 wounded. The enemy's casualties exceeded 100 killed.

A revised return of the casualties suffered by the Italian forces during the fighting at Derna on Sunday states that eight officers and 52 men were killed and 13 officers and 163 men wounded. (Reuter.) (FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, March 5.

Admiral Faravelli was nominated to-day to succeed Admiral Aubry in command of the Mediterranean Squadron.

Constantinople, March 5.

The Porte has notified the Embassies that from to-morrow the Dardanelles will be closed at night to all navigation (Reuter).

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, March 6.

Two Italian dirigibles made a first flight yesterday over Lanzur, where two bombs were dropped with precision into the enemy's trenches. The Turks instantly evacuated the trenches. The murderous effect of the bombs was plainly seen from the dirigibles. After completing an effective reconnaissance, the dirigibles returned to their hangars.

The Pope has sent to the Bishop of Pienza, Mgr. Bellucci, a case containing a complete service of sacred vessels for the Mass, to be forwarded to Don Francia, the military chaplain at Derna.

Constantinople, March 7.

The Public Debt Administration is informed that Salif, 40 miles south of Hodeidah, has been bombarded by Italian warships.

Little damage was done, but when it is remembered that Salif is occupied only by officials and workmen employed in the Debt Administration's salt works, and by a garrison of 100 soldiers stationed there to protect them from Arabs, it may be asked whether the Italian action is in conformity with the assurances of the Consulta that the interests of the foreign bondholders would as far as possible be respected in the course of the present campaign.

Perim, March 7.

The Italian cruiser *Calahria* began to bombard Sheikh Said last night, but, on the Turks replying promptly, the warship retreated northward (Reuter.)

Rome, March 7.

A despatch from General Reisoli states that at 10 o'clock on Tuesday evening the enemy attacked the east front of the Italian positions on the Margheb heights. Fighting lasted until 6 o'clock in the morning, when the Arabs were driven off with heavy loss. The Italians had one killed and three injured. (Reuter.)

On the 7th March Mr. JOYNSON-HICKS (Middlesex, Brentford, Opp.) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he would state what right or title Turkey has to the barren islands in the Red Sea, other than occupancy; whether, as her

30th March.

sole occupancy consisted of lighting them, now she has ceased to light, she has any right to retain control of the islands; and whether, in the interests of British shipping, his Majesty's Government would consider the advisability of taking, at all events temporary, possession of the islands and relight them in the event of Turkey declining to carry out her international obligations in this respect.

SIR E. GREY (Northumberland, Berwick).—The right or title of Turkey to the islands in proximity to the Arabian coast of the Red Sea has, so far as I am aware, never been questioned. As the hon. member was informed in answer to his question of February 29 the Ottoman Government have, of course, the right to extinguish the lights in their territorial waters, if they consider such action necessary to guard their national interests and ensure their safety. In answer to the last part of the question there can be no question of any such action on the part of His Majesty's Government as that suggested by the hon. member without a departure from neutrality.

In reply to Mr. JOVNSON-HICKS

SIR E. GREY said he was quite aware of the inconvenience to shipping, but he was afraid it was impossible for war to occur in any part of the world without causing some such inconvenience. At an earlier stage of the war the Government made a suggestion hoping to come to an arrangement for the neutrality of the Red Sea. That was found to be impossible then, but if an opportunity did arise offering a prospect of the lights being replaced, he would avail himself of it.

Rome, March 6

In the course of to-day's debate in the Chamber on the amended Budget for the financial year 1911-1912 Signor Tedesco, the Treasurer, said.—

"It is gratifying to note that during the five months of the war there has been a steady and remarkable increase in receipts, so that the current Budget will be able to cover half the war expenses without showing a deficit. The outlook for the coming financial year is thus very satisfactory, the more so as the heavy expenditure caused by the earthquake in Sicily and Calabria will cease. The war has not interrupted the path of reform, nor has there been any cessation of the expenditure voted by Parliament for primary education. The money already voted will continue to be laid out for public works. In spite of the great effort being made by the country, the state of the Treasury is and will continue to be entirely reassuring. Italy's finances are in so strong a position that she can face, without a loan or additional taxation, the great enterprise in which the unanimity of the Government, Parliament, and people has asserted itself so admirably" (Reuter).

The *Berliner Tageblatt* is informed by its Constantinople correspondent that the Vali of Beirut has proved in the presence of the foreign consuls that the Italians fired on the town intentionally. The material proof is furnished by five shells which were found nearly two miles away from the harbour and at a height of over 300 feet above the level of the sea.—(Manchester *Guardian*)

The following official *communiqué* was issued in Rome (states a Reuter's telegram) -- "Contrary to statements published recently by some newspapers, no step has been taken by any Power whatever to advise the Italian Government to limit the area of the military operations. The Italian Government reserves its full liberty of action, with the exception already known with regard to the Ottoman coasts of the Adriatic and Ionian Seas."

Writing on the effect of the recent exploits of the Italian navy in the Red Sea, the Djibuti correspondent of the *Sicilie* states that no appreciable damage has been done by the repeated bombardments, but that their moral effect has been great. "The Italians," he declares, "are creating among the Moslem population a feeling of hatred against themselves which will never disappear. At Djibuti, at Aden, and elsewhere the native, and even the wildest tribes of the interior, are reading the Egyptian papers and know everything that passes in Tripoli and the Red Sea. In fact, by attacking the Arabs of the Red Sea, who had never done them any harm, and who but a few months ago were themselves at war with the Turks, the Italians have committed an incredible mistake which will cost them dear in the future. The Turco-Arabs are watching the movements of the ships, and are waiting with confidence for a landing at some point of the Red Sea littoral."

"The Abyssinians themselves, the enemies of Islam" (adds the *Sicilie's* correspondent) "are holding themselves in readiness to profit by the circumstances. The Italian Commission which was sent to Menelik has not been able to execute the scheme of Captain Citerini, its leader, for taking possession of the territories extending beyond Lugh. The proposals made to the Abyssinian Government for the delimitation of these territories have been rejected at Addis Abeba, and the affair is in a state of suspension. In the Tigre and Wollo districts the Abyssinian warriors of Ras Mikhael are on the look out and already the house constructed by the Italian Consul at Bati has been burnt down. Once more the exploits performed by the army of Menelik in 1895-6 are being sung, and the population

dreams of inflicting upon the Italians another such humiliation as followed after Adowa."—(Manchester *Guardian*.)

Intervention.

THE *Temps*, with evident authority, denies the correctness of the reports which represent an intervention of the Powers in the Turkoo-Italian conflict as "impending and already concerted." What seems to have occurred is that Russia has once more made a proposal for mediation, which she has submitted to Vienna, where a favourable examination owing to the recent improvement in Russo-Austrian relations is assured. The Russian proposal, however, amounts to nothing more than a suggestion for "a collective inquiry by all the Great Powers, both those of the Triple Alliance and those of the Triple Entente, at Constantinople and at Rome, with a view to discovering whether mediation is possible and to finding a basis of peace between the two belligerents."

How the new enterprise is regarded in Vienna and Berlin is shown by the following inspired utterances of the *Neue Freie Presse* and the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. The former is authorised to declare that "an exchange of views has taken place, in the course of which various proposals have been made. The latest of these proposals is that of M. Sazonoff. The majority of the Powers are of opinion that it would scarcely be possible to intervene without the consent of the two belligerents. A one-sided pressure on one of the Powers would be a violation of neutrality. The recent declaration in the Italian Parliament and the refusal of the Porte to negotiate on the basis of the annexation of Tripoli and Cyrenaica shew that the moment has not yet arrived for mediation. Notwithstanding the efforts of the Powers, no mediation will be possible until the attitude of the belligerents has changed."

The *Frankfurter Zeitung* in a note marked by the semi-official asterisks, writes still more energetically—"To read the *Courrier della Scra* one would think that all Europe was only thinking how to draw the chestnuts out of the fire for Italy. It would perhaps be useful if Berlin and Vienna were to give a denial to the rumours which have been put into circulation to the effect that the two allies of Italy are taking part in a contemplated coup against the Porte. If an intervention by the Powers were to become necessary it would be at Rome that action would in the first instance have to be taken. It is Rome which has provoked the war, and it is Rome can bring it to an end to-day by offering reasonable terms."

On his part the Rome correspondent of the *Temps*, reviewing the diplomatic situation, adds the usual threat—"In Italian political quarters there is not much faith in the result of an action by the Powers, but it is openly stated that if the attempt at mediation should break down the Italian Government ought to make up its mind to deliver a decisive blow at Turkey."

This constant threatening gives the *Journal des Débats* an occasion to read the Italian Government a homily on the need of being modest. In a long article devoted to the rumours of mediation the journal asserts that the present moment is highly inopportune for any such action, that the Italian policy which seems to have inspired the reports is much too ingenious and runs the danger of over-reaching itself, that its methods of intimidating Turkey are bound to have no effect, and that "it is altogether time to renounce the system of intimidation practised against the Sultan and Europe alike." For, it adds, "it is manifestly with a view to intimidating Europe that every day the announcement is made of a war in the Balkans in the spring and of the impending disturbance of Europe's interests in the Ottoman Empire. Should the Italian Government dare speculate on a massacre of Christians by exasperated Moslems with a view to inducing the Powers to coerce Turkey in favour of peace, it will simply place itself outside humanity. Public opinion will know on whom to fix that responsibility. Schemes and methods which were in fashion at the Renaissance are now forbidden to a civilised State. The Italian Government will have to think of other methods. The Powers are certainly disposed to mediate, but only in favour of a bargain not of a capitulation. It behoves the Rome Cabinet to indicate the terms of the bargain."

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

St. Petersburg, March 1,

The comments of the foreign Press on the Russian initiative to discuss means of terminating the war between Turkey and Italy betray misapprehension as to the scope of Russia's action. No new proposals have been formulated in St. Petersburg since M. Sazonoff approached the Powers in regard to an exchange of views on the subject. The initiative encountered resistance in Vienna and Berlin. Russia's neighbours recently displayed a better spirit and the question is now under discussion, but what will be the outcome is still a matter of doubt.

Berlin, March 4.

Commenting on the recent Russian proposals the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, in a leading article this morning, questions the wisdom of the Powers taking action of any sort at this particular moment of the Turco-Italian War. The writer believes that a voluntary settlement is at present out of the question, while the other alternative—pressure on one or other of the two belligerents—is undesirable. Germany, it is true, is placed by the war in a peculiarly painful position, whereby "the work of many long years seems endangered," but she would be the first to suffer from the Turkish suspicions if she took part in any "policy of force" in order to conclude it.

Vienna, March 4.

A joint step by the neutral Powers for the purpose of ascertaining Italian peace conditions is stated to be imminent. Whether a further step will be undertaken at Constantinople is likely to depend upon the tenor of the Italian reply. The organs of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office make no secret of their belief that the initiative of the Powers will not be attended by any immediate success.

Paris, March 4.

According to the *Temps* it is believed that Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, and Austria are prepared to contemplate the possibility of collective action with a view to mediating between Italy and Turkey, but that the form of their intervention has not yet been decided.

Rome, March 5.

The official *Zerluna* this evening states that reasons exist for believing that Italy is disposed to offer honourable conditions of peace to Turkey so long as full entire Italian sovereignty is recognized in Cyrenaica and Tripoli. The journal adds that the intentions of the Italian Government towards the Arabs are most benevolent. It considers that Turkey assumes a grave responsibility towards the latter race by retarding or rendering impossible a speedy settlement.

Paris, March 5.

The neutral Powers are still considering the form in which mediation on their part between Italy and Turkey would be likely to present the best chances of success. In presence of the Italian annexation decree and in view of Turkey's almost unassassable position in Europe, the necessity is realized of ascertaining before hand the sentiments and desires of the belligerents. The question arises whether the Powers should make the necessary overtures jointly and simultaneously in Rome and Constantinople or whether one of their number—Russia, for example—should be authorized to take preliminary soundings. In various quarters it is suggested that hostilities might be suspended should it be found possible to institute negotiations.

Only the vaguest and most shadowy inferences can be drawn with regard to the attitude of the belligerents themselves. Since Italy can scarcely retreat from her position in Tripoli and since, to all appearances, she finds it difficult to make headway, it is feared that the temptation to create a diversion in the Balkans may become very strong. As regards Turkey, it is pointed out that the Turkish Government may desire to await the result of the forthcoming elections before committing itself.

Constantinople, March 5.

While the Powers are at present engaged in the discussion of, or rather in the search for, a possible basis for mediation between Italy and Turkey, the Porte does not seem to have received any information from its Ambassador with regard to the nature of these *pouvoirs*, which cannot be far advanced. The view generally held here is that, as long as Italy refrains to withdraw, or Turkey to recognize, the official annexation of Tripoli the discovery of a formula which is likely to satisfy both parties is extremely difficult, if not impossible.

Vienna, March 5.

The *Politische Correspondenz* questions the accuracy of the announcement that the Italian Government has informed the Powers of its intention to operate without delay against several points of the Turkish Empire in case the proposed mediation should fail, but accredits the statement that the Italian Government has reserved its freedom of action in this respect.

Vienna, March 6.

Several Austrian journals report to-day that an English proposal to the Powers designed to dissuade Italy from warlike operations against the ports of European and Asiatic Turkey has been rejected by the Austro-Hungarian Government. There is reason to believe that in this form the reports are inaccurate. The British Government appears to have sounded the Governments of other Powers as to the expediency of ascertaining, by joint inquiry, of Rome the intentions of Italy, but before receiving the replies of the Powers to have abandoned the idea upon finding that such inquiry would not be welcome to the Italian Government.

Crete.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Athens, March 1.

Much satisfaction is expressed here at the restoration of order in Crete, which undoubtedly is due in large measure to the plain-spoken language of the Note addressed by the Protecting Powers to the Cretan Government. It is anticipated in Canea that another Note will be delivered, but no further warning seems necessary, as the Cretans are now fully aware of the consequences which must ensue from any contravention of the conditions laid down by the Powers. In view of the improvement in the situation His Majesty's cruiser *Lancaster* has withdrawn from Canea and the *Minerva* from Retimo to Suda Bay. The British, French and Russian naval forces in Cretan waters will be increased, but it seems improbable that any further step will be taken so long as order prevails and the desires of the Powers are respected.

Some 30 Christians have been arrested in connexion with the murders at Kurtomado and the perpetrators of the crime are believed to be among them.

Candia, March 2.

Another Mahomedan has been murdered at Canea by Christians and has been buried by the *Gendarmerie*. Great uneasiness prevails and all the Mahomedan shops have been closed at Canea, an outbreak being feared.

It is reported that in consequence of the repeated attacks upon Mahomedans the Powers will hand another Note to the Cretan Government couched in stronger terms than the last. More warships are expected at Suda Bay.

Athens, March 3.

The hopes entertained here that order had been restored in Crete have been rudely dissipated by the murder of another Moslem on Friday night. A feeling of dejection now prevails and it is realized that a continuation of outrages committed on the Moslem population will afford the Powers ample justification for the adoption of severe disciplinary measures. So far as is known the Powers will limit their activity for the present to the despatch of additional warships to Cretan waters. M. Koundourous, the Cretan leader, is now stated to advise the cessation of all revolutionary activity.

Malta, March 3.

His Majesty's cruiser *Barham* has left suddenly under sealed orders. It is understood that she is proceeding to Crete. (Reuter.)

Reuter's correspondent in Malta telegraphs that it is persistently rumoured there that the protecting Powers have decided upon the military re-occupation of Crete and that the West Yorkshire Regiment, which is stationed at Malta, has been warned to hold itself in readiness to go to the island. It is stated in official quarters, however, that nothing is known of any such decision.

H.M. cruiser *Diana* will leave Malta for Crete on 15th March, presumably to relieve H.M. Cruiser *Lancaster*.

News from Turkish Sources.

(FROM THE "TANIN.")

(Specially Translated for the "Comrade.")

Paris, 24th February.

ACCORDING to the messages of the correspondent of the *Temps* from Azizia the Italians came out of Tripoli with two detachments of Cavalry and 4 regiments of Infantry, and 3 batteries of Artillery with the intention of capturing Zanzur and passed Qirg-Qares. The Arabs hearing the sounds of Artillery at once made for the place from which it was proceeding, and delivered an attack on the left of the Italians and defeated them. The Italian losses are unascertained. The Arabs are in high spirits. The above has been confirmed by official telegrams to the Ministry of War.

(FROM THE "JEUNE TURC.")

(Specially translated for the "Comrade.")

We understand that the Italian Government has instructed the Government of Erytheria to buy 5,000 camels which are intended for services in Tripolitaine. Nearly 2,000 camels have already been embarked by an Italian transport.

We are informed that Abdulla Bey, the son of the Sharif of Mecca, has just given to Sheik Ali Yousuff the sum of 25,000 English pounds for being sent with the Red Crescent Mission to Benghazi.

On the other side the Committee has also changed more than 30,000 English pounds into Turkish money for being sent with the same Mission.

His Excellency Hasan Makour Pasha, Treasurer of the fund for the war, advises the local press that the sums received until to-day total 86,027 English pounds.

30th March.

From the special correspondent of the Paris *Temps* with the Turkish Forces :—

"I have already telegraphed to you an account of the fruitless reconnaissance made by a squadron of the 90th Italian Lancers which have just arrived at Ain-Zara. I am of opinion that the lance will be of no utility in this country,—because the Arab generally attacks his enemy on foot. The Italian horses, moreover, find it impossible to operate in the desert, the sand is so soft that horsehoofs sink into it. For the cavalry the mounts of this country are absolutely necessary."

"The Arab who fights with his rifle and his sabre on foot and is an excellent shot has the advantage over the horseman who attacks him. On horseback also the Arab has the advantage over his adversary, for his small and extremely fast pony helps him to traverse long distances much more quickly than an European cavalryman could hope to do."

"The Italian aeroplanes continue to work hard in the service of reconnaissance and assisting the lines of communication. They rain proclamations from the sky and the morning of 17th January has brought us two—one signed by Mr Giolitti, the Prime Minister, announcing that three Italian men of war, whose names are given, have sunk seven Turkish transports full of soldiers, and also a yacht called *Jauis* which was full of arms, the other proclamation signed by General Caneva declares that Italy has captured 'the mother of Arabs' (he is probably referring to Tripoli) and exhorts them to submit, promising them 25 francs and a sack of barley per rifle. In using the word 'Mother' the General has been very badly inspired. The Arabs have not understood the allusion and their indignation is fierce against the Italians for their having dared to pretend that they had captured the mother of Arabs. This bad effect is still more accentuated by other expressions of the proclamation."

"The front of the Turkish troops extends over a length of nearly 40 kilometres. Their organisation is excellent. No Italian can possibly advance a mile or a mile and a half out of the fortifications. Not even an Arab can come out of the Italian lines, and I assure you that a very large number of these have been taken prisoner because they had been sent out by the Italians to persuade their compatriots to submit by promising them rewards and many other things."

"The Italians have reckoned without the Arab, without the sand of the desert, without the deficiency of water, without the cold which even is surprising and last, but not least, without the most terrible enemy of all, which will soon assail them, *viz.*, the horrible heat of this country. My god! it makes me afraid for myself. I have tasted only three warm days lately and I am told that I only experienced the cool temperature of the nights of the coming spring which will soon be followed by scorching days of the hot weather. I pity most cordially, the poor Italian soldiers. This country is made for Arabs only, but the European will take long to acclimatise himself even in a few points of the littoral and the oasis. I cannot give you the strength of the Turkish forces, for this information cannot be divulged—but I can tell you that the Turks have a considerable effective force and their number is being continually augmented by arrival of young men from the tribes of the interior."

The *Journal des Débats* publishes the following account of an interview with Maitre Salem, the Attorney —

It was telegraphed from Rome to Paris, that *Le Tribuna* on the authority of its correspondent at Philippopolis announced that a financier, a trustworthy man of the Committee of Union and Progress was on his way to Rome carrying proposals of peace from Turkey. Other Italian newspaper republished this information and even gave the name of the messenger of peace, the Advocate Salem. Mr Salem really arrived last night in Rome. Since leaving the train he has been the prey of the Italian journalists whom he assured that his journey to Rome was in no way diplomatic. He was not entrusted with any political mission, but with a financial mission of an absolutely private character.

In my turn I wished to see Mr Salem, and I spent an hour with him. We conversed cheerfully on all the rumours about him.

"I had no idea of the importance that was attributed to me," said my amiable speaker in very good French. "I was dumbfounded when I was told that I was bringing proposals of peace. But at Constantinople, nobody, do you understand, speaks of peace. Besides, why should they speak of it? One notices the war so little. The Italians residing in Turkey have suffered little themselves. It is understood that I do not speak of the working class. I have come to Rome only to try and save the big Italian banking houses of Salonika which have been considerably harmed by the war, and may fail if help is not given. Their balance-sheet examined by the Bank of Athens and by the Oriental Bank shows assets of 2 millions against 12 millions of debts. I found the best disposition in the French Banks, which are creditors of my clients. But if they agree to allow all the time needed to pay off their debts, they

consider, and I think alike, that it is the Italian Banks who ought to make the necessary effort to save their fellow countrymen from an unmerited disaster who have suffered by a war declared by Italy itself. You see, I am far from an ambassador of peace, and if I have been to the Consulate it was simply for my clients. As an Advocate I do not busy myself with politics."

Anarchism in Macedonia.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, February 15.

AT THIS juncture Hadji Adil Bey was appointed Minister of the Interior. Originally a lawyer by profession, he became prominent under the old regime as lecturer on the Civil Code (Medjelleh) to the Salomika Faculty. He was at the same time head of the Imports Department of the Salomika Custom House, and won the esteem of the foreign mercantile community by his ability and probity. Shortly after the revolution he was appointed head of the Customs at Salomika, and afterwards Vali of Adrianople, where he achieved decided success. In 1910 he succeeded Dr Nazim as Secretary-General of the Committee of Union and Progress. In this position he showed considerable ability as an organiser, and did his utmost to reconcile the warring factions within the party. A good Moslem, well educated, and of a good presence, he seems well fitted for office. He accepted the Ministry of Interior somewhat unwillingly but, having once taken office, lost no time in laying before his colleagues the state of affairs in European Turkey and his proposed remedies. It was soon decided that he should proceed to Macedonia and Albania with a picked Turkish staff of officials, whose duties at headquarters brought them into close contact with the affairs of the European provinces, and with two of the European officials in Ottoman service, Mr. R. W. Graves, C.M.G., whose services to the British and Ottoman Governments are well known, and Lieutenant Colonel Foulon, a very able French officer who is "gendarme par métier." Hadji Adil Bey's powers are almost dictatorial. His colleagues in the Cabinet, including the Minister of War, have delegated their powers to him, so that he may be able to put into immediate operation all remedial measures on which he may decide. He has further been invested with the right to dismiss or suspend the higher provincial officials, whose dismissal, like their appointment, has hitherto only been effected by Imperial Iradeh. His programme, the general lines of which are known, includes the reorganization of the Gendarmerie, for which he disposes of ample credits, the improvement of communications and the construction of schools, the granting of certain special concessions to the Albanian hill-tribes, and last, but not least, land settlement.

It is easy enough to minimize the importance of Hadji Adil's task by describing his mission as a mere electioneering move, designed to catch Macedonian votes. The Turkish Government would be human if it paid no attention to its chances in the coming elections, but there is ample reason to believe that a measure, which, be it remembered, is likely to be severely criticized by the Young Turk extremists, has not been adopted merely to win the good will of Albanian or Macedonian electors. The Moderates have, in fact, realized that the situation requires prompt remedial action if the State is to be saved from the danger of insurrection and foreign intervention. Whether the Commission will succeed in its task is another question. By the admission of many Turks, Young and Old, it has started late, and tardy repentance may not prevent the errors of the Committee's policy in European Turkey from bearing civil fruit. It will meet with much opposition both from Turks and non-Turks, and there are some who believe that its success is less likely to be compromised by Bulgar and Albanian irreconcilables than by the civilian devotees of "Turkification" and those soldiers who believe Turkey can only be ruled by sword and stick. Personal ambitions and jealousies which have played so large a part in Turkish internal politics must also be taken into account as possible obstacles. Yet all those who wish well either to the Turks or to the races which they rule must hope that the Commission by its success will stave off, if it cannot altogether avert, that danger of a general outbreak which no serious student of Near Eastern politics can pretend to disregard. Its failure may spell ruin to the hopes not only of the new regime and of the Turks, but of other peoples of South-Eastern Europe.

Salonika, February 20.

The continuation of the series of assassinations of Moslems by Bulgarian bands is giving rise to a growing feeling of resentment and anger among the entire Musselman population of Macedonia, and it is to be feared that, if the Government does not succeed in putting an end to these outrages, it will be very difficult to avoid massacres. Alike at Isbitip and, more recently, after the outrage at Kruchchevo, it was with the greatest difficulty that the troops kept the mob in hand. The ideas of the Mahomedans are expressed in a manifesto which has been forwarded by the population at Kuprilli to the Grand Vizier and the Minister of the Interior. It is signed by the civil and religious chiefs of the community and con-

tains express threats of violence against the Bulgarian population if the authors of the outrages go longer unpunished.

On the other hand, the continued calling out of the reservists in the Drama district has given rise to great local discontent. The Mussalman population has made a demonstration and addressed a vigorous protest to the Grand Vizier against the practice of calling the able-bodied men under arms without serious reasons. The protest demands that, if it is necessary to guard the railway, regular troops be employed for the purpose, since otherwise the local population will be ruined.

Salonika, February, 22.

Although it was generally anticipated that Hadji Adil Bey, the Minister of the Interior, would avail himself of the opportunity of personally distributing the money necessary for the reforms decided upon, it now appears that he wishes to inspect, in some cases, the progress of the work authorized. I learn that the Vilayets of Uskub, Scodra, Monastir, and Janina have already been advised that a credit of £120,000 has been placed at their disposal, which sum is to be spent in repairing the Government konaks and prisons. The Vans have received instructions to begin work immediately.

According to the plans drawn up by Hadji Adil Bey, the tour of the Commission will last three months. Physically the journey is sure to be very trying, and it is at least doubtful whether the majority of the members will be able to complete it. Some of them are even now more or less seriously indisposed.

The Kaumakam of Gyevgoli reports that a new Bulgarian band, 16 strong, has appeared in that district.

February 24

The Commission left here for Kuprili this morning. After resting for one day it will proceed to Uskub, where it will stay for five days, and afterwards will proceed direct to Prishtina, where, in accordance with the orders of the Sultan, a great meeting will be held at the tomb of Sultan Murad on the anniversary of the birthday of the Prophet. After a solemn religious ceremony the faithful will receive gifts from the Sultan in the shape of sweetmeats.

British Red Crescent Mission.

BENGARIA,
25th February, 1912

DEAR MR. AMBEEK ALI,

We left Sfax by the Steamer *Jell* on 21st February at 10 P.M. and arrived here at 11 P.M. in the evening of the 22nd, stayed the night in a lively little hotel. We disembarked from the steamer in sailing boats—the coast is very shallow and the steamer had to anchor about three miles from El-Bibani. El-Bibani is a little sandy Aden about 100 yards square at the mouth of a large lagoon. The Agent of the Campagne Mixte Lago lives there and manages a large fishery business. After waiting at the entrance to the lagoon for about two hours until there was sufficient water we sailed another four miles and landed about four or five miles from here and came on with our personal luggage in carts which the French Commandant here sent for us.

The British Consul General at Marseilles, Mr. Gurney, was the greatest assistance to us in inducing the *Transatlantique* to take us and our baggage. Consul Blake at Bizerte offered us every assistance and at Tunis the Vice Consul gave me every assistance and helped us in getting the boxes cleared at Sfax without being opened. Mr. Leonard, the Consul at Sfax, simply worked the whole time helping us. I should be very much obliged if you would thank the Foreign Office for the unofficial assistance we obtained, at the same time mentioning the Consuls at Marseilles, Bizerte and Tunis, and specially the name of Mr. Leonard at Sfax. In Sfax I got a good Arab cook at 120 francs per month, also another Arab who speaks a little English as interpreter and general help at 110 francs per month. Late in the afternoon of our departure a young Arab arrived from Bizerte with a note from the Consul there most strongly recommending him. I asked the Consul if he knew of anyone when we passed through Bizerte, he had met this young man, who is of very good family, has lived a great deal in France with the family of a Naval Officer, he has also studied in hospitals. When the Consul spoke to him he rushed off and caught the train and came straight through to Sfax in the hope of catching us up. I consulted with Dr. Haigh and we decided to take him. He has a cousin who went as hospital assistant to the first Turkish Red Crescent which went in November. I agreed to give him 110 francs per month. I find him of the very greatest use and he has already helped to save us a good deal of expense in keeping prices and charges down. I am very glad we took him. I hope you approve.

All prices have gone up enormously owing to the war. In Tunis a man who had just come from the Turkish camp said we should have to pay 12 francs each for camels. But I got letters

from influential Arabs in Sfax and I hope we shall not have to pay more than about four francs. I have been as careful as possible but the expenses are going to be considerably more than we estimated for. The charges at Sfax for clearing, handling and sealing the baggage, etc., which were quite unavoidable, amounted to 248 francs, this for example we did not allow for. The steamer charges from Sfax were also very heavy, 414 francs for baggage—for tickets 270 francs, in addition landing charges from steamer 47 francs. Then too there are such unavoidable expenses as tips, luggage to and from stations and steamers, etc., etc.

Mons. Desevaux has been most kind and polite and has given us a nice piece of ground where we are encamped, it is a cheaper and more comfortable arrangement. We have been delayed here waiting for camels arriving from Tripoli. Tunisian camels are no longer allowed to cross the border. We save considerably by waiting for the Tripoli camels, as we shall get them cheaper and shall not have to change camels on the way. We expect to start to-morrow afternoon and shall take about 6 to 7 days or perhaps 7 to 8 days. The halt here in camp has been of advantage, as we have been able to get into working order.

The French authorities everywhere have been very good and I heard from an Officer on the *7/7* that the French Government had wired to say we were on board and that the Italians were not to interfere with the vessel. Every other voyage she was overhauled by an Italian warship.

There seems to be dreadful famine in Tripoli amongst the poor refugees. After consultation with people who should know I have decided not to attempt to take over food for them, because if they have money there is the stuff for them to buy. The few camel loads we would take would not go far, would attract the poor people, and when the supply stopped the conditions would be worse than before.

I propose to send you an urgent telegram from Azizia or elsewhere appealing for help and funds.

I am glad to report to you that we are all a very happy party and that everyone works well together. There is no such thing as grumbling.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) C. F. DIXON JOHNSON

The Turko-Italian War.

(To THE EDITOR OF THE "NEAR EAST.")

SIR,

May I through the medium of your esteemed journal, approach the friends of humanity on the important question which is placed before the European public by the Chancelleries of Europe apparently to put a stop to the war?

The people of Europe, especially the British Press and the public, desire to stop it at the very beginning. This desire became intensified after reports of the unwarrantable cruelties perpetrated by the Italians on defenceless Moslems—men, women, and children—reached Europe, in spite of the strict censorship imposed by Italy.

The war could easily have been stopped had the Foreign Ministers of various countries either been true to the pledges given to Turkey during the last fifty years for the preservation of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire or acted according to the desire of the people whom they were representing or sympathised with Turkey in her endeavours to put her house in order. The only thing they did was to ask Italy to confine the scene of operations to Tripoli. Italy broke this pledge as readily as she had previously broken the various treaty obligations.

If the Powers really wish to stop the war on an equitable basis, and not in the interests of unrighteous Italy, or their own, it can even now be accomplished without much trouble. There are two ways: (1) Turkey to be allowed passage of troops through Egypt (2) through Austria-Hungary.

With regard to the passage of troops through Egypt, a question might arise as to the position of England there. She is there with the consent of Turkey as well as of the Khedive for certain definite purposes, and has repeatedly stated that the suzerain rights of Turkey will always be respected.

Therefore, England could have no objection to the passage of troops if the Egyptians themselves agree to it. In the face of the display of feeling throughout the whole of the Moslem world, who could doubt that the Egyptians would agree to an act which in no way would interfere with the *status quo*?

But let us assume that Egypt is an independent country just like Austria-Hungary and neutral. We have then to see whether the passage of troops through Egypt or Austria-Hungary would be a cause of complaint on the part of Italy, and whether these countries could legally allow the passage of troops through them.

According to International Law, neutral countries can allow the passage of troops through their territories to one of the belligerents without this being a cause of complaint on the part of the other belligerent, even though the same concession may not be granted on sufficient grounds to the other belligerent.

Based upon the views of such great jurists as Vattel ("Droit des Gens," liv. III., ch. 7, sec. 119-13), Grotius ("De Jur. Bel. ac Pac," liv. II., cap. 2, § 13), and Sir W. Scott (3 "C. Rob.," 353), Wheaton, a great jurist himself, writes as follows—"This exemption extends to the passage of an army or fleet through the limits of the territorial jurisdiction, which can hardly be considered an innocent passage, such as a nation has a right to demand from another, and even if it were such an innocent passage, is one of those imperfect rights the exercise of which depends upon the consent of the proprietor, and which cannot be compelled against his will. It may be granted or withheld at the discretion of the neutral State, but its being granted is no ground of conflict on the part of the other belligerent Power, providing the same privilege is granted to him, unless there be sufficient reason for withholding it"—(Wheaton's "International Law," sec. 427, p. 579.)

Grotius mentions that neutral nations ought to afford a free passage to an enemy seeking to recover its rights in a just war. In the present case no one doubts that Italy is unjust and that Turkey, who is the injured party, only desires the passage of troops in order to protect her own rights. Both Egypt and Austria-Hungary therefore should allow the Turks to pass through their territories, and Italy can have no right to object to it.

Men-of-war belonging to belligerents have been allowed to pass through the Suez Canal, and indeed frequently through neutral waters. It can hardly be contended that the passage of troops meant for the same purpose stands on a different footing. Not to go back very far in the past, we have a precedent in the passage of our troops through the Orange Free State, which was neutral, in order to carry on operations against the Basutos in the late Basuto War.

If England were to act according to law, and raise no objection to the passage of troops through Egypt, she would regain the esteem in which she was held by the Moslems. The same will apply to Austria-Hungary, and the breach caused by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina will be healed and the war will be over.

Thanking you on behalf of the Moslem world to the interest you have displayed in the cause of the oppressed Moslems and humanity,—I remain, Sir, yours truly,

A. MAJID

President of the Moslem Brotherhood of Progress.

4, Harcourt Buildings

Temple, E.C.

5th March 1912.

The Italian Parliament and the War.

(FROM A "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" CORRESPONDENT IN ITALY.)

The opening day of the Italian Parliament has come and gone. Feeling ran high, and the enthusiasm shown was almost unparalleled. There had been endless conjecture regarding the attitude likely to be taken up by the Opposition. The three groups of parties—Radicals, Republicans, and Socialists—held their meetings in the morning to decide upon their respective lines of action. The Radical party expressed themselves unanimously in favour of the Derive of Sovereignty in Tripolitania, but insisted that the difficult problems of development of the colonies, economic and other, must be carefully watched. The Republicans, headed by Barzai, passed a resolution blaming the errors and policy of the Government, but apart from their adverse opinion as to the political necessity of the war itself they recognised the completed fact of annexation. They resolved, however, to put no trust in the Government, but to reserve judgement upon the grave responsibilities so lightly undertaken.

The real interest centred in the Socialist party, itself inclined to divide into two camps. Their meeting lasted several hours, and opinions were various concerning the best course to take under the circumstances. I'ranipoloni said he was averse from the war and refused any participation in it, he considered conquest a crime and the lives of the Arabs sacred, just because he was a Socialist; he was averse from piracy. Turati felt with him, but suggested that they should attend the opening session of Parliament, remaining seated in process. Nitti remarked that the Nationalists wanted Italy to be the greatest nation in the world, but the Socialists wanted it to be the most humanitarian. He hoped a means would be found, but meanwhile he argued that the soldiers being of the proletariat, the Proletariat party could not refuse them homage.

Finally, two resolutions were proposed, the one suggesting the party should attend the session but not rise to their feet; the other, adopted by a bare majority, was to this effect—The party consider that they must share in stamping on the first meeting of the House the character of a homage, justly due, to the soldiers and their valour; by thus joining they prevent the Assembly being dominated by the *deputati borghesi*, and thus assuming only a Nationalist character. They therefore agreed to attend the session, rising to salute those who had nobly done their duty. Further, they determined to express their views about the war during the next day's debate on the Decree of Annexation.

And so it came about that with indescribable fervour the 472 deputies offered a unanimous vote of homage to the army in Tripoli. In the following day's debate the Socialists bravely attempted to express their views. Bissolati was listened to with impatience and interruption, but Turati, who courageously faced the fury of some 400 deputies, was prevented from a clear statement such as could do his cause justice. Cicotti made a notable speech till he, too, was howled down. Leone Caetani's clear and weighty reasons for voting against the Annexation Decree were given to the press. As a result it is announced that he was immediately deposed from his position as honorary president of the Circolo Monarchico Universitario di Roma. Before night an urgency meeting of the Circolo was called and they unanimously resolved that Leone Caetani was "unworthy" to be their president.

"But," says Caetani, "serenely defying universal unpopularity, including probably my own electors, I felt it my duty publicly and solemnly to protest by withholding my vote and thus to separate myself from the responsibility of those who have willed this sudden and, to my mind, unjustifiable conquest of the two African provinces."

Contraband in War.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Tripoli, February 20.

The effervescence produced in the French and Italian Press by the *Carthage* and *Manouba* incidents seems, fortunately, to have died down. But a certain unpleasant taste remains, and here in Tripoli, at any rate, almost in touch with the Tunis border, the question of contraband from the western frontier is discussed with some bitterness. It was my lot to come into immediate contact with Italian feeling, in Italy and Tripoli, during the weeks which followed the events of October 23-26. At that time Italians were justly appreciative of the attitude taken up by almost the whole of the French Press, which published fair and unbiased accounts of the action of the Italian troops, in sharp contrast with the grossly distorted version which appeared in sections of the Press of other countries. Italy was rightly grateful for this moral support, but in certain quarters it was considered excessively pro-Italian, and the resentment against French sympathy with Italy culminated in the attempted assassination of M. Carrére, the correspondent of the *Temps*, at the hands, it was alleged, of a Young Turkish assassin.

Recently it has seemed as though this attitude of France and her Press were forgotten. There is distinctly noticeable in certain circles a tendency to criticize unduly French action in Tunis, and to endeavour, by implication, to show that such action is in some way responsible for the slow progress of Italian arms. This frame of mind may result in harm to both parties involved, and it may be *appropriate* to attempt an impartial analysis of the situation.

In the first place, it would be well to bear in mind that Tunis is not under the absolute sovereignty of France. The Bardo Treaty, concluded in 1881 between France and the Bey of Tunis, has never been formally recognized by Turkey, and at the recent delimitation of the frontier between Tunis and Tripolitania the Turkish Commissioners dealt with Commissioners appointed in the name of the Bey. The Ottoman claim to Tunis has not been entirely rejected or disposed of, and at a moment when Italy is quite rightly, for fear of future complications, refusing to recognize even a shadow of Turkish suzerainty over her new provinces, she might be fairly expected to show some sympathy with the kind of difficulty she is determined to avoid. Again, the Protectorate of Tunis, with an area of some 50,000 square miles, has an almost entirely Moslem population of nearly two millions, while the provinces of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica have something over a million persons to populate an area six times as large. When Italy proceeded to occupy these two provinces, her action sent an immediate wave of unrest through the two million Moslems of Tunisia, which culminated in a grave anti-Italian or anti-European outbreak in the city of Tunis itself. The French were forced to take exceptional measures to preserve order, while the prolongation of the Tripoli campaign has kept these fires smouldering and added greatly to the anxieties of the authorities in Tunis.

If France has allowed provisions and supplies to be forwarded from Tunis to the Turco-Arab headquarters in the Tripoli Hinterland, she has equally permitted the passage of provisions and transport camels to the Italian forces in Tripoli, and in this way she may be said to have held the scales even between Ottoman and Italian, and this in spite of much difficulty and inconvenience. It is not exactly clear to what extent she could have prevented the passage of provisions across the border into Tripoli, and in any case another fact should not be forgotten.

Though the population of Tunisia as a whole is much denser than that of Tripolitania, the border regions are practically desert, and very sparsely inhabited. It follows that as long as the Italians fail to occupy Zara, and police their side of the border, it is practically impossible for the French authorities to close completely such a frontier, given the secret sympathy of the Moslem population on the western side with the Moslem forces fighting across the border. Further, if France had gone to enormous expense and stationed large forces along the frontier, the result would have been practically the same, so long as the Turks were allowed by the Italians to control Zuara and its *Hinterland*.

There has been considerable discussion as to the merits or demerits of the Italian plan of campaign. It is held with some justice that the defeat of the Turks at Ain-Zara might have been turned into a final rout, that quicker and bolder movement might have smashed the Turco-Arab combination, captured all the stores and munitions at Aziziah, and practically solved the military problem as far as Tripolitania was concerned. On the other hand, it is maintained (and the contention may not lightly be dismissed) that the nature of the *terrain* between Tripoli and the Gebel made it wiser, if not absolutely necessary, to adopt the slow and cautious methods which have found favour with the authorities. In any case, most critics are agreed that the omission of the Italians to occupy Zuara was a very grave mistake. Zuara has been used as a base for Turkish supplies and communications. It has been the main landing place for such contraband as has been run by sea—no small quantity, for the Italian blocking squadron is deficient both in numbers and, for winter work, in sea-keeping qualities, and it has also been the point of concentration for all the contraband brought over the border, the only point of concentration possible, unless the caravans are to follow the much longer and more difficult route further south. The mistake of the Italians has done much to prolong the resistance of the Turco-Arab forces, and it has vastly increased the difficulties of the French position in Tunisia.

We are given to understand that the return of General Caneva from Rome is the prelude of a more vigorous offensive, and it is almost an open secret that the occupation of Zuara is to be included in the operations destined for the immediate future. When this has been accomplished it is certain that the contraband question will be readily solved by the co-operation of the French and Italian authorities. In this way we may hope for a restoration of the friendly atmosphere which existed between these two new neighbours in North Africa at the time of the Carrère incident. The clouds of suspicion, which seem in great part to have been the result of mischief-making in the Press, unwitting and deliberate, should pass away and leave the sky clear and untroubled.

The Future of Islam.*

BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SYED AMEER ALI

As I HAVE the privilege of enjoying the friendship of the lecturer for whose talents and learning I have very great admiration, he will, I am sure, pardon me if in the few criticisms I venture to offer he finds anything in disagreement with his standpoint, or with his estimate of the religion I profess. I must say that in the discursive paper he read to us I did not exactly follow the thesis he was trying to work out. I do not know whether, speaking to an audience mostly consisting of Englishmen, he sought to show that Mohammedans ought to consider themselves fortunate in being under foreign and Christian rule, or whether he wanted to point out that the theory of Pan-Islamism, invented in Europe to justify attacks on Moslem communities, is really baseless. If the former was his thesis, he has, no doubt, developed it to the satisfaction of this assembly. But I would remind him that there is such a thing as sentiment in this world, and that the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman once told the House of Commons that nations felt that even bad rule by people belonging to their own race is better than the rule of aliens. I hope that neither the lecturer nor this assembly will deny all credit to those Mohammedans who are so ignorant as to prefer their own rule to that of foreigners. Surely some weight ought to be attached even in these days to sentiment of that character. I believe that in European countries

men who fight for their independence and refuse to be subjugated by aliens are usually called heroes; but it seems that Moslems in similar conditions are not entitled to be called anything but fanatics. I have come across some Moors who were ignorant enough to dislike being subjugated by France. If anybody wishes to know how they are exploited by Frenchmen he has only to refer to a recent book by Mr Leeder entitled "The Gateway of the Desert." It will give him some idea of the "fanaticism" of the Moors. It will show that they object to be exploited by foreigners who want to extract as much from them as possible. They object to their young men being turned into absinthe-drinking *fanniers* and their young women into beings not usually mentioned in polite society. They say that women are entitled under the system prevalent amongst them to certain respect, they do not wish to see them on the stage of the *café chantant* or adopting the lax manners often seen in Western cities. I met some time ago an extremely able German diplomatist and he mentioned to me that these "fanatical" Moors would have preferred an English to a French protectorate. He was modest enough to put the name of his own country second in this connection and I think this was very candid on his part. He said the Moors hated French domination largely because it meant the imposition upon them of French civilization in its least agreeable aspect. For my part I abominate that word civilization, having regard to the abuses it covers. Even religion is not responsible for so much crime toward weak nations as civilization. I hope this assembly will give some credit to these Moslems for cherishing sentiments which would here be called patriotic. (Cheers.) It is a matter of regret that the lecturer has not said one word in reprobation of the extraordinary enterprise in which Italy is engaged in Tripoli. She is waging there a war against a power with which she was on friendly terms up to the very moment she broke the peace. The Italians went to Tripoli on the allegation of releasing the Arabs from the Turkish yoke under which they groaned, that they were to be the liberators of the Tripolitans. But these very Arabs are now laying down their lives not to be subjugated to foreign rule. The sentiment which has led them to join hands with the Turks can be well understood seeing that the peace and prosperity which existed in the Tripolitan oasis have disappeared. Their plantations are ruined, the date palms have been cut down, and starvation stares the people in the face. That may be civilization, but as I am only a Moslem it is not a civilization which appeals to me. In saying all this with regard to recent attacks upon Moslem countries I wish it to be understood that I fully recognise the prosperity the Moslems enjoy in India under the rule of Great Britain and I am persuaded that no Mussalman subject of King George has any feeling other than that of absolute loyalty to the British Crown. But they expect on their side also that some value should be attached to their feelings and sentiments, especially with regard to their cherished traditions.

The subject of the present lecture was brought before the Central Asian Society a few years ago by Mr (now Sir) Valentine Chirol. On that occasion I ventured to say that this idea of Pan-Islamism, viz., a combination of Mohammedans in an aggressive sense against European Powers, was a European invention with the object of raising a prejudice against Islam, and thus rendering the efforts to subjugate independent Moslem States more easy.

Pan-Islamism is a figment of the brain, an invention designed to help in destroying the liberty of Mussalman nations. If the insubstantiability of Pan-Islamism was the thesis of the lecturer then I am in hearty accord with him.

I hope you will forgive a personal reference when I say that for the last 37 years I have laboured to bring East and West together and to keep the Moslem peoples of India steadfast in their devotion to the British Crown. That steadfastness is maintained, but it is perfectly intelligible and absolutely natural that their sympathies should go out to their co-religionists in other parts of the world suffering from troubles which from their nature ought to appeal to every man and every woman of whatever race or religion and stir the instincts of humanity and generosity in him or her. (Cheers.) From all parts of India, from South Africa, from Malaya, in fact from every country inhabited by Mohammedans high and low, educated and uneducated, there has come evidence that they feel intensely in respect to, and sympathise deeply with their people in Persia, in Tripoli and in Morocco in the troubles and trials they are undergoing. Everywhere there is the greatest indignation and sorrow at the wanton injustice and suffering to which they are subjected. You will all admit that these feelings are at least excusable and intelligible, and you will not be surprised then that Moslems should look to Great Britain to do what she can to relieve the situation. We recall what was done by Cromwell when the Vaudois were being massacred. One word from him sufficed to stop those massacres, and he left to England a noble memory. Surely the Moslems of India are entitled to express their sympathy and desire to relieve the sufferings of their co-religionists, and no man, certainly no Englishman, has a right to question their right to do so or its naturalness or prosperity. I believe that in a time not far back the

* A speech delivered at the Central Asian Society on the occasion of Professor Mungo Smith's Lecture on Pan-Islamism on the 10th January, 1912.

30th March.

outrage on humanity and international justice which is so largely observed now with a certain amount of callousness would have sent a shock through the length and breadth of England, but things are changed!

If the thesis of the lecturer was that Islam being divided into sects there is no possibility of its uniting against any aggressive action of Europe or any other religion, I am willing to admit that the sects and peoples of Islam have no idea, and have never had any idea of combining to hurl themselves against the serried ranks of Europe, or that they are ever likely to rise against Great Britain or any other liberal Government. Still Europe might well take to heart the lesson presented by Italian aggression in Tripoli. There was no cohesion between the Arabs and Turks there until the invasion took place, but that has had the effect of uniting the Moslems throughout Northern Africa. If European nations indulge in these crusades you must expect the various tribes and peoples and sects to sink their differences and to unite in defence against the common invader. But as to organised Pan-Islamism, I have never come across any missionary of it in the whole of my experience. To the Mohammedans of India the name of Jemal-ud-Din is scarcely known and the cult that has been described to us is without following there. In respect to the Senussi, to whom Sir D. G. Rees referred, they have kept aloof from political movements, for they make a point to avoid political complications with foreign governments. The Senussi movement is one of a distant religious kind, but what the effect of the invasion on Tripoli will be upon its adherents in altering their standpoint I cannot say.

The learned lecturer has a great deal to say about the divisions of Islam. He seems to have forgotten the divisions in Christendom from the earliest times onwards, and that they continue to this day. I saw a book recently which described no less than 170 or 180 Christian sects. One of these sects, the Christadelphian, holds that the Messianic reign will begin with the massacre of all infidels.

There is one other point the lecturer holds the view that constitutional government is foreign to Islam. Well I venture

to say that if constitutional Government is intimately associated with any creed it is that of Islam. No one knows better than our Chairman what a democratic religion it is. It is more socialistic and democratic than any other system I know of, and under it constitutional government flourished in old times. If the lecturer will look into the history of Islamic monarchies he will find that questions of state were settled by councils, that in some respects they were as representative as the systems which have been evolved by 600 years of democracy in this country. Councils sat and decided important issues at every period when Islam enjoyed

any degree of prosperity. Saladdin himself had a council to which he submitted questions affecting the progress of his people. In Persia there were councils at the capitals and each town had its headman presiding over the local corporation. The question will be asked, how is it that a system which so flourished was overtaken by decadence? In my judgment this was due to the conflict with Christianity. The Crusaders are responsible for the destruction of the civilization and culture of Western Asia. In Spain it was the Inquisition which destroyed the life and culture the Moors had created there.

After mentioning various works throwing light upon this historical argument the Right Hon'ble gentleman proceeded. I am sorry that one so gifted and learned as our lecturer should say that Islam is unsuited to constitutional government, and should overlook the fact that it is the calamities which have come from outside which have caused the decay of self-governing institutions in the Moslem world. The Islamic position has been entirely different from that of England, which has not been overrun by foreign foes since the distant days of William the Conqueror and thus been saved the trials and troubles to which the countries of Islam have been exposed. The Tartars reduced the most prosperous cities of Asia to ashes. Multitudes lost their lives in the sack of Bagdad, Herat, Nishapur and other places. I am sure the lecturer will excuse me for having pointed out that in my judgment his statements on many points need qualification.

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—Morris.

Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 14. Annas 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, April 6, 1912.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1.

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inviolability of our shores that if we erred, we were right to err on the safe side.

"So long," Mr Lloyd George said, "as I am satisfied that Mr. Churchill's demands will only secure the minimum necessary for safety, my duty will be to find the necessary finance. It is premature to say what or how much the very serious contingency to which Mr Churchill referred may mean, all that we can do is to provide the necessary reserve for it."

Mr Lloyd George proposed at present to devote the whole surplus to strengthening the Exchequer Balance. If at the end of the year it had been unnecessary to draw upon it, Parliament would judge the situation and devote the reserve wholly or partly to reduction of debt.

Mr Lloyd George estimated the expenditure for 1912-13 at £186,885,000, an increase of £5,600,000. The increased expenditure was due to the Insurance Act, and the purchase of telephones. He estimated that the strike would cause a total loss of revenue from spirits, tea and sugar, amounting to £800,000 this year, making with the past year £1,200,000.

In conclusion Mr Lloyd George said that the trade conditions of the world were exceptionally healthy. The future at home depended upon the readiness of capital to share its luck with labour, and to the moderation of labour in pressing its demands. On the whole there was nothing on the horizon to mar the prospects of a bountiful year. He feared that the prospects of reduction in naval expenditure were not very bright, and we should have reason to rejoice if we escaped a substantial increase this year and a still larger increase next year.

Mr Austen Chamberlain said he failed to see any justification for reserving the surplus to meet naval contingencies. Six millions was altogether beyond anything that would be required this year on the basis laid down by Mr Churchill, thus diverting money from the Sinking Fund. Government seemed utterly regardless of the credit of the country and the effects would be deplorable. He begged Mr. Lloyd George to reconsider the proposal, which he would certainly resist.

The Times states that Government set aside the surplus with the express intention of using it for an increase of shipbuilding, if the German naval programme were increased. This was not clearly realised after Mr Lloyd George's statement, but Mr. Merton, winding up the debate, gave an assurance that the money would not be used except for the Navy without the express sanction of the House of Commons.

Morocco

REUTER WIRES from Paris on the 31st March:—A message to the *Mutin* from Fez states that a treaty establishing a French Protectorate over Morocco was signed by the Sultan yesterday.

China

REUTER WIRES from Peking on March 30:—A Cabinet has been formed. It includes the following:—Premier and acting Minister of Communications, Tangshaoyi. Minister for Foreign Affairs, Luchengsiang, hitherto Minister in St. Petersburg. Minister of the Interior, Chaopengchun. Minister of Finance, Hsinghaijing. Minister of War, General Tuanchijui.

The Week.

The Budget.

In the House of Commons on the 2nd Mr Lloyd George introduced the Budget. He said that the surplus for 1911-12 amounting to £6,545,000 was the largest on record. The prosperity of trade during that financial year had exceeded the most sanguine expectations. The principal taxes had done well despite the strike except sugar, owing to drought. Tea had yielded £145,000 below the estimate, though it had exceeded the estimate of the preceding year. This was due, firstly, to many tea estates having been converted into rubber, and secondly to the strike. The loss of revenue up to March 31st, which was directly attributable to the strike was £400,000.

Mr. Lloyd George said that all classes had shared in the prosperity. He reviewed the working of the 1909 Budget. None of the taxes in that Budget could be justly described as revolutionary. They did not tax any necessities of life. Trade had improved and unemployment diminished. Before the strike began, unemployment had reached the lowest point ever touched. Regarding the surplus, Mr. Lloyd George said that we were underspending and the nature of that must be considered. Underspending by the Admiralty amounting to £1,500,000 was only a postponement, not a saving. Two other contingencies must also be considered, viz., the effect of the strike and the possibility mentioned by Mr. Churchill on March 18th. Nobody deplored more than himself the enormous waste of armaments, but so much depended upon the absolute

The Cabinet is considered decidedly progressive but not particularly strong. It will be more popular in the South than in the North, but it is probably the best available owing to the refusal of the ablest men in the Empire to participate. The Chinese papers criticise the Cabinet severely on the ground that several Ministers are inexperienced politically and unable to inspire confidence in the people.

REUTER wires from Peking on the 31st March - A message from Hankow states that the Russo-Asiatic Bank has handed to the Wuchang Government one million and half taels on behalf of the Belgian Syndicate whose Peking representative states that China has been credited with five and half millions. The opposition to Tang-shaoyi, the Premier, is growing in North China owing to the belief that the Belgian loan is principally a Russian enterprise, and that Russia's non-entry into the International Group discloses a desire on the part of that country to be unhampered by the discussions with the other Powers.

Reuter wires from Tokio on the 3rd — The comments of the newspapers here on the Chinese Republican Ministry are most unfavourable. They say the members of the Ministry are for the most part inefficient bureaucrats and that the régime is not likely to be a permanent one.

Soudan.

REUTER wires on the 2nd April that a small punitive expedition under Major Leveson yesterday engaged a large force of Anuak raiders in thick bush near Odongo. The Anuaks fled after suffering heavy losses and abandoned their villages. Their positions were destroyed. Captain Lichtenberg and Captain Kinahan, three Egyptian officers and 42 Sudanese soldiers, were killed and one Egyptian officer and 12 men were wounded.

The following letter, recently received by *The Standard*, explains the object of the expedition and gives details of the force and helps one to understand the rather severe casualties —

S S Zafir, White Nile,

February 14th, 1912

We are on our way up to Fausikur and the Sobat for an expedition against the savages known as the Anuaks, who live 250 miles north-west of Lake Rudolph. They are a most aggressive tribe, living in villages protected by a triple stockade.

They are nearly all armed with modern (French) Rifles, smuggled through Abyssinia. We are expecting a very lively time in consequence. Our force consists of Major C. H. Leveson of the 18th Hussars, 12 British Officers and 100 men—two companies of mounted infantry, four companies of infantry and two 75 millimetre guns.

The savages have been raiding our country towards the White Nile. We go along the south bank of the Sobat up to its junction with the Pibor, then south up the west bank of the Pibor to its junction with the R. Akobo. Here we cross, keeping along the Akobo and hunt for a village called Odongo.

There are no maps, and no white man has ever seen this particular part of the country, although dear "Monty" Wellby skirted it on his way to the Sobat from Lake Rudolph. The rains may make the country difficult, if not impassable. If the enemy are sufficiently cowed, I hear we may push on to the Boma plateau, 150 miles further.

We may be away about two and a half months, but if we push on to the plateau it will be nearer four. We are all in fine form and meet our latest "friends"—the Anuaks.

Hindu University.

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya returned to Calcutta on Monday morning from Darbhanga and is busy pushing forward the collection of subscriptions promised for the Hindu University. In addition to two lakhs remitted by the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga Rs. 29,000 have been received out of other subscriptions promised at Darbhanga. H H. the Aga Khan and Mr. Justice Haasan Imam have also remitted their subscriptions, Rs. 5,000 each, to the Hindu University Fund.

Hindu Educational Conference.

Mr. HARKISHEN LAL, on behalf of the proposed Hindu Educational Conference, interviewed the Hon. Mr. Godley, Director of Public Instruction to enquire if he had any objection to members and officers of the Education Department joining the Conference. Mr. Godley said he had no objection and promised himself to attend.

TETE À TETE



We think we may be allowed to presume that we have read the history of the growth of British Empire, its constitution, the mutual obligations of the parts of the Empire.

foreign policy has been from time to time based.

The average newspaper reader in India can discuss the true inwardness of British Foreign policy to-day with a degree knowledge and ability that would surprise the Anglo-Indian journal st who formed his notions about the educated Indians in his editorial sanctum a decade ago. It has hitherto been an article of his creed to absolutely ignore Indian opinion while discussing the probable developments of the foreign relations of the Empire. The Indian opinion did not weigh with him an atom perhaps because it was weak, less self-confident and less insistent. Perhaps because he purposely brushed it aside as of no account at all. Times have, however, changed and India is rapidly growing conscious of her place and importance in the governance of the Empire. But the practice of ignoring Indian opinion in shaping the Foreign policy of the Empire still continues, at any rate amongst a section of the Anglo-Indian and the British Press. Nothing can be more short-sighted than this, in fact it betrays a strange ignorance of the conditions that should govern the affairs of a vast and complex Empire if the abiding attachment and devotion of all its parts is to be evoked. Yet it is exactly this that is forgotten when an imperially minded journalist, in a fit of self-complacency, holds forth on the responsibilities of His Majesty's Indian subjects without allowing them even the right of respectfully submitting their views on Imperial questions. We know what has been the attitude of papers like the *Times* and the *Pioneer* towards His Majesty's 70 million Moslem subjects in India, whose feelings have been deeply stirred by the sufferings and calamities of their brethren abroad. We have, however, seen with a considerable shock of surprise that even papers usually so sound and balanced as the *Times of India* can be betrayed into such an attitude. Reviewing His Excellency the Viceroy's recent utterance on the Foreign situation, it says in its issue of the 27th March.—"There are, we believe, certain Moslems who think that Great Britain should have intervened by force of arms to prevent the Italian invasion of Tripoli. But when their political judgment matures, they will see that the foreign policy of a worldwide empire cannot be dictated by regard to the sentiments of a section of its people." We do not profess to know our contemporary's standard of "political judgment," but we are certain the Mussalmans never made a demand so absurd as our contemporary appears to believe. They simply asked the responsible advisers of their Sovereign to exert their influence in enforcing respect for international treaties and obligations which the British Empire itself is pledged to maintain. The sentiments of a section of its people may not be the sole guide in determining the foreign policy of an empire, but they ought to be one of the factors that decide its final direction. The *Times*' Bombay correspondent who is, we believe, on the staff of the *Times of India*, in the course of his telegraphic message of the 5th March said that "it is not exaggerating to say that Indian Moslem feeling as a result of these three events (the modification of the partition, the war in Tripoli and the affairs in Persia) is growing somewhat unreasonable." Perhaps the only way of attaining sweet reasonableness for the Indian Moslems is to commission the foreign correspondents of the *Times* to do their thinking for them. Is this the principle on which the great Empire is to be run? Even a section of the Indian opinion, which not very long ago was regarded as dangerous to the verge of sedition has received deference out of all proportion to its deserts. Our quarrel, however, is with the attitude that wants to treat Indian opinion as a negligible quantity and claims British public opinion to be the exclusive guide of Imperial policy. There is no wonder if such an attitude is resented in India. The views of the self-governed

colonies receive much more deference because they can exact it. Their sentiments are very carefully respected and carry great weight in the counsels of the Empire. The Indians or, for the matter of that, Indian Moslems expect nothing more than that their views and sentiments may be similarly considered. India wants not a differential but an equitable treatment, commensurate with the contribution that it makes towards the wealth, power and prestige of the Empire.

IT APPEARS that the District Magistrate of Lahore still insists on the deposit of a security from the Editor of the *Zamindar*, and we do not know if any attempt has yet been made to prove that the section under which the security is demanded applies to the case of the *Zamindar*, and that the District Magistrate has jurisdiction. Nor does he seem to have pointed out to the editor what articles or portions of articles he considered to be objectionable and im moderate in tone. But he has the whiphand in the matter, for there is no appeal unless the security is confiscated. We understand that the Hon. Mr. Basu wished to have the law amended in this particular last year, but did not do so in deference to the disinclination for such an amendment in higher quarters. We do not know if now, that the Partition is annulled, he would feel more inclined to resist official persuasion, but we trust his patriotism is not so limited in its scope. An amendment of this nature is most necessary, for without entering into the exercise of the Magistrate's discretion in demanding security, there is much still in his application of the law which may be entirely at variance with the intention of the Legislature. In the present case, Mr. Zafar Ali Khan has asked his publisher to deposit the security demanded. We do not think he has any reason to fear, for we have no doubt that should the Magistrate go further and confiscate the security, an opportunity would be given to our contemporary to prove that he is a free-born British subject and not a Russian serf or the bondslave of King Victor Emmanuel. It is true that the Punjab Chief Court has not established that reputation for inde pendence, so far as the executive is concerned, to which H. E. Lord Carnichael referred in his first speech in Bengal, but even there an opportunity exists of giving a deuced uncomfortable hour or two to stiff-necked and law-despising magistrates and exposing before the whole country what precious knowledge of vernaculars they have acquired in their intercourse with syces and ayahs. And, in our estimation, two thousand rupees are nothing compared to the exhilaration born of such a cross-examination. We dare say "The Hon. Mr. Gup" would find the "copy" thus acquired worth a treasure. As a profitable investment on his behalf we have sent our mite to our contemporary the *Zamindar*, believing, in the first place, that our hundred-rupee note is safe so long as the District Magistrate of Lahore is a sensible man, and, in the next place, that it is a very poor price for the satisfaction of having him pilloried in the witness-box, if he leaves a P. P. C. on his senses and confiscates the *Zamindar's* security.

It is hopeful to learn that the subject of *murtis* or minor girls dedicated to temples, who generally, if not universally, lead immoral lives, is engaging the attention of Government. Here is a case that satisfies one of the two tests of the Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock, namely, contravention of the fundamental principles of humanity. No doubt some persons would be forthcoming who would raise the cry of "Religion in danger." But when a universal practice like *suttee* could be put down nearly a century ago without the concurrence of a large number of the people themselves, surely the almost equally inhuman system of *murtis* can be put down to-day with the active support of the educated classes.

THE scheme for establishing a well-equipped school at Delhi for the education of Indian women, which Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal has formulated, in order to commemorate the Queen-Empress's

A School for Female Education. visit to India, has been conceived in a generous spirit and breathes the characteristic love and solicitude of Her Highness for the up-lifting of Indian womanhood. The Alligath movement for Moslem female education, which is as yet in a nebulous stage, owes what little it has achieved in practical results mainly to the patronage of this talented Princess. The rapid growth of schools in Bhopal for the training of girls is solely due to her initiative in a matter on which more than on anything else depends the thorough awakening and regeneration of the people. None can, therefore, question Her Highness's fitness to take the lead and stand sponsor to a project of wide scope and far-reaching consequence. Her Highness's idea is to collect twelve lakhs of rupees to establish a well-equipped school which in the course of time will become

a model institution of its kind. Out of the proposed funds four lakhs will be spent in building and the remaining eight lakhs will be set apart as permanent endowment. As a proof of her own earnestness and zeal Her Highness has promised to contribute "a lakh of rupees from the State and Rs. 20,000 from my private purse. My daughters-in-law have also expressed practical sympathy with my scheme, the eldest and the second contributing Rs. 7,000 each and the third Rs. 5,000." We have nothing but admiration for this unstinted liberality towards a cause which has secured but a few whole-hearted and enthusiastic converts even amongst men of loudly progressive ideas. It would be too late in the day to set about in earnest to preach the necessity for organised efforts for the promotion of female education. The ultimate efficiency of a society depends upon the sort of intelligence its women bring to bear on the conduct of its manifold and complex affairs. We, however, hope we will not be misunderstood if we cannot wholly approve of the method which Her Highness recommends for the attainment of the objects she has in view. We have discussed more than once the best possible way in which the education of the Indian and more particularly the Moslem girls can be organised without doing violence to deep-seated social instincts and traditions or irretrievably exposing the whole movement to odium and disaster. After a very careful consideration of the circumstances with which we have to deal in this country, we cannot help thinking that the public school system of education is the least suited to the conditions of the Indian social environment. What is really wanted are efficient normal schools for the training of *murtis* who would undertake teaching work locally and under the direct supervision of parents and guardians. If Her Highness were to try to found a well-equipped school for training efficient women teachers, she would be doing much more useful work on lines free from all risks and most readily conducive to the fruition of her laudable aims and aspirations.

PROVINCIAL public life, we need hardly say, is not yet efficiently organised in any part of the country. Signs The Public Life in of public activities in various directions are the Panjab to be found in abundance, but these activities

lack the sustained inspiration of some great, over-mastering purpose. The reasons for this sad state of affairs are not far to seek. Provincial communities have not yet been welded into common civic life under the stress of common ideals. There are hopeless social divisions and differences of motive, of standpoint, of social outlook, along which a bewildering variety of beliefs and practices have dug deep lines of cleavage. Education and present-day environment have evoked unifying tendencies which may eventually lead to the development of organised efforts for common political existence. As things are, the lack of organised will and purpose in provincial public life is daily made manifest in all important public concerns, and nowhere more so than in the go-ahead and sturdy Panjab. Only a short time ago, the Chief Court of the Province had issued a *fatwa* fixing the number of the new pleaders to be yearly enrolled for practice within the jurisdiction of the Court. It was an arbitrary interference with the law of supply and demand. But even if the law had grown out-of-fashion and the Highest Tribunal of Justice in the Punjab had felt itself called upon to correct the errors of natural processes, it ought to have hesitated before venturing to restrict the liberty of choice of profession which is supposed to be the birthright of every citizen of the British Empire. We do not know if artificial shifts like this can cure the evils for which they are ostensibly designed. What they would most certainly achieve is to discourage the study of the most useful, inspiring, and practical body of knowledge that human ingenuity has devised for the diverse purposes of human society. The practical results of the ukase in the Punjab would be to shut out some of the most gifted men from the legal profession simply because they could not happen to get so many marks after they had undergone the ordeals of a most clumsy system of examination. It will also interfere with the communal equilibrium which in view of the racial conditions is so necessary to maintain in the profession. Yet in spite of these glaring hardships that the whim of the Chief Court has imposed on one of the most important outlets for young careers, the public men of the Panjab have not raised a single voice of protest worth mentioning. The provincial papers deplored the action of the Court in funeral tones in which the tragedy of defeat was only too apparent. Not a single public meeting has been held in the Province to consider the bearings of this extraordinary order. It seems as if the Panjab has lost its public spirit and civic sense for taking common action in regard to the measures affecting the welfare of the community. It is perhaps the mutual hostility of creed and race, the unifying scramble for loaves and fishes that have reduced the public life of the Province to such a nerveless and shattered condition. Will not some of the conventional heroes of the day rise above the petty grind of daily life and touch the will and purpose of the people with the spirit of tolerance, sympathy, and common endeavour?

6th April.

The Comrade.

The New Order.

The old order changeth, giving place to new, and although men may not perceive it to-day, when after many years they look back upon the 1st of April 1912, they would recognise it to be the dividing line between two separate and distinct eras. In spite of the wailing and the gnashing of teeth in Calcutta, there is not the least doubt that the rest of India has accepted the change of capital as a measure fraught with great and beneficial possibilities for the country. Whatever their exact geographical situation may be to-day, when the confines of India have been politically enlarged and neglected areas have been developed, throughout her long history, Hindustan has been the heart of India and Delhi the heart of Hindustan. We say this in no provincial spirit, for had we done so, outlying provinces such as Western India would not have been so cordial as they have been in their welcome of this great change. A valued correspondent of ours, Nawab Nizamai Jung of Hyderabad, wrote an ode on the Imperial Coronation, which, alas, reached us too late to reproduce on that auspicious occasion. We would, however, take this opportunity of quoting the opening stanzas inasmuch as they struck, in the light of subsequent events, a truly prophetic note which illustrates in a remarkable manner that the idea of Delhi as the Seat of Empire had not been removed from men's minds, in spite of the ruin, the vandalism and subsequent neglect of Delhi.

Once more those golden gates unbar!
Once more undo the mould ring chains that bind!
Hark! O'er the Western waves afar,
A joyous strain comes floating on the wind
Queen of the East! no longer mourn
Thy broken sword, thy laurels torn,
Thy sceptre vanished, or the gem
That once adorned thy diadem:
Lo! The dark clouds of ages roll away,
And brightly shines the rising day,
And vanished scenes, for which thy heart did yearn,
Start from the faded past, and to thine eyes return
Mark, 'midst yon City's crumbling piles,
Where the proud sons of Timur once bore sway
The spot hing'ring Glory smiles,
And spectral Grandeur clothed in ruin gray.
There, there upon thine ancient throne
He sits whose heart is all thine own.
Let him a nobler throne obtain—
Ah, let him in thy bosom reign!
For he is one who neither pomp nor power
Much values, nor the glitt'ring shower
Of gold and gems the gorgeous Orient brings
To scatter at the feet of her barbaric kings

That wish has been amply realized and realized too in a manner that none could have dreamt of. These are not the days of conquests, though while we write this we know that land grabbing is going on on a larger and in reality on more barbaric scale than ever before. When we say that these are not the days of conquest, we mean that our own Empire is large enough for us to cry "halt" to the forces of territorial aggrandisement. It yet remains to be consolidated and improved and the real Empire builder to-day would be one who would evolve a new and a firmer bond of amity and concord to bind the lands that already form part of our King's dominions rather than one who would add a few degrees of longitude and latitude to those dominions. Commercial and industrial centres such as Bombay and Karachi rejoice in the change of capital and from Delhi herself the smoke of numerous chimneys rises to proclaim the victories of peace. Learning has made great progress, and the country has now reached that stage when it can calmly take stock of all that it has acquired and all that it has lost in the century and a half of British rule. Very wisely, both the great communities of India have now determined that while the new learning must advance, the ancient lore of the East should not decline and fade away. The great merits of the indigenous culture of the Orient are also being recognised, and a study of origins has taught the people that they must build the new superstructure on the solid foundation of the old, and must not be merely "architects of sun." The new Universities, the Hindu and the Moslem, would both be within easy reach of India's capital and can prosper under the fostering care of the Imperial Government. The inundation from the West has already fertilized the soil of Eastern India, which had too long been neglected. It is now the turn of the parched but potentially fertile soil of the North to receive the beneficial moisture. And although it is true, as some people fear, that for some time to come the Government would be in a part of India where public opinion is much less articulate, it is also certain that the transfer of the capital would give that opinion not only a living force but also a tongue. We know that this would

be beneficial but we also pray that good and honest use may be made of the new power and the newly found voice. It will indeed be a sad day if the North acquires the power of the giant and also uses it as a giant

While on this subject we may express the hope that, as expected by H.H. the Aga Khan, the comparatively depressed Moslem community would take the fullest advantage of the transfer of the capital. Although the authors of the change rightly refer to the Hindu as well as the Moslem historical associations of Delhi, it could not but be that the people who last ruled at Delhi and were masters in the land for eight centuries before the British took over the Government should have the fresher memory of the two. In the midst of things that would constantly remind them of the past, it is possible for Mussalmans to dream of it and sulk as they did half a century ago. But that way lies ruin, and we hope the lesson that Syed Ahmed Khan, himself an ornament of latter-day Delhi that redeemed its fame, has been too well taught for the community to forget it. It, however, the past shows to them unmistakeably what they had done before and given strength and faith, what they could do again, then their future is assured. The Empire of Delhi would no doubt not be theirs as it used to be in the days gone by. But new conceptions of Sovereignty and Nationalism hold sway to-day, and if they worked hand in hand with other communities, and if the Government chose to forget that it was an alien Government, the Empire of Delhi would yet be theirs as it never was in the days of Akbar or Aurangzeb. We earnestly appeal to them to scan the firmament and the charts and shape the course of their bark accordingly. Without abating a jot of their fraternal fervour for their brethren abroad who are bound to them not by common blood or contiguity of life, but by the far more rational bond of a common spirituality and culture and common institutions that go to the making of civilization, they can yet work together with their neighbours in the thousand and one concerns of every-day life. A religion that insists on the rights of neighbours so emphatically as theirs cannot teach them to keep aloof from a majority in this country, even though its ideas are not their ideas and its gods not their gods. We have no false notions about Nationalism, and when we see its baneful results in the unredeemed rivalries of Europe, we have no occasion to regard it as the last word in human progress or even as the harbinger of a new heaven and a new earth. But we have a firm belief that modern Nationalism has in its elements of great utility for us in our present divided state. We think it possible to evolve out of the jealousies of to-day a political entity on federal lines, a unique constitution, because, in accordance with our unique situation, it would be a federation of faiths.

For such a federation to come into being, it is necessary to have the guidance of Great Britain, and we firmly believe that in spite of much that is still unreformed in the British Administration, it is for us the best Government at present, and its existence is providential. We say this in no canting spirit, but in the full belief that if a watchful Providence controls the destinies of mankind and it wishes us well at present, the Government that has supplied the materials, and in many cases even the motive power of progress, is one that must be ordained by Providence for the good of us all. But if its being different from us in our fallen state was essential for our progress, its insistence on that difference to day and spasmodic and irrational efforts to perpetuate it are now the surest means of its own decay. While moulding us more and more to its own shape it should also lose its insularity and exclusiveness, for that way lie danger and death.

And lastly, we would appeal in all sincerity to those that form the bulk of India's population, that have on their side superior numbers, greater learning and more wealth, to pause and consider whether much of what they wish to obtain cannot be secured by greater magnanimity towards the claims of the Moslem minority, and more toleration of its suspicions and even its prejudices than by the ruinous rivalry of to-day. A proud people seldom submit to force unless it is clearly beaten. That, in their competition with the Hindus, the Mussalmans are not. The most that anyone can expect in this conflict is a stalemate, but have the possibilities of peace been altogether exhausted? There are other and stronger prejudices to be fought against and subdued than those of each other, and that cannot be done unless the forces of patriotism are combined. We appeal to all for greater sanity and more toleration, and above all we appeal for a complete dissociation of all the great communities of India from the bane of present-day politics, insincere sentiments and cant. Open foes can come to be friends, but insincere friendship can lead to nothing but disunion and disaster.

While the foregoing considerations apply everywhere, they do so with greater force in Bengal. Here not one but two changes have occurred, and in addition to the change of capital, which affects Bengal more directly than any other part of India except the North, we have here a territorial re-adjustment also which has acquired adventitious seriousness from the eventful history of the last six years. We do not care to go over a troublesome past and its purpose can now be served by raking up the decaying remains. We must face the future resolutely and, if possible, cheerfully, for after all it is that which matters. The chief reason—though we

fear it is only the ostensible reason--assigned for the change of capital is that the Government of India look forward to giving the provinces of India administrative autonomy. Bengal, one of the oldest provinces of British India, has already received an earnest of such autonomy in the appointment of its first Governor, and considering that it is the second improvement in its status, the first having been the creation of Council Government, Bengal has no reason to be dissatisfied. With the Viceroy and his Councillors living in Calcutta even for four months in the year, Bengal problemos had a tendency to become All-India problems, and the Partition of 1905 which did not concern any other Province except Bihar, Assam, Orissa and Chota Nagpur, exercised Indian politicians considerably. But now that the seat of Empire is removed to the North, and Bengal's provincial status has been improved, its repartition in 1912 is not likely to be a subject of the same universal interest. Its people have therefore to settle down to a solution of their difficulties unaided by the support and undisturbed by the officious interference of men of other provinces. The question, then, arises, in what spirit are they to seek a solution of the Provincial Problem?

In one respect Bengal is fortunate. It has no linguistic difficulties to solve such as make polyglot Madras a hopeless puzzle and keep Gujarat, Sindh and the Deccan separate entities in Western India with little cohesion. In the Punjab the difference between the literary vernacular and the *patois* of daily intercourse has given to the separatists a chance of creating mischief, while in the United Provinces the main issue in politics is still whether efforts are being made to create another language by excluding even familiar words of Arabic and Persian origin and substituting for them unfamiliar Sanscrit words. In Bengal no such difficult has yet arisen, but we fear that if the jealousies of Hindus and Mussalmans continue the same issue that separates Hindus from Mussalmans in the United Provinces will be raised in Bengal. Nobody grudges to the Hindu in the United Provinces the Hindu inspiration of his religious literature, with essentially Hindu imagery and a good deal of Sanscrit vocabulary. What the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal require is that where they preponderate school books should not be written in a manner soeing such inspiration, such imagery and such a vocabulary on them to the neglect of the essentially Moslem inspiration, Persian and Arabian imagery, and the vocabulary that is derived from these sources. The ground, they concede, must remain Bengali, but the pattern must be more in consonance with their traditions and their requirements. This is the main idea at the bottom of the differences about text books in Bengal, and though we claim no direct knowledge of the subject, we trust and believe we have not erred in stating the case generally. But while we are on this subject we may mention that throughout Bengal the complaint is that no provision is made for teaching Persian and Arabic in Schools and Colleges, and in this way Mussalman students are being weaned off from the sources of their peculiar culture which they cannot wholly sacrifice even to nationalism. This is done even in institutions which are partly aided from the Mohsin Fund and the case of the College in the Khulna District is one which would furnish the new Presidency Government an excellent opportunity of inquiring into this matter.

But while on the one hand there is such a neglect of Moslem requirements we find on the other that several *Madrassas* are maintained from State revenues which teach their Moslem alumni nothing but the ancient love of Persia and Arabia, and that, too, is done in such an indifferent way that the students seldom acquire a reputation even among the *Ulama* of their own faith. Most of those who have received instruction in these institutions, far from raising the intellectual level of the community or enhancing its political prestige or productive power, swell the ranks of mendicancy, open or disguised, and even help to breed discord and infamy. It is this remarkable divorce of the new learning from the old and the separation of the old from the new that has been responsible for the particular backwardness of the Mussalmans of Bengal and the new Government will have to make a searching inquiry into this matter, depending for the discovery of truth less on the old leaders that have done nothing to cure the evil and more on the masses of young graduates who have either been the victims of this system or at least know those who have fallen a prey to it and have no selfish reasons to disguise the facts.

The situation in the new Bengal to-day is this, that while the Mussalmans are in a majority, they possess no other advantage besides the doubtful benefit of a small but distractred and ragged majority. On the other hand, there is a very considerable minority which has every advantage and has left the majority far behind it in the race of life. Too careful a regard for its own advancement in the past made it callous at first to the condition of the minority and subsequently to its interests and rights. Inspite of all the fine talk of fraternal feeling and identity of interests, the fact remains that, unique among all provinces and communities, it is the Hindu minority of Bengal that has monopolised throughout the country and even abroad the cognomen of Bengali which should have been applicable to the Hindus and the Moslems of Bengal alike. During the 150 years of British rule in Bengal, the Hindus, having no inconvenient prejudices to hamper them have

changed their community beyond recognition. On the other hand, the pride and the prejudices of the Mussalmans kept them aloof from the progress that was going on around them and wrought their complete ruin. While one competitor in the race of life reached the winning post, the other has hardly yet left the pillar.

Now human nature being what it is, and cast and creed dividing India so greatly, it was not to be conceived that any mercy would be shown to the Mussalmans. They suffered every inconvenience and injustice that the poor and ignorant are bound to suffer everywhere, and the peculiar constitution of the Government and the political traditions of Englishmen made it difficult for them to do the Mussalmans bare justice. It was such a state of affairs which the Partition of 1905 incidentally affected powerfully. As we have said before, we shall not enter into what happened during the last six years. But there is no reason to withhold the fact that the outlook for the Mussalmans in Eastern Bengal became more hopeful, and although far too little was done to correct the communal balance in the administration, the educational facilities provided for the hitherto neglected area incidentally benefited the Mussalmans greatly. The partition is, however, now annulled, and unless other steps are taken to maintain its incidental educational benefits to Mussalmans, the result would be to throw back the community to its pre-partition condition and in view of the embittered feelings due to the partition quarrels, the second state of the Mussalmans would be worse than the first.

When the partition was modified, the Mussalmans could have as one of two alternatives refused to regard the new partition as a settled fact, and agitated for its revocation. In view of their poverty and want of education, and still more in view of their ignorance of the arts of agitation, both constitutional and otherwise, we must confess they could never have hoped to win. But they could still have made peace impossible and good government itself a no easy matter. Many of the officials, too, would have recognised some justice at least in their claims and could not have treated their agitation as wholly irrational and unjustified. But, although the state of Moslem feeling in India was, for obvious reasons, far from normal, the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal bore this blow with praiseworthy patience and self-restraint. Their leader, the Hon. Nawab Bahadur of Dacca and his energetic lieutenant, the Hon. Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhry as well as other prominent Mussalmans threw in the full weight of their influence on the side of a loyal acceptance of the change, without prejudice to their right of seeking the assistance of Government in the development of Eastern Bengal administratively, politically and educationally.

When H. L. Lord Carmichael—who has already created a most hopeful impression on the minds of all with his simplicity, frankness and desire to get at the truth from all sides—landed in Bengal the various communities that greeted him stood in the following position. There were the Hindus, regretful that the Viceroy should bade them a final good bye, yet hopeful of autonomy under a new Government and full of triumphant courage as a heritage of the success of their agitation. There were the Mussalmans, to whom the transfer of the capital meant little but to whom the future, on account of the re-partition appeared dubious and the past discouraging, who knew not whether to hope more or fear more from the Government, and who stood in a still greater suspense as to the attitude which the victorious would adopt towards them. Then there were the non-official Europeans who had indeed lost the predominance of their claim on the Supreme Government's interest in the commercial and industrial welfare of Calcutta and were chagrined at the withdrawal of the Government of India from the zone of their political influence, but who had little fear about their commercial and industrial progress, and still looked hopefully forward to the exercise of considerable political influence on the new Government. Finally, there were the European officials at least partly hurt at the annulment of the Partition and somewhat doubtful about the attitude of the new Governor towards them.

His Excellency Lord Carmichael has already told the last of these that he hopes to get to know all of them and to learn what they are doing and thinking and to win their confidence. But with commendable candour he has also told them that it may be—and he thought it was perhaps inevitable—he who has grown up amid very different influences, at times will act as they would not wish him to act, but he was obviously sincere when he said that if it was so, it would not be for any ill-will towards them and that he would at all times be ready to consider any concessions to which experience leads them. After all, it comes to this, that they must supply the long though naturally somewhat narrow experience, and be its corrective, a fresh mind open to accept that experience, or reject it as the result of unconscious prejudices or inapplicable to a new set of circumstances. We would earnestly repeat the advice of Sir Edward Baker to the Civil Service to give the new arrangement their loyal support and we trust there will be no efforts to "capture" the new Governor. We may add we do not think he is easy to "capture" and if "Captured" at all may prove a benevolent but shrewd and tenacious Tartar.

As for the non-official European community, what greater assurance could be given it than the simple assertion that if anything, a British Governor was likely to be prejudiced in

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favour of the British commercial interests. But such an assertion need frighten nobody, for His Excellency has pledged himself to regard British and Indian interests as identical and, if this is properly interpreted, there is the prospect of greater assimilation of these interests in the next five years.

But when all is said and done, the main factor of the situation is the Hindu-Moslem question. We are glad that His Excellency recognises that it is the very virtues of Mosalmans that have most seriously handicapped them, and this admission leads us to hope that in dealing with Moslem claims Lord Carmichael would not punish the Mosalmans for their virtues. As regards the Hindus, they have every reason to be satisfied with his assurance that he is not going to rule in the interests of any one creed or community but of all and would do his best to unify various interests rather than increase the separation. But, while we are confident, that His Excellency has all the shrewdness of his native land and adds to it the "directness" of his Colonial experience, we hope he will not accept beautiful sentiments for facts, for Bengal is a land of emotions which deceive the people of Bengal no less than others. We trust that when "identity of interests" is being discussed, due regard would be paid to the immediate and narrower interests which are nowhere so hopelessly conflicting as in Bengal, and that when he is asked to listen to the "voice of the people," he would first inquire what the term "people" signifies. It will be impertinence to endeavour to "coach up" His Excellency and we have no desire to do so. But there are certain dangerous pitfalls and it is not easy for a newcomer to escape them. In view of the very large questions that have to be decided almost immediately, we risk even an unintentional impertinence which is, we believe, a much lesser offence than neglect of duty.

To the Hindus of Bengal we would say in all sincerity, "You have so much that the Mosalmans lack. You have so many things to secure for Bengal that need the assistance of every community and all classes. Is it so unpolitic to be magnanimous, so impossible to be altruistic?" To the Mosalmans we would say, "Let bygones be bygones. Wipe off the old scores from the slate and write up an altogether new account. Trust that you may be trusted. Believe that you may be believed. A new era has dawned to-day. Is it to be better than the old or worse? That rests mainly with the people themselves, but partly also with the new Governor and his official advisers. Justice first and popularity afterwards, the interests of India before the interests of caste or creed, service or clique. These are the obvious considerations, yet which is the more likely to be neglected in party strife, the obvious or the obscure? We are hopeful of the future, but duty demands that all must be vigilant. So much is at stake that the most hopeful have need of the greatest vigilance."

The Compulsory Education Debate.

III

Some objections were urged against the Bill which were intended to prove that it was not only the people that were unripe for compulsion, but that the Department of Public Instruction was itself unready for the change which would flood the existing schools and necessitate the establishment of others. It was contended that a compulsory extension of the present system of primary instruction was most undesirable because the system was most inefficient and the instruction imparted worse than useless, that the greatest need of the hour was not so much an increase in the number of schools as an increased number of trained teachers, a better curriculum and better school houses. Sir Harcourt Butler quoted the words of the Malabar District Board, suggesting "the improvement of existing schools, their masters, their appliances and their buildings," as "wise and weighty words of responsible men." It is a pleasure to know from such an authoritative source that the members of the Malabar District Board at any rate had not the sautiful qualifications of Tooley Street, and we can leave the Hon Mr. Dadabhooy to wrangle with his official colleagues about the true inwardness and the spontaneity of these wise and weighty words. But Sir Harcourt said nothing to show where the wisdom or the weight of these words lay. Perhaps he left this portion of the argument to the Hon. Mr. Sharpe to deal with "from a purely professional point of view." Yet we do not know if the Council received much enlightenment from that able and industrious official either. We want, according to him, some 7,500 trained teachers every year to supply a wastage of 5 per cent in the ranks of 150,000 teachers which we have or should have. The verandahs of the village houses had such a unique configuration in his experience, that only about four or five boys were in a position to derive benefit from the instructions of the teacher. The Hon Mr. Basu had suggested the bamboo and grass buildings of Bengal; but Mr. Sharpe objected to the rain and sunshine coming in through the roof and walls as unwelcome trespassers, found even these to cost at least Ra. 500 or 600, and that without the friendly intervention of the P. W. D., and finally declared them to be unfit for the less genial climate of other parts of India, such, for instance, as the North-West. He concluded that "four years' instruction sans inspection, sans teachers, sans houses,

sans equipment and sans everything would . . . be money thrown away." It will not give us, he thought, the kind of education that will brighten homes or sweeten labour, and with a becoming apology he quoted the cynicism of Lord Sherbrooke, "If the new system is costly, it shall at least be efficient; if it is inefficient, it shall be cheap." The ryot was, according to Mr. Sharpe, no fool, and he was praised for the wisdom of not foregoing "his son's help in the fields for education in a school which he feels will do his son no good."

Now, in reply to all this we have to ask a few questions. If the present system is inefficient and no less costly than what Mr. Gokhale proposes to establish, why permit it to continue? Does not Lord Sherbrooke's cynicism supply sufficient wisdom for the Education Department? And what of the ryot, who, we are glad to hear, is no fool? Is he any wiser in foregoing voluntarily at present the extremely productive labour of his son and helpmate, for that dear but nasty education which Mr. Sharpe has been supplying to him, than he would be to forego it for the useless lore that Mr. Gokhale would force upon him? After all, Mr. Gokhale would only extend what Mr. Sharpe keeps limited. Are we then to believe that the expenditure on primary education at present is only a peace offering to inefficiency, a sacrifice designed to propitiate the greedy Molochs who are admitted to have kindled enthusiasm for the education of the masses?

All that Mr. Sharpe and those who think with him can say is that it is better to call a "Halt" to education of the masses on the present lines and to spend any money that we can now secure for education for the improvement of teachers, and inspection, building and equipment. In other words, education must now be intensive rather than extensive. We shall not pretend to ignore the reasonableness of this argument in many cases, but we have to see if it can apply to all cases, and if not whether it is applicable to India in its present condition. In economics, we are familiar with the ideas of diminishing and increasing returns, and we know that in agriculture at least it is the law of diminishing returns that holds good. Nature's gifts are spread on the whole fairly evenly and over a large area, and he would be a poor cultivator indeed who would begin to apply to virgin soil the methods of cultivation practised in countries where land is limited and has been exhausted by constant and long continued cultivation. To our mind, mass education in India is like the cultivation of virgin soil. For many years to come it would produce better results on the whole merely to scratch the surface, scatter the seeds broadcast and trust to the showers of heaven than to use the deep-delving plough worked by electricity, make elaborate ridge and drain and irrigate on the latest scientific model. Where 94 per cent of people cannot distinguish "A" from "B", it is a little premature to talk of trained teachers, scientific curricula and the School Beautiful.

It will be conceded by Mr. Sharpe that we have far to go before we can pull up level with England. Yet what is the condition there? Every care is taken to insure that teachers are recruited from those who are physically sound. A medical examination takes place when a candidate is admitted into the ranks of pupil-teachers. During each of the four years of this experience, the recruit is re-examined. Finally, when being admitted into the training college for a two or three years' course, the pupil-teacher undergoes another and severer test. Yet such are the insanitary conditions of schools that there are numerous breakdowns, and Mr. C. Howard Turner has recently published a list of specimen cases relieved during 1910 by the National Union of Teachers which show how frequently and how early in their careers teachers succumb to that disease—consumption. Sir James Vauxall, M.P., the Honorary Secretary of the Union, states that "the unhealthiness of the profession is due in part to bad ventilation and imperfect warming of the schools."

Mr. Turner mentions the following facts which are a match for the shower and shine of Mr. Sharpe and should give him some consolation —

Only a week or two ago the matter was raised at a meeting of the London County Council, when a member moved the adjournment of the Council to consider the question of the heating in the Commercial Street School, Whitechapel. On a recent occasion the temperature of one of the school-rooms was actually at freezing point! In the babies' room it varied between 40° and 44° for a whole week, while in other rooms it was as low as 40° and 41° all through the cold snap. The member added the significant remark that several teachers at this school were away with colds. Who can say how many of these colds may prove the foundation of serious trouble? In another school the children complained so bitterly that for several days the parents refused to send them to school, while in still another it was found impossible to get the children to attend to their lessons on account of the thermometer being in the neighbourhood of freezing, so they were kept at physical exercises all day.

It also appears that in many cases the classes are too large and the class-rooms are overcrowded. The Educational Committee of the London County Council is considering a scheme for limiting the number of scholars in one class to 40 in the case of senior departments, and 48 in the infants' departments. Even this is bad enough and we do not know whether our "experts" would tolerate such congestion. In order to carry this scheme out an outlay of 4½ million sterling for buildings alone is needed for the schools of London alone which are within the purview of the L.C.C. But the Committee proposes to extend the execution of the scheme on

a period of 15 years, "so that it is evidently in no hurry," as Mr. Turner remarks, "to remedy the shocking state of affairs at present in existence." Here then is a case in which it is evidently not inconsistent with the dignity of the Capital of the British Empire to have badly ventilated, ill-warmed and overcrowded class-rooms, and the Education Committee of the London County Council, lacking the fastidiousness of Mr. Sharpe, considers it better to persevere in compulsion, although it would have to tolerate some of these evil conditions for at least 15 years to come.

When we turn to the question of remuneration, we find that in England—where the teacher is much better paid than certainly in Wales, and perhaps better than anywhere else also in the United Kingdom—12,348 male head teachers get an average annual salary of £173 11s. 2d., while 16,593 women head teachers get an average of £120 17s. 7d. The 16,924 male assistant teachers get an average of £124 7s. 3d., and the 42,957 women assistants, £90 3s. 8d. annually. But these are trained and "certificated" teachers, and number about 80,000. However, as Sir Harcourt Butler and his supporters from the Central Province informed the Council, there are altogether some 111,000 female and 35,000 male teachers, or 146,000 in all. That still leaves some 57,000 teachers, who appear to be untrained and uncertificated. These get an annual average salary of £89 15s. 7d. in the case of men and £66 14s. 8d. in the case of women. As these are most likely to be in the main female teachers, we would be justified in concluding that on an average trained teachers and head teachers (the two sexes taken together) receive a salary of £110 a year, while untrained teachers get £70 a year. This, in India, sounds very much like paradise for all but the Europeans, but what is it in England? We may get some idea of it from the fact that coal miners are demanding a minimum wage of 5s. a day, which comes to about £80 a year. It comes to this then, that the average salary of about 40 per cent of the teachers of England who are untrained is substantially less than the proposed *minimum* wage of a miner. Sir James Yoxall is not, therefore, far wrong in concluding that "the whole thing is run upon a basis of cheapness and to find a teacher reasonably satisfied with his lot is rare." Comparing these facts with the wail of Mr. Sharpe, we find that even in England, the school buildings are unsuitable and insanitary, that teachers are underpaid and overworked, that even after 40 years of compulsion 40 per cent of them are untrained.

As regards inspection, it is worth while quoting Sir James Yoxall's opinion. He writes—"Teachers, however, have little freedom in their professions. They are over-managed, over-inspected and over-interfered with in their daily work. It is no wonder that the supply of teachers is failing off." Whether in the Army, or the Civil Service, in Police or Education, our administration in India is hideously top-heavy, and with caste feeling so acute among the Brahmins of the official hierarchy, the result is that the vanguard is almost wholly cut-off from the main army of workers, and even less in touch with the enemy of good government. No wonder that when a proposal is put forward to teach the rudiments of knowledge to the masses and make them literate, Mr. Sharpe revolves in his mind the army of European Inspectors that he would have to import from England, raw graduates from the British Universities destined to commence their service in a poor land on salaries that are denied to German savants and not much below those of a Regius Professor at Oxford. But Mr. Gokhale has no desire to follow the lines of police reform in India where a corrupt constabulary with small income and great temptations and opportunities is to be improved by a rise in the number and salaries of higher European officials in the Department.

We are told that the teaching in schools such as Mr. Gokhale proposes would be useless, but it is worth while bearing what those who have examined the facts about education in England say of the results of Board School education. Only recently such a person published an analysis of the knowledge of a number of soldiers in a regiment who had all come out of the Board School grinding mills. He asked them some very simple questions, but it was ascertained that quite a large proportion could not accurately say who were Nelson, Napoleon, Wellington, and Shakespeare, or where and what were the United States of America. The statistical analysis of the answers disclosed the most startling ignorance. Now such a result may justify to some extent the view of that cynical Inspector of Schools who had no faith in mass education anywhere; but it cannot strengthen the case of those who urge that India's case is peculiar and that she would not profit by compulsion. If all who go to these elementary schools do not learn all or much of what they are taught there, some of them at any rate learn something and the general level of intelligence in the country undoubtedly rises. Education of all sorts increases discontent and must do so if discontent is an essential accompaniment of progress. It does not always make people happier, and many an unlettered peasant of India is happier than Schopenhauer ever could be. But for all that education brightens the home and sweetens labour in each degree. We may say so, literacy by itself adds another and a keener sense to the other five, and we would refer Mr. Sharpe to Gibbons' philosophic eulogy of those benefactors of mankind who invented writing and arithmetical notation and of those whom but equally

undoubted benefactors of mankind who invented the art of printing, thereby extending the knowledge of the three R's.

It is news to us that the Education Department uses the ryot who is no fool as a beacon light to guide it in its praise or dispraise of elementary education. We do not know whether the sister service of sanitation would discover in the ryot, who is no fool, an authority in hygiene, who would revolutionise our notions about the advantages of ventilation and light, filtered water and wholesome food and about the uses of soap and water and the danger of microbes. This remarkable difference towards the educational views of the illiterate ryot contrasts curiously with the contempt for the untrained teacher. Sir Harcourt Butler has the advantage of having been Settlement Officer in Oudh for no less than seven years, which constitute a somewhat large fraction of a brilliant but not too long career. He has lived in the villages among the people. The people knew him and he knew them. He has inspected at least a thousand schools in his time and has been instrumental in opening over a hundred new schools. As for Mr. Sharpe, he has had more than an amateur acquaintance with these institutions and says he must have seen thousands of these schools. Compared with such intimate knowledge of these institutions we suppose it will be as nothing that we, the people of this country—as Mr. Gokhale pointed out—*learnt* in these schools. Sir Harcourt and Mr. Sharpe would perhaps concede Mr. Gokhale this much, at least, that he was not too vain when he haughtily said "Well, we have done fairly well in life after all, though we received our primary education in that way under untrained teachers."

He quoted very pertinently the recent conversion of the Bombay Government to the view that an indigenous aided basis cannot be dispensed with in rural areas. But Mr. Madge is of opinion that the world has altogether gone wrong since he did not assist at its creation. They all seem to be putting the cart before the horse. There must be teachers, and trained ones too, before you can have any schools or pupils in the country. If he had the fullest responsibility for the Genesis, he would create not only all the heavens and the earth, but also Adam and Eve and their multitudinous progeny before he would think of the need of the Creator. We would like to know whether he thinks it possible to have trained teachers before there are in the country a number of literate people from whom some may be selected for being trained as teachers. With 94 per cent of people wholly illiterate Mr. Madge may just as well cry for an army of Arnolds and Thringas as moan because the wilderness has no sweet hued and sweet-scented roses. But even if there were palatial school buildings, and Heidelberg doctors of philosophy to teach the children the mysteries of Gujarati and Urdu alphabets and the esoteric significance of "two and two make four," would Mr. Madge guarantee that he would fill his schools with pupils on a voluntary basis? It would be an experiment worth trying to put Mr. Madge himself in the now deserted Government House to show in a practical manner what a "warm supporter" he has been of primary education "for a considerable number of years." To the palace and the pedagogue may be added a puff in the *Englishman* and the *Statesman* and then the result awaited for some time. If even half the shades of brown related in the town to his old Bhiste, Gunga Din, flocked to his school, we could well understand that the ryot, who is no fool, is only waiting for Mr. Sharpe's trained teachers and six hundred-rupee school houses constructed without the assistance of the P.W.D. and warranted not to rain longer than the heavens or throw the rays of the midday sun through chink and ranny as from a reflector on to the tender pates of his pupils. But without some such guarantee it is not possible to compel local authorities to build schools and train teachers in the hope that wisdom would suddenly dawn on the ryot as well as the relations of Ganga Din. The Government does not insist on the provision of vaccination depots without providing for compulsory vaccination, and if Ram Baksh and Ganga Din cannot be expected to purchase immunity for the progeny from such a fell disease as small pox merely at the cost of a scratched arm and an increased temperature for a couple of days, would they forego their children's help in their own work for perfect education even in an ideal school? Grant that an Indian schoolmaster is shamefully underpaid. We admit that he is untrained. We consider that the school buildings are far from ideal. We concede that the curriculum and the teaching are capable of indefinite improvement. But we also contend that standards in this matter are elastic and education, like man, never is, but always to be blest. Nothing that has yet been shown warrants us in withholding from 94 per cent of our fellow-subjects the advantages of literacy and experts have to be told, however politely, that as men of light they will no doubt be fully consulted in discussing in what manner these 94 per cent of our countrymen should be educated, but that it is the province of the lay representative of unenlightened people to say whether light should at all be admitted into their homes, or they be left, as hitherto, in Egyptian darkness. Harrington says somewhere in his *Oceana* that the enlightenment of a few may suffice for the many, but the interest of the few cannot be a safe guide in dealing with the many. That is no doubt a truism, but a truism that is so apt to be forgotten and mislaid when discussing the interests a divided people ruled by a foreign Government.



The Council

By MR. HON. MR. GUP

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please."
—*As You Like It.*

February 27th (contd.)

AFTER BHUPEN BABU had failed to get people intermarried, BRETHOVEN, "in the unavoidable absence of the ADMINISTRATIVE ORPHAN"—who was propitiating the coal mine owners with post-prandial orations—chanted out a couple of solos from typed copy, one on Life Assurance Companies and the other on Provident Insurance Societies, presenting reports of the Select Committees. Then rose the MILD HINDU who wished to handicap the last running ponies of the I.C.S. with Advisory Councils of the Tribunals of the Plebs. RAILWAY SLEEPER grown afraid of the mischief that lurks in the MILD HINDU thought it best to return from the writing room lest by some mysterious twist in procedure the MILD HINDU may rise and persuade Council to cut down his poor little salary. Behind him followed his goods train bringing in pipe, tobacco pouch and box of matches, all of which were unloaded on the siding which the RAILWAY SLEEPER occupies with the legal luminaries that have never yet condescended to shine on the Council.

The MILD HINDU's problem nothing less than the liberating of the administration. As difficult indeed as squaring the circle or circling the square. Only once has it been known to have been done, when they Piccadilly Circussed Leicester Square. Then the MILD HINDU described the Indian Constitution. The District Officer was the base, the Provincial Governments the centre, and the Government of India at the top. But there was yet another factor, the skeleton in all official cupboards, the hand on the wall in all administrative banquets, the Imp of the Bottle that could not be regarded, the ubiquitous, and the ever-present Secretary of State, "standing behind all and above all, representing Parliamentary sanction, Parliamentary initiation, and Parliamentary control"! This is the Boogy Man of all administrators, the nasty fiend that wants 't to dictate policy, to mince instructions, to reject proposals, to have the last word in every question that arises, and the first word in every question that in his view ought to arise. When the MILD HINDU mentioned the BOOGY MAN, some nervous and rather unseasoned bureaucrats turned round and about, up and down to be sure if the BOOGY MAN was there. But the Hon. Members of the supreme Government assured them that the BOOGY MAN of the First Word and the Last Word had been captured and tamed, and that HE had revived the Harrow institution of the Day. Who talked of Principal and Agent now? It was the bearward that was now leading the bear.

The MILD HINDU wanted the administration to be conducted in the light of day and not developed like sensitive plates in the photographic dark room. That the *raison d'être* of his proposal pointed out the five factors that affected the position of the Collector for the worse and made him different from the man he once was. Thereafter referred to the official bias of the Decentralization Commission which was "so constituted that its eye was fixed more on official remedies than on non-official remedies." A one-eyed Commission, to be sure. With this singularity of vision what else could it do?

The representative of the Supreme Government wanted less control of the Boogy Man. The representative of Bombay

wanted more freedom for Local Governments. The hater of the Secretariat Raj insisted on the recognition of the greater humanity of the Collector. But there it suddenly ended. After this abrupt stoppage nobody would move to recognise the neglected fact that the people were also human.

There was a Door to which he found no key.
There was a Veil past which he could not see.
Some little Talk awhile of Me and Thee
There seemed—and then no more of Thee and Me.

MILD HINDU to the STARS of INDIA cried,
Asking, "Will you not take my Lamp to guide
Officials stumbling in the *Kala Jaggaar*?"

"HEAVEN'S LIGHT OUR GUIDE!" the Sons of HEAVEN replied.

The MILD HINDU referred to the regret of some officials about the past and the old autocracy of the Collector. "But," said he, with a wistful look in his eye and a sigh that shook the political bosom, "the past really never returns." On this assurance some of the married love-dried bureaucrats felt relieved and consigned the affairs of the heart of their salad days to the limbo wherein remain their old debts of needy Juntships. But if the past never returns, the present has sorries enough. The grass widows and *banjabis* of other days may never return, but what of the educated classes? There were the lawyers. The MOSLEM DOWAGER's tribe was no better than insistent grass widows who were more consistent in extraneous affections than conjugal monopoly of loving sentiment—or *banjabis* with long accounts and longer memories. The MILD HINDU said that the sneering attitude of the officials in India towards lawyers was strange for people who were governed by three lawyers. Forget that officials in India regarded BHUPEN BABU with no less affection than they had for that dear little Solicitor who says nasty things so deuced cleverly that the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH thinks he could not be a gentleman. But the lawyers not the only shining lights of the Indian firmament. There were the educated men of the landowning classes such as Hon friend, CHEERY CHINTNIS, (CHINTNIS becomes more CHEERY than ever). "It may be that the special peculiarities of their position impose special restrictions on the way they express themselves" (MILD HINDU looks at CHEERY CHINTNIS and then glances ahead in the direction of REGGIE's glowing countenance.) As the Poet says,

لٹر لئے لہ کہن اونکے دست و بازو کو
لے لوگ کہون میرے زخم چکر کو دیکھتے ہیں

(I fear least the evil eye should affect the strength of his hand and arm. Why do these people stare at the wound of my heart?) "That," said the MILD HINDU, "is another thing. But we know for a fact (He looked fixedly at CHEERY CHINTNIS) that they hold the same views as other members of the educated classes. It cannot indeed be otherwise." (CHINTNIS became doleful at this inclusion among the Syndicate of Discontent and looked apologetically in front of him, as much as to say, "You know, please, Sir, I did not do it, Sir.") Turning to the other side, declared that the incessant criticism to which some members of the educated classes subject the administration of the country often tries the temper and exhausts the patience of the official class, specially when criticism is ill-informed and indiscriminate denunciation of the whole tribe. (REGGIE nods approvingly.) "But it serves no good purpose, thought the MILD HINDU, when expressions of impatience and annoyance are used towards the educated class or abilities.

tions of temper permitted in official documents. (REGGIE's head remained dignifiedly statuesque). Just as indiscriminate attacks by non-officials cannot abolish the official class, mere impatience on the official side cannot abolish the educated class. Like a veritable usurper, it wants more and more interest in the administration. If you don't give them that, they become mere critics, and the limits of fair criticism are soon reached. Then begins the wide-stretching and vast realm of 124 A and the dominions of sister sections. There should be more Government on the spot (What would the BOGGY MAN say?) and the officials must learn to get on with the educated class. If this is not done, grievances would be aired collectively in the Legislative Councils creating an impression "as though things were wrong here, there and everywhere" (BIMPLI BABU would have liked to know if the MILD HINDU thought "as though they were not") The MILD HINDU therefore wanted to manufacture in the Advisory Councils a sort of spittoon where non-official critics could "get rid of a lot of poison". Then he quoted from Woodrow Wilson's State, a State evidently as unknown to REGGIE as to the UNDESIRABLE ALIEN who looks after the education of the Rajahs since KUNWAR SAHIB has taken to looking after the education of the less ignorant masses. MILD HINDU's progress stopped for a time only by that great obstructionist, the German language with its pythonic nomenclature Confessed "that there is a long German name which I dare not pronounce." There are limits, then even to MILD HINDU's courage All the same, nothing to be wondered at Germany and things German have a knock in these days of making most people's courage leak away and disappear.

After detailing his proposals, MILD HINDU analysed the evidence given before the Decentralization Commission. Nine English officials out of 68 had favoured District Advisory Councils and two of them THE MEASURER and PETER QUINCK were Members of this Council. As if in anticipation of the coming storm raised by the MILD HINDU, they had been towed into safe harbours. "I am sorry," said the MILD HINDU, "neither of them is now in the Council else I should have expected to be supported by them" Was it sorrow or sarcasm? Could the MILD HINDU have forgotten the official member's motion about utterances and opinions given outside the Council before non-official resolutions are moved, "We have said what we have said"? Anyhow the Liberal Peers in our Upper House are not too few, and even the Tories are seldom Last Ditchers There were also, he said, four non-official Europeans who gave evidence on the subject and all were in favour of these Councils. Wonder where MELANCHOLY MADGE had gone about that time Out of 84 non-official Indian witnesses 71 were in favour and only an unlucky 13 were against "When we remember how many public men in the country, I will not say, take their cues from official, but I will say have such humility about them that they distrust their own opinion about any matter when it comes into conflict with official opinion, it is really surprising that the number of those that went against this proposal was not larger than it was" The baker's dozen thus humility stated, he went on to explain that out of 14 Indian officials 7 were in favour of the proposal. "This too not unsatisfactory, taking into account the nervousness of many Indian officials in expressing opinions not likely to find favour with their superiors" But, MILD HINDU, have you also taken into account the fact that the Indian is as big a bureaucrat as they ever made them? Does he not besiege the citadel, scale the walls, and when inside keeps the gate as securely locked as ever against his non-official brethren outside?

What was the official objection? "We do consult people at present and will continue to consult them. But we will consult whom we please, when we please, and how we please. We do not want to be bound in these matters." This is wonderful. Complaints are current of slavery to reports and returns, and chains are rattled which tie the bureaucrats to their desks. And when the non-official Perseus comes to set the bureaucratic Andromeda free, she either hugs her chains or shouts, "Votes for Women." As 'or the when-where-and-how-we please consultation, the MILD HINDU had no lack of experience "On this matter we can speak as no English official can, because they have no experience of our side of the Shield. We often find men of straw, men of no character insinuating themselves into the favour of officials and back biting innocent people and exercising a pernicious influence" Who said, "Khan Bahadur"? Absit omen. The best method of selection for the Advisory Councils would be election supplemented by nominations—"for modest men." And I agree with the opinion expressed by REGGIE—I do not know what line he will take to-day, but I agree with the opinion expressed by him as the King of the Orange Free State—that if an Advisory Council comes into existence it must grow out of the present District Boards, and my own opinion is that the District Board should elect the major portion of the members of the Advisory Council."

Some object that Efficiency will suffer. But why should that kill of the officials suffer? Does the Efficiency of the Supreme Government suffer by discussions in this Council—"though some officials may think that the time of the Council is wasted by these

discussions." (Some smiled assent. Some others laughed guiltily.) Others object that the time for such reform has not yet come "In the opinion of some officials, the time for any reform never comes and yet somehow it does come and reforms do take place!" You see, while they wait for it listlessly at Outram Ghat, wishing it was with Amundsen or Scott, or somewhere in the vicinity of the North Pole, it quietly clammers over the low fence of the Government House where the Parawalla of Sir Frederick Holliday is catching a bomb thrower in his typical Calcutta Police dreams. The CAR of Administration, said the MILD HINDU, rolls over our heads, (THE CAR OF JUGGERNAUT opens his eyes as a mild rebuke for taking his name in vain and disturbing his philosophic meditations) It should not merely roll over our heads but we should be permitted to join in pulling at the ropes ("Take us all in tow" was the naughtful comment of the MAN AT THE WHEEL)

When the MILD HINDU ended, CHEERY CHINNIS rose to read out his printed opposition Revised Edition now published "By Authority" prefaces the bald opposition with a refreshing introduction with usual compliments about having heard the speech of hon friend with great interest and no instruction "I had hoped I would be able to change the attitude which the terms of MILD HINDU's Resolution induced me to assume. I am sorry, however, with all respect for his opinion and arguments, my views still remain unchanged" Oh, firm Sir CHEEKY! Wonder whether REGGIE's remain equally unchanged. Wouldn't that be a strange coincidence if they do? Said since we had got reformed Councils two years ago, we must wait longer before asking for more reforms "I believe in no country is the District administration carried on by a body of Councillors." You see, neither the printer of the speech nor the writer had taken account of the MILD HINDU's quoting the example of Prussia for one, so what was to be done but to read out the speech "as she was wrote" CHEERY CHINNIS an intensely human figure in Indian politics, and believes that even the greatest autocrat of the Heaven-born Service could not desire to lead a miserable existence bereft of popularity. "Everybody wants to be popular, that is a human weakness which supplies a corrective for absolute autocracy" Did not Nero fiddle to amuse his subjects and drown their sorrows when they were mourning the destruction of Rome by fire? CHEERY CHINNIS forgot that human weaknesses and the Heaven-born Service live poles asunder As for popularity, is not the "Strong Man" the pet of the ladies, and the envy of all Gossips, as well as the despair of the MILD HINDU? According to CHEERY CHINNIS, the difficulty arises from "a deplorable absence of broadminded citizenship" He would wish the minds of all citizens to have at least the dimensions of the KUNWAR SAHIB's back even if not to be as broad as his own smile of utter content He thinks that "any District officer who is worth his salt would under any conditions seek the advice of local leaders" That extensive phrase, "local leader covers a multitude of sinners, but little does CHEERY CHINNIS know that sait is, alas, still two highly taxed and far from cheap

MUD HELKAR, anxious for the liberalism of the Orange Free State, rose immediately afterwards to rebut the evidence of the last speaker Only the previous day he had refreshed his memory of the evidence of CHEERY CHINNIS before the Decentralization Commission and had found it in favour of the Advisory Councils How extremely irrelevant MUD HELKAR can be at times? How does it help him if it was favourable? That was the evidence before the Decentralization Commission and this before—well, what boots it to say who sat before CHEERY CHINNIS here?

The KHAN BAHADUR brought a little bomb to-day and flung it like a man in the full assembly Whatever may happen hereafter, the MILD HINDU had on this occasion at least given an analysis that formed "an excellent index of public opinion in this country." The KHAN BAHADUR would now analyse the public opinion of the Punjab. The Land of Five Rivers had three classes, and all supported the measure. There were "the aristocratic ultra-loyal (*ve guds*) landowners like my friend the *Han Free Lance*," politicians of that discredited body, "the Congress School"—the mere mention of which imposes on the True Believer a Prysachit of the sixth product of the cow—and last come modestly and with that most despicable repugnance to publicity, "Moderate Liberals" such as "Our beloved Cousin" and "my humble self." Liberalism thy home is Baghbanpura, and Moderation thy name is KHAN BAHADUR—ship! Who talks of the Collector consulting leading persons? Who are the "leading persons"? "In more cases than not the persons who are consulted by the Collector probably have been recommended to him by the Tahsildar, or perhaps their names have been mentioned to him by the Superintendent of his vernacular office" The Council wondered what the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore could have been doing just now. However courageous before officials, the KHAN BAHADUR quailed with fear before the people themselves. "No election for me, if you please." The Land of the Five Rivers possesses, thanks to the KHAN BAHADUR, the unique distinction of still retaining nomination and that distinction must continue as a white feather in his cap.

The white-robed PANDIT followed. He found the district officer to be the most important unit of the administration in the country. A fellow townsman in Prag, the "Akbar" had expressed the same idea in inimitable verse

برٹش دول کو سب بے دھنی بھر سمجھا
جو مر ایک کمرے کو لئائے گورنر سمجھا

(He understood British rule best of all who understood every white man to be a Lieutenant-Governor.) Well, the Extra Special Lieutenant-Governor of the Disunited Provinces had suggested that if consultation with non officials necessary, the Collector should choose his men—from the Durbar Lists. Oh fie, Sir DUKHAR HAWKI!

When all these non-officials had strutted their hour upon the stage, REGGIE stepped out from the wings and told his tale that lacked not sound and fury in the telling of it. Enraged at his baptism as REGGIE, he now came forward to claim the title and all other appurtenances of his deceased predecessor SANDOW II. The opening sentence itself presaged a storm. With the official blue pencil for a sceptre to thump on his despatch box and on his files, he emphasised his attitude to day. "Sir, in opposing this resolution (*Direct, isn't it?*) I wish to lay EVERY PITHIC CULIK STRESS on the terms in which it has been couched. The MILD HINDU wants that district administration should be brought into closer contact with the people. *I do not quarrel with that desire*" (*Council much relieved at the postponement of hostilities*) Informed the Council that he came from a Province where such a close touch with the people was a special feature. No representative of the people was allowed to escape from the leading strings of the bureaucracy! Turning to the MILD HINDU's scheme said "It sounds very pleasant and very attractive (*Sarcasm at 85°*). It is a very pretty picture that he has drawn for us (*Sarcasm at 90°*) and it seems to have captivated the imagination of many hon members (*Sarcasm at 95°*) who have spoken so far (*Looks at DASHING BOY who has yet to speak*) Now, I am very sorry, (*smiles blandly*) sympathising as I do with MILD HINDU's object, (*Council fully convinced of sympathy*) that it should fall to my lot to do my very best to shatter this pretty picture" (*Sarcasm at 100°*). And while doing his duty as SANDOW III, followed the example of blind Samson in his agony, and brought down the house that he had himself built up laboriously as plain REGGIE of the Orange Free State. According to the new SANDOW, the MILD HINDU had been unable to quote a precedent for such Councils. "Prussia? Yes, but what does he know of Prussia? At any rate, I don't know Prussia, and that is just as good. What's the good of reading out of a book?" Awfully pleased with his own lynx-eyed vigilance, remarked that he had noticed one thing. "The MILD HINDU suddenly changed the subject and put the book down, when he came to what appeared to be a strong combination between the judiciary and the executive in Prussia" (*Sarcasm at 105°*) SANDOW III's numerous friends laugh hilariously.)

After this, "emphatically disagreed" with his own manufactured definition of "on the spot." The Head-quarters of a District was not "on the spot." The MILD HINDU had referred to greater expedition of work if a Council attached to the Collector. But the Collector's writing the invariable "strong note" saying he disagreed "with the Council would make greater expedition impossible. At this GROVER woke up from dreams of Ab-rialand and wondered why a greater expedition was impossible. The C B hunters were "Ready, aye, ready for the field."

After this the newly crowned SANDOW III manufactured some bits of a pretty picture and then neatly smashed them. For the sake of CHERRY CHINNIS, his Black Boards were dear to SANDOW III, and he thought nobody loved them as he did. So thundered forth (*Sarcasm at 110°*) that "there was nothing that surprises me so much in all the speeches that I have heard as the apparent contempt with which the speakers have referred to such bodies as the District Board." And on that peg hung a string of complimentary adjectives to honour CURRER CHINNIS, which brought blushes to the unaccus tomed cheeks of that happy member. When he had fed CHERRY CHINNIS fully, threw a crumb in the direction of MUD HOLKAR also

Having written these obituary notices in the lifetime of the individuals concerned and recited them to their faces, said "Another point to which the Hon gentleman has referred is the fact that the Collector has naturally at hand no educated adviser to give him help in interpreting the wishes of the people. I cannot for a moment believe that these hon gentlemen really mean what they say." Little did he think that the hon gentlemen did not for a moment say what he believed and meant. Thereafter proceeded to select with the MILD HINDU at his elbow an Advisory Council "Well, I suppose we shall have to put three lawyers on that Council." Sarcasm was rapidly rising to the normal temperature of Sibi and Jacobabad when recollecting that the MOSLEM DOWAID was also a lawyer, and as a special favour to a colleague preserved the *status quo ante*. But balked

of his prey here, turned fiercely on the MILD HINDU and asked, "if I am the Collector and want to consult the people why should I employ a go-between."

Turned next to the functions of this Council. Legislative proposals? Why, everyone can send an opinion on these, and if he likes to make the Collector a post office, let him do so. But why should the Collector waste his precious time in getting the Council to frame suggestions which may all be treated as waste-paper in another place—that is if they went against the Government view. As for the Collector, why, in sending his own statement of the general opinion in his district, he would no doubt do what the philosopher did who was asked to write an essay on the camel, an animal he had never seen before. He locked himself in a dark room "and evolved the brute out of his consciousness!" Creation of new municipalities, extension of the operations of Acts to new areas, imposition of punitive police, all this seemed to the Strong Man of the Orange Free State as far beyond the powers of the nine Councillors. As for the opening and location and abolition of liquor shops, "well, if the nine Councillors were given any voice in this, it wouldn't be local option which you want—and I wouldn't give" As for the suspension of Municipalities, the suspended bodies would resent if any but the Collector was employed as the hangman!

There was still another objection. If we have a "strong" Collector—a chip of the SANDOW block—the hon members would deprecate the Council merely registering his decrees; if we have a weak Collector—a chip of some other blockhead—the Council would obtain ascendancy over him. And after all, as SANDOW III, was firmly convinced, Collectors were either goats or sheep "The Council—I will not mince words, for there is much else to mince to-day—would become a hot-bed of intrigue"

After this self-satisfying destruction that he had wrought—Penelope's feat repeated in the unweaving of what he himself had woven before—he thought it was time to take rest "Now, Sir, I have attacked with considerable vigour—not to say in a bull-in-a-China-shop manner—the MILD HINDU's proposals." He thought he had left not one stone turned upon another and his house was left unto him desolate. But if Samson destroyed, SANDOW III would build up also. What he wanted was a ground floor of the Spot and an upper storey of the Man in the Street, and what he thought best was to have no lift, staircase or ladder to make the one communicate with the other. Such was the house that REGGIE built

Who calls him renegade? Yes, he had written a note for the Decentralization Commission. But "when I wrote that note it was not intended for publication" Where's our Official Secrets Act? Are these Imperial arcana to be displayed to the ride gaze of the plebeians in the market place? Anyhow, there was a difference between his views and the MILD HINDU's and—although he did not say it—there was much difference between a starup of a Provincelet and a membership of the Unlimited Assets Joint Stock Company registered under the name and title of the Supreme Government

The MILD HINDU wanted these Councils to be merely advisory to begin with. What SANDOW III wanted to know was what they would be to end with. Wonder whether SANDOW III would have asked the Creator on the first day to submit the complete programme of the creation before he made light. By a curious coincidence just then SIR GUY was writing a chit to SANDOW III "You had 45 minutes to begin with and you seem to take hours to end with." SIR VINCENT took up the chit to him, and although there was still much thunder in his storage-battery, SANDOW III turned to his papers to find out his grand peroration. "The nine Councillors intended to be the nine Mules (*Sarcasm at 115°*) would end by being nine millstones (*Sarcasm at 120°*) round the Collector's neck." Little did SANDOW III think of the Collector's need of ballast, and little did he know that, to anticipate the sartorial trap of his colleague, the Councillors would be the nine tailors that would make the Collector a man.

MADGE must needs follow where a SANDOW leads. Completely satisfied with European juries that let off white murderer, he first showed his stern disapproval of the assessor and then in disapproving elections declared all analogies from European countries as entirely inapplicable to India. No wonder some people wish MADGE was from a European country, and an analogy so that he may not apply himself so often to India and its problems. If anything was needed to discredit elections altogether, it was the statement of "a popular Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation" reserved by Providence for being related by MADGE. This "popular Chairman" thought that some "representatives" were simply representatives of the garriwals "because it was found that in the course of one election a man was actually returned by not more than a carriage stand." Even, if unlike MADGE, this bear some relation to Truth, why need he grudge the garriwals a Municipal Commissioner? What is so very wrong with a carriage stand when Lobo's Bandstand returns a member to the Imperial Legislature?

The HON. LONGFELLOW was short and pungent. Related a story of the days when he was in the bad books of the District Officer of Chapra for having cross-examined him effectively and thereby won a case. But better than the story was the definition of "Strong men of the Service." "They go to an absolutely peaceful district, and by their behaviour disturb the whole administration." At which even our SANDOW III. paled and trembled.

When the MILD HINDU rose for a reply it seemed certain that he was going to use dynamite. The humble loyalty of CHEERY CHITNIS and the long-drawn emphasis of SANDOW III's tremendous judgments was heard with obviously great self-control, but the dam could not for ever keep back the surging flood. As for CHEERY CHITNIS, liked to dismiss him with the remark that as CHEERY CHITNIS had not listened to MILD HINDU's speech before making his own, MILD HINDU would go on with his reply without caring what CHITNIS had said. But on second thought added that CHEERY CHITNIS was more loyal than law and more royal than the king himself. The authors of the reform had appointed a Commission for further reforms. Yet hon. friend, more conservative than the Tories themselves, would postpone them indefinitely because some had already been granted two years ago. One point more. He was afraid of obstructionists in Advisory Councils. What if a little obstruction existed? Ah! MILD HINDU You know not that a mud fencing two feet eight inches high is the very Wall of China to little CHITNIS.

Then turned to the Strong Man of the Orange Free State who sat proudly on his throne after his great Coronation oration. Yes, he had shattered many a pretty picture, but they were not the MILD HINDU's at all. They were fancy pictures of his own creation. He was furious and convulsive, though he thought was dignified and strong. But MILD HINDU was puzzled, he was surprised, he was astonished, nay, to use the Strong Man's own strong phrase, he was astounded at his behaviour. The MILD HINDU expected more respect for truth from the HOME MEMBER than had been shown, for he had scattered a whole Foundling Home of silly statements on the MILD HINDU who happened to be living in a state of single blessedness. For instance, he did not say a word about the local bodies which could be construed into contempt. Here, thought SANDOW III., was an opportunity of showing his strength. "Oh, what a fibber. I never said a word about contempt. What I said was that the way they omitted any references and put them aside as being unworthy of consideration almost amounted to contempt." All had heard of silence being consent, but SANDOW III had a revised version of his own reading. "Silence is contempt." Be that as it may, even the authorised version of his speech mentions not the absence of references as almost amounting to contempt, but states that references were made and they were contemptuous.

MILD HINDU, however, content with the rebuke that hon. member had earned because he had not really cared to understand their proposal. As for the quotation from Woodrow Wilson's book, he might have adopted a little more charitable attitude towards him. Even though strong men seldom read books, this one was not inaccessible and had suppressio verbi been attempted, there were hon. member and his friends ready to snatch the veil. However as hon. member had thrown doubt on the straightforwardness of his action, MILD HINDU would read the portion which he had not read before for the special edification of the hon. member. He would read that portion and would then pass the book on to SANDOW III so that he may make sure that he was not cheated. Thereafter read out the passage which showed that the President of the Administration, that is, the Collector, does not sit on the Committee to administer justice. At this it was the turn of the non-officials to laugh hilariously, and he laughs best who laughs last.

Next, replied to the criticism stating that even those whom the Strong Man would not like to come between him and the people were also of the people, and twitted SANDOW III. on his having exactly the attitude of mind which must be given up if district administration is to be improved. As for want of time, if the Collector cannot spare one day in the month for the purpose, well the idea that some gentlemen have on the subject of the administration of the country are extraordinary. As for practicability, it is only the officials that have a chance of trying experiments and applauding thereafter their grand failure. Give us the chance, said the MILD HINDU, and "would we not shatter it to bits and then, rebuild it nearer to the heart's desire." As regards Commissioners, the MILD HINDU thought like many other officials that they were the fifth wheel of the car of administration, but no one suggested the abolition of the Collectors. SANDOW III. had asked, if that is done what is to happen? He might as well ask if Government ceases to exist what is to happen. Well, not an unreasonable question, nor a difficult one to answer either. One dire result would be the abolition of SANDOW III. and a saving of Rs. 6,666 10 annas 8 pies per month.

When the Council divided all the non-official Indian members present voted for the motion, but CHEERY CHITNIS, in the tones of Mrs. MICAWBER, said, "I will never desert my SANDOW III." and

clung to the frock coat tails of the Strong Man from the Orange Free State. Well has the poet said,

The Babe no question makes of Ayes and Noes,
But Right or Left as told by Nurse it goes,
And Baby's Nurse that brought it up on pap,
And Knightly sings the lullaby she knows.



Petty Larceny

(BY OUR SPECIAL KLEPTOMANIAC)

[MOTTO—" Wit is your birthright, therefore steel it where-soever you find it"—*Rigmarole Veda*]

BROTHER "I didn't know you were one of those athletic girls. Look at those sois over your bureau!"
SISTER "Sois! Why, those are my batpins."

KALLAN. "Both wealth and poverty breed crime, and the only habitable space midway between the two is ruled by care and anxiety. So friend Jumma, let me know please, how can one live in these hard times innocently and contentedly?"

JUMMA "only eat opium and smoke chandoo, my friend"

EINAH, the Fishbite, dropped his mantle, and Queen Elizabeth walked over it

Parliament assembled in September and dissembled in the following January

Pitt returned with a majority of 120, which was known as Fox's martyrs.

A vacuum is an empty space full of nothing but Germans (? germs).

Five minerals other than metal: Lemonade, ginger beer, etc

"A woman's love is measured less by what she gives than by what she forgives."

"Woman is a novel that holds the attention right to the end, the sort of novel that every man wants to have a few copies of—preferably borrowed ones."

"The girl who thinks no man is good enough for her may often be right, but she is more often left."

"A man never falls in love with the woman he studies, but with the woman who studies him."

"When a woman forgets an injury she keeps forgetting that she has forgotten it."

"No woman is so bad at arithmetic that she can't calculate how much her husband would save if he did not smoke."

"A woman seldom puts off till to-morrow what she can wear to-day."

"Many a woman has cut her own throat with her tongue."

When a girl seems embarrassed under the mistletoe she has real dramatic talent.

Some birds are plucked alive to get the feathers for women's hats. So are some husbands.

Howard Bennett, a seventeen year-old Massachusetts lad, has been awarded a gold watch because he has never smoked, drunk liquors, cursed, or kissed a girl. Sort of consolation prize, we take it.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND COLLECTIONS IN INDIA

Name of place	Name of person in charge of the Fund	THE WEEK'S PROGRESS					PROGRESS UP TO DATE			REMARKS
		Amount Collected	Amount forwarded to Turkey	To whom forwarded and through what Agency	Amount Collected	Amount forwarded	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
		Rs. A. P.					Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
Karschi (Sind)	Seth H. A. Haroon	611.13	10.13				11,147.9	7,053.13	0	For the week ending 12th March 1915.
Do.	Do.	469.0	0.0	The Right Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali for the London Medical Mission by a draft on the National Bank. M. O. Charges	11,816.9	10,190.8	0	For the week ending 16th March 1915.		
Do.	Do.	912.3	4.0		10,787.17	10,114.13	0			For the week ending 20th March 1915.
Do.	Do.	1,017.7	17.10		13,740.3	10,233.9	0			

6th April.

Female Education.

We publish a letter which Her Highness the Begum Saheba of Bhopal has addressed to some of her friends regarding the girls' school which she has proposed in commemoration of Queen-Empress Mary's visit to Delhi:—

The visit of Their Imperial Majesties to India in December last was an event of unique importance, and we who saw the memorable scenes at the Imperial city of Delhi and elsewhere are never likely to forget their unparalleled significance. I believe I am right in saying that from the tablet of our hearts the impressions which the great ceremonies of Delhi made on us will never be effaced, and the visions of those gorgeous days will always remain before our minds' eye, with their brightness and lustre undimmed by the lapse of time. It is to the coming of the Queen-Empress that I as a woman wish particularly to call the attention of my sisters. The women of India owe a great debt of gratitude to Queen Mary for Her Majesty's gracious kindness and courtesy to them. The great enthusiasm which Her Majesty's coming evoked in the female world everywhere was largely due to the fact that but for Her Majesty's coming, the Pardah Women of India would, through the Pardah system and the way of their living, have lost their share of the interest in the great ceremonies. The presence, however, of Her Majesty in our midst, her kindly interest in everything that concerned us, and her charming courtesy were sources of indescribable delight to all of us.

As far as I can think, one of the principal objects of Her Majesty's visit to this country was her desire to acquaint herself better with the women of India, as she herself graciously remarked in the course of her reply to an address presented to her by Bombay ladies:

"One of my chief objects in this tour is to see as much as possible of my Indian sisters, for I believe the more I see of the reality of your lives the more I shall admire and esteem the high qualities for which the Indian woman is renowned. If my first impression, so charming and so powerful, becomes fixed as I travel through India, then, to use the words of your address, I shall carry home agreeable memories, and a sympathy which will bring us into a close bond of mutual esteem, regard and goodwill."

This object of her visit Her Majesty undoubtedly fulfilled—she asked ladies of rank to visit her and graciously afforded them an opportunity of renewing their acquaintance with her at the Pardah party Her Majesty held at Delhi. Needless to say, the charm of Her Majesty's courtesy was nothing short of magical and everyone of us who had the good fortune of being there felt the spell of it. In connection with Their Majesties' visit to Delhi the thought has occurred to me that though the great event of December last will live in the pages of history for all time and though the memories of those days will even be handed down to future generations, the event yet demands a notable monument of public utility raised by the grateful women of India to commemorate the coming of the great Queen from across the seas to Delhi for her Coronation. Delhi has known great events and gorgeous celebrations but none of a more significant character than the visit of Queen Mary, and it is all the more incumbent on us, the women of India, to signalise her visit in a suitable way and thus prove to the world at large that behind the Pardah also beat hearts quite as grateful as those of men to their Sovereign and his Consort and quite as appreciative of the necessity for moving with the times. After careful consideration I have come to the conclusion that no memorial could better serve our purpose than a well-endowed and well-conducted Institution at Delhi for the education of women. It is evident that the education of women is necessary in all countries and in all stages of civilisation, but in India of all countries of the world, and at the stage of civilisation in which we find ourselves it is most necessary, for it is universally acknowledged that the ignorance of women in this country is the greatest clog to the wheel of progress.

During my recent visit to Calcutta I spoke to Lady Hardinge about my proposal for an educational institution for women at Delhi, and Her Excellency has written to me expressing on her own and Lord Hardinge's behalf unqualified approval of the idea. After my return from Calcutta I happened to visit Indore for the Daly College Council meeting and there I had very good opportunities of discussing the project with my brother Ruling Chiefs who were assembled there. My visit to Indore was a particularly happy one. I had in the first place the pleasure of learning of the proposed college at Delhi for the higher education of sons of Indian Chiefs—for whom, by the way, I have always advocated a separate University—and in the second place I had occasion to see my English and Indian friends, with whom I exchanged ideas over the proposed institution for women. To many of my brother Ruling Chiefs I entrusted a message for their Ranis and Begums inviting their co-operation and assistance in the attainment of the object I have in view, and I have had the good fortune to receive encouraging answers. I know so well that behind the veil also there are so many hearts full of broad sympathy and overflowing kindness, and to them I am sure I have not appealed in vain. The

qualities of the heart of Indian women are well known and these will have to assist in development of the qualities of the head. As an instance of an Indian woman's high-minded generosity I have only to remind you of the munificent donation of the Begum Saheba of Bahawalpur to the Nadwatul Ulema of Lucknow. That men have done a great deal for our sex in the matter of education is evident, but they have done much more for themselves, forgetting probably that our education was more important than theirs. At the end of the last year the number of schoolboys in the whole of India stood at about 39½ lakhs, whereas that of girls was a little under 7 lakhs. Men have eloquent supporters of their cause in Legislative Councils and elsewhere, and there is no fear of their educational requirements suffering from lack of attention. It behoves us women, therefore, to show some signs of awakening also, for in the present state of affairs, though men and women are side by side in bearing the burden of the old chariot of this country progressing slowly in the ways of enlightenment and culture, men have, if I may say so, by their endeavours constituted themselves a nice rubber tyre up-to-date wheel which wishes to glide swiftly onwards, while women on the other side are still the unaltered, unimproved and unfashioned structure of the olden times.

My idea regarding the institution I have proposed is that we should begin with a well-equipped school which in the course of time will become a model institution of its kind. In this school provision ought to be made for the education of girls of rich as well as poor families. Twelve lakhs of rupees are in my opinion necessary at the outset—4 lakhs for building purposes and 8 lakhs for endowment. The details of the scheme are being worked out and I shall be very pleased to receive suggestions in this connection. For my own part I shall be delighted to give a lakh of rupees from the State and 20,000 from my private purse. My daughters-in-law have also expressed practical sympathy with my scheme, the eldest and the second contributing 7,000 each and the third 5,000 rupees.

I have every reason to hope and believe that my scheme will commend itself to all friends of India who have the education of women at heart and to all my sisters, from Ranis and Begums down to ladies in humbler walks of life, and with their assistance, moral and material, I am absolutely confident of unqualified success.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND

Rs As. P.

Through Hakim Sharif Abdul Karim Sahib, Vice President, Anjuman Islam, Amalapur, Godavari District

Gani Moosa Sait, Esq	11	4	0
Sharif Abdul Karim, Esq	5	1	0
Messrs Haji Kasim Haji Ishaq & Co, Haji Tar					
Mohamed Ayub Sahib, Haji Moosa Mian					
Sahib Sutapati Rao Nayudu Garu, Atyam					
Venkataratnam Garu, Rs. 5 each			25	0	0
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Pantulu Garu, Syed Mowla, Sharif Abdul					
Ali, Re. 1 each	20	0	0
Minor subscriptions from 33 donors and					
money collected in mosque	15	12	0
Ismail Mohamed, Esq., Vadia, Chandod, Baroda State	10	0	0
M. Azizuddin, Esq., Rangoon	5	0	0
Abdush Shakoor Khan, Esq., Barabanki	97	0	0
Amount received during the week	222	0	0
Amount previously acknowledged	13,232	6	6
Total Ra.	13,454	6	6

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

Reuter wires from Teheran on 28th March.—In view of Persia's satisfactory reply to the Anglo-Russian note of 20th February, Britain and Russia have each advanced Persia a hundred thousand pounds

Reuter wires from Teheran on 1st April.—The Russians have bombarded the mosque at Meshid where numerous partisans of the ex-Shah had taken refuge

A telegram to the *Times* from Teheran on the 30th, states that the Cabinet is greatly concerned over Lord Hardinge's intimation that the Government of India may be forced to deal directly through the Consul-General at Bushire with unruly tribes in South Persia. The Cabinet declares that this course would completely undermine the attempt which the Central Government is now making through Swedish officers to restore prestige and order. One Swede is already working at Shiraz, where the remainder accompanied by an armed force are expected in five days

In view of the political situation in Persia, a representative of the *Englishman* interviewed his Excellency Sir Mirza Davoud Khan, Meftah-e-Sultaneh, Consul-General for Persia, on Saturday. Sir Davoud Khan, it may be mentioned, was chief of the Foreign Office in Teheran before his appointment as Consul-General. He was in the suite of the predecessor of Mahomed Ali Shah on the tour in Europe. He has been in Calcutta only a short time. Sir Davoud Khan was present at the Coronation in London and then at the Delhi Durbar

Our representative asked him if writs had been issued for elections to the new Majlis and was told that the Persian Government proposed to arrange about the elections as soon as possible

"What is the cause of the delay?"

"From the latest telegrams that I have received from Teheran, it appears that during the last upheaval in Persia, the Governor of some of the most important provinces had been recalled and new Governors were appointed. As soon as the new Governors reach the provincial capitals, the writs for elections will be issued"

"Is there any possibility of the postponement of elections?"

"My information is that the Cabinet is not only in favour of summoning a new Majlis, but is anxious to order elections without delay. As all the Governors are not at their posts, it is difficult to arrange about the elections."

Regarding the news that Salar-ed-Dowleh had put the Governor of Kermanshah to torture and then burnt him alive, the Consul-General said he sent a special message to Teheran asking for information on the subject.

"I have received the reply," said Sir Davoud Khan, "that the news is not true. But Salar-ed-Dowleh has been busy creating disorder, and reports of oppression practised by him on the people of Kermanshah are true."

"Do you think that Salar-ed-Dowleh will leave Persia now?" asked our representative.

"The Persian Government inform me that a strong force has been told off for Kermanshah. They will leave Teheran very shortly and they will either capture Salar-ed-Dowleh or he will flee the country," said the Consul-General.

"Did you read the Viceroy's speech on Persian affairs?"

"Yes, I have read it very carefully."

"Do you agree with His Excellency the Viceroy in his views regarding the present situation in Persia?"

"His Excellency the Viceroy's views," said Sir Davoud Khan, "indicate that he is a well-wisher of our country and that he is in favour of protecting the integrity and independence of Persia. This, of course, is very satisfactory. It is exactly what we expect from a representative of a friendly Power like Great Britain. But the portion of His Excellency's speech where he suggests that the British Government may itself make arrangements with the tribesmen in Southern Persia for the security of trade-routes seems personally to me—of course, I have no information as to the views held by my Government on the question—to be rather contradictory to His Excellency the Viceroy's opinions regarding the maintenance of the independence and integrity of Persia. Moreover, it seems to me that if the British Government made any arrangements with the tribesmen independently of the Persian Government, it may lead to serious difficulties in times of stress."

Our representative then asked what, in the Consul-General's opinion, were the best measures for restoring tranquillity in Southern Persia.

Sir Davoud Khan said: "The best course, in my opinion, is to leave the Persian Government to formulate its own methods in

peace and quietness, to give my Government time to work out its own programme. If the Persian Government is left in peace, it will assuredly devise means for restoring order in Southern Persia."

"We have been hearing a good deal of late of the Persian Government having asked for time to set its house in order but we have seen no results," suggested our representative

"Have you ever seen during the whole of this period that the Persian Government was left alone to work out its salvation?" asked the Consul-General and then continued: "Throughout this period, the Persian Government has been the object of attack from all sides, and there has been no end to its troubles so that it is a matter for surprise that there is even the order that exists to-day in Persia. During the past year especially, as you are aware, the Government's enemies attacked it from all directions, and yet the Government has come out safely. A Government which has passed through such a crisis as the Persian Government, and which has shown so great a power of endurance in the face of heavy losses, cannot be said to be unable to think for itself. Now that the period of stress is almost over, the Persian Government will concern itself whole-heartedly with the work of restoring peace and order to the country. The manner in which the Persian Government has met the attacks of the ex-Shah, the way it routed the forces of Sardar Arshad, the successful encounters with the supporters of Salar-ed-Dowleh, the case with which it has allayed popular excitement and removed the grievances of the Ulema, also uprooting effectively the principles of boycott against British goods conclusively prove the ability of the Persian Government to cope with disorder. The Government has passed through very anxious times. But the situation in Persia now shows signs of betterment. The Swedish officers are engaged in the task of evolving order and the Government is leaving no stone unturned to restore peace to the country. Now is not the time for gloomy forebodings, but rather for hope of better times for Persia. You get news daily from Persia, and can judge for yourself whether the position is improving. If signs of improvement are visible on all sides, the power of the Government must be re-established."

Sir Davoud Khan was not present at the public meeting held at the Town Hall last Wednesday to discuss British policy in Persia. He, however, read the report of the proceedings in the newspapers. It was expected, he said, that the people nourished on British traditions should evince sentiments of humanity and love of fellow-men

Mr. Morgan Shuster, ex-Treasurer-General of Persia, has been appointed as the South American representative of a New York banking firm

Reuter wires from Teheran on the 3rd.—The bombardment of the mosque at Meshid resulted in two Russian Cossacks being wounded and fifty casualties among the pilgrims and other worshippers. No follower of the ex-Shah appears to have been wounded.

The permanent residence of the ex-Shah of Persia does not seem to have been yet determined. He reached Odessa from Astrabad by way of Baku, about the middle of March, and he may remain at the Russian port for an indefinite period. In the interests of the future peace of Persia it would be advisable that he should be made to live much further from Persia than the northern shore of the Black Sea whence he can slip away to the Cuspians. The Teheran Government have agreed to provide him with a fairly large income, and it should be possible for the British and Russian Foreign Offices to agree as to his place of retirement. His adherents in northern Persia have been depressed by the complete failure of his adventure, which at one time promised so well, but some of them are still in arms. If they learned that their late sovereign had gone, say, to Paris or London, their early submission might be gained. They will probably continue to intrigue so long as they can keep in comparatively easy touch with him at Odessa.—*The Pioneer*.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, March 12.

English advices, which have been delayed by the interruption of communications, depict a most serious condition of affairs at Kirman shah. Since 15th February the banks and business houses had been closed, Salar-ed-Dowleh was hanging all the *mujaheddin*, the executions being conducted in a brutal manner, the Imperial Bank was struck by a shell on February 22nd and the town was looted. The despatch concludes:—"Trouble expected shortly," so apparently Kirmanshah does not lose its head over trifles.

6th April

St. Petersburg, March 12.

Mohammed Ali embarked yesterday for Petrovsk, on the west coast of the Caspian, and will proceed thence to Odessa to rejoin his family. He will leave Russia shortly to settle abroad. The ex-Shah's army is being paid off out of the annuity of 75,000 tomans (about £12,500) provided by the Teheran Government.

St. Petersburg, March 14.

Mahomed Ali, after landing at Baku, has proceeded to Odessa. He will soon be followed by his brother Shuja es Sultaneh. It is probable that Salar-ed-Dowleh will also leave Persia on learning of the ex-Shah's departure and the Government's readiness to restore his confiscated estates. The Turkish troops at Urumiah have been reinforced.

(From the "DAILY NEWS" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

St. Petersburg, March 17.

I have reliable information that a strong force has already moved from the Army Corps stationed at Tiflis upon the Turco-Persian frontier, intending to cover the position occupied by the Turks around Urmia.

It is understood that this military action has been taken concurrently with the dismissal of M. Tcharykoff, the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople.

("NEW YORK HERALD" CORRESPONDENT)

Teheran, March 17.

Salar-ed-Dowleh cut off the legs of the Governor of Kermanshah and then burnt him alive. Other unspeakable atrocities have been committed in the town. He also captured Zenjan and at present laughs at the Anglo-Russian proposal that he should follow the example of the deposed Shah, his brother, and retire on a pension, declaring that the departure of his brother leaves the avenue to the throne open to him.

St. Petersburg, March 19.

A telegram from Khor says that the Christians of Urmia have drawn up a petition to the Tsar and the Duma requesting them to make representations to the Parliaments of Great Britain, France, and the United States with the view of obtaining permission for Russian troops to be stationed in the district of Urmia as long as possible. The khans and landowners have handed to the Russian Consul a request to be taken under Russian protection, as the Turks have seized certain Persian territory and are ruining them by preventing them from obtaining any profit from their lands. (Times.)

Mr. Booth (Pontefract, Min.) asked the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether he was aware that there had been an outbreak of disorder at Kermanshah, Persia, and that rebellious tribes had invaded the town, plundered and set fire to warehouses, and caused further loss to Manchester merchants, and what steps he was taking in the matter.

Mr. Acland (Cornwall, Camborne) — The Persian Government have informed his Majesty's Minister at Teheran that Salar-ed-Dowleh, brother of the ex-Shah, has entered Kermanshah and looted the bazaars. A message has been sent to him by his Majesty's Minister and his Russian colleague strongly recommending him to leave Persia on certain conditions offered by the Persian Government.

Mr. Booth asked the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether he realised that Lancashire trade interests were mainly concerned with Central and Northern Persia, that the position was getting steadily worse, that heavy losses had been and were being sustained by British merchants, and that further shipments of cotton goods had been suspended; and whether he was in a position to give any information for the guidance of traders.

Mr. Acland.—His Majesty's Government realise fully the serious trade conditions at present prevailing in Persia. The Persian Government are taking such steps as are possible in the matter, but I cannot for the reasons explained at the time promise to take measures beyond what I stated in the House on the 21st of last month.

Mr. Watt (Glasgow College, Min.) asked whether it was a fact that the position was getting steadily worse.

Mr. Acland.—No, I do not think so. On the contrary, I think there is rather an improvement.

The following is the text of the joint Note addressed by the British and Russian representatives at Teheran to the Persian Government on September 11, 1907:—

The Governments of Great Britain and Russia, desiring to avoid any cause of conflict between their respective interests in certain regions in Persia contiguous to, or in the immediate neighbourhood of, the frontiers of Afghanistan and Baluchistan on the one hand, and the Russian frontier on the other hand, have signed a friendly agreement on the subject.

In that agreement the two Governments mutually agree to the strict integrity and independence of Persia, and testify that they sincerely desire the pacific development of that country as well as the permanent establishment of equal advantages for the commerce and industry of all other nations. Each of the two States further engages, in case the Persian Government grants concessions to foreigners, not to seek concessions adjoining, or in the neighbourhood of, the frontiers of the other. In order to prevent misunderstandings in future, and to avoid creating an order of things which might place the Persian Government in an embarrassing situation in any respect whatever, the above mentioned regions are clearly defined in the arrangement. In mentioning the revenues which are affected to the loans concluded by the Persian Government with the Discount and Loan Bank and the Imperial Bank of Persia, the Russian and British Government recognise that these revenues will be in future affected to the same purpose as in the past, and the two Governments equally engage, in the case of irregularities in the amortisation of or in the payment of interest on the above mentioned loans, to enter on a friendly exchange of views in order to determine by common agreement the measures which, in conformity with the law of nations, it would be necessary to take in order to safeguard the interests of the creditors and to avoid all interference which would not be in conformity with the principles of that arrangement.

In signing that arrangement the two States have not for a moment lost sight of the fundamental principle of absolute respect of the integrity and independence of Persia. The arrangement has no other object than that of avoiding any cause of misunderstanding between the contracting parties on the ground of Persian affairs. The Government of the Shah will convince itself that the agreement arrived at between Russia and Great Britain can but contribute in the most efficacious manner to the security of the prosperity and the ultimate development of Persia.

Persia in the Toils.

THE Joint Anglo-Russian Note presented to the Persian Government last month seems to be as fatal a menace to Persian independence as that other Joint Note of evil memory in the modern history of Egypt. That, it will be remembered, was an Anglo-French Note. The parallel is sinister. Taken in connection with Sir Edward Grey's speech in reply to Mr. Ponsonby's amendment to the address, we are confronted with a state of affairs much worse than had been supposed even from previous utterances of the Foreign Secretary.

Let us briefly recall the circumstances which have led to this situation. Last October Russia "rained ultimatums," in Lord Curzon's phrase, on Persia. The second of these was actually launched after the Persian Government on Sir Edward Grey's advice had humbly complied with the unjust demands of the first. The Majlis, which Mr. Shuster has told us had made an excellent beginning with constitutional rule in Persia, was destroyed by a coup d'état. Mr. Shuster, because of his adamantine honesty, was dismissed. A Cabinet resting on no popular support was set up to treat with Russia. Mr. Shuster's place was taken by M. Monnard, a Belgian in the Persian service against, whose appointment even the *Times* thought it well to allow a prominent protest in its columns. M. Monnard is, in fact, and almost by admission, a tool of Russia. That Power, with British assent, demanded a veto on the appointment of all foreigners in the Persian service. It then invaded northern Persia and commenced to indulge in a hideous carnival of barbarism. We referred last month to the execution of the Sikat-ul-Islam at Tabriz as well as of the head of the Armenian community in that town. Professor Browne, writing in the *Manchester Guardian* the other day, gives some further harrowing details of Russian atrocities. According to a Baku newspaper of February 17, the number of persons hanged was officially stated as 30, but it is believed to considerably exceed that figure. A number of Armenians were marked down for death. Samad Khan Shuja-ed-Dowlah, a known partisan of the ex-Shah, who had been besieging Tabriz before, has now returned under Russian auspices as Governor of Azerbaijan, and is carrying out executions on his own account, and amongst his other exploits has created an artificial famine. "We find people without fire," writes a European resident, "when the temperature is some degrees below freezing, without anything but the hard earthen floor to sleep on, and sometimes with no covering for their bodies at night, and very insufficiently clothed, and no food." And the situation is graphically summed up by a Turkish correspondent: "The gallows, the knout, looting, hunger, humiliation."

At the end of a couple of months of Russian terrorism of this kind there comes the Joint Note. It proposes a loan of £200,000 to Persia at 7 per cent. These noble Powers are not even above playing Shylock in respect of this small advance forced on a weak and poor State. As a matter of fact, Persia is to be purchased for this paltry sum. For the price of one of our smaller passenger steamers Persia is to be bought outright. That is virtually the com-

dition on which the loan is to be made. The Majliss had rejected a proposal for a much larger loan because even less onerous conditions were attached to it. The spending of this £200,000 is to be under the control of the Treasurer-General, the obliging M. Mornard who is to act "with the approval of the two Legations." In other words, a sum nominally advanced to the Persian Government, and for which the Persian finances are liable, is to be disbursed by a Russian *protégé* acting in conjunction with the Russian and British Ministers in Teheran. When Sir Edward Grey was expounding this interesting scheme in the House, Mr O'Grady incontinently inquired. "What about the Persian people?" "That," replied Sir Edward Grey in his most dignified manner, "is the sort of remark which makes discussion impossible." And, of course, there were sympathetic cheers.

In addition to the arrangements for spending the proceeds of the loan the *sedars* and "irregulars" in the Persian army are to be disbanded. This we take it, means that Yezerni, the extremely trustworthy officer who was responsible for checking the ex-Shah's recent raid, is to be cashiered. Perhaps he, like Mr. Shuster, suffered from a dangerous loyalty and honesty. If he had aided and abetted the ex-Shah he might to-day be even as the successful M. Mornard. The excellent force which he organised is not trusted by Russia. Then Persia is to establish "a small regular army," and, adds Sir Edward Grey, "it might be that Russian officers would be employed in the Persian army." We are sure of it. The scheme is clear. Russia may not advance her own army to occupy Teheran, but Russian officers will control and direct a native army, just as English officers control and direct the native army in Egypt. It will be a not less effective, though considerably less expensive, method than the actual maintenance of Russian garrisons. What may we ask, in that case, will be the attitude of the British Foreign Office? Will it consent to the operation, in the British "sphere," of a Persian force officered by Russians? Or shall we have a Persian army in the south officered by Englishmen? That would be open dismemberment, whilst the former arrangement means that there will be established a virtual Russian Occupation. Already, of course, by his action in the Stokes and Leccosse affairs, Sir Edward Grey has conceded that no British subject may hold any Government post in the Persian capital if Russia objects. For the capital is in the Russian "sphere." Now the Persian army is to be Russified.

It is scarcely possible to comment on this betrayal. There is only one attempt at a plausible defence by Sir Edward Grey. He constantly argues that without the Anglo-Russian Agreement the situation of Persia would be worse. Professor Browne has shown in a letter which we reproduce elsewhere, the errors and misstatements of fact which Sir Edward Grey makes on this head. But assuming for the purpose of argument that it were true that without the Anglo-Russian Agreement Russia would have sought to occupy Persia, is that any reason why England should aid and assist her and assume a joint responsibility for her action? Because you believe your neighbour will certainly be robbed must you make a compact with his robber? As a matter of fact, we know that Sir Edward Grey could have saved Persia had he chosen. He could very quickly intervene a few months ago and mobilise his diplomacy and his military forces to prevent Germany getting a foothold in Morocco, or getting certain territory on the Congo, or whatever it was that was then obscurely in dispute. Equally easily could he have prevented Russian aggression on Persia. If he had failed, it would at least have been an honourable failure. Rather he has chosen to make himself an accomplice and he must accept a joint responsibility for the crime.—(Editor)

The Meaning of Persian "Independence."

To THE EDITOR OF THE "NATION."

SIR.—In a previous communication I gave reasons for believing that the Spring-Rice Memorandum of September 4, 1907, which says that the Anglo-Russian Agreement is "based on a guarantee of Persian independence," and that the object of the two Powers was "not in any way to attack, but rather to assure for ever, the independence of Persia," cannot now be repudiated. It is in honour binding on this country. That it was unofficial in form, and that, by the strangest oversight, it was for four years unknown to the Foreign Office, are facts which do not affect its validity, and although it would be wrong to attach too precise a value to particular phrases in an unofficial document, it is clear that the Memorandum as a whole must be taken as a general expression of our policy towards Persia at the time the Agreement was signed.

But the Memorandum does not stand alone. It was followed, as Sir Edward Grey has pointed out, by a Joint Note, presented in the names both of Russia and Great Britain, informing the Persian Government officially of the nature and objects of the Agreement. In substance, this Note, which we are told "is the only official interpretation," differs very little from the unofficial Memorandum of Sir

Cecil Spring-Rice. It is shorter, and perhaps less explicit; but its language is hardly less strong:—"The two Governments," it says, "mutually agree to the strict independence and integrity of Persia." "The sole object of the arrangement is the avoidance of any cause of misunderstanding on the ground of Persian affairs between the two contracting parties" "The two States in signing the arrangement, have steadfastly kept in view the fundamental principle that the independence and integrity of Persia should be respected absolutely."

What language, it may be asked, could be more conclusive? And, at first sight, it seems surprising that Sir Edward Grey, while cheerfully accepting this "official" interpretation of the Agreement, should take any exception to quotations being made from the earlier and unofficial document.

But there is, perhaps, a reason for this difference. Neither in the Agreement itself nor in the official interpretation of it is there anything to define the meaning of the word "independence," or to indicate what the Powers really had in mind when they said that the independence of Persia was the fundamental principle of their Agreement. And the omission is an important one. For what is the meaning that Sir Edward Grey now gives the word? It was an independence, he says, that was "conditioned" by Russian influence. "When you talk about the independence of Persia, you must bear in mind that at the time of the signing of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, Persian independence was already conditioned by Russian influence in the North of Persia." This "influence"—so his argument runs—was diminished, and in part destroyed, by the Persian Revolution. It is, therefore, open to Russia to regain it—apparently by any and every means she can—and it would be "inconsistent," he tells us, on the part of Great Britain to attempt to prevent her doing so. The two ultranationalists of last November, the expulsion of Mr. Shuster—a man who had the full confidence of the Persian Government, the imposing on them of Monsieur Mornard, in spite of their protests, the destruction of the Persian Parliament, the overrunning of the Northern towns by Russian troops, the hangings and barbarities at Tabriz and Resht, the disbanding of the native volunteers, and the enrolment of a new force under Russian officers—all these, and other similar acts, which the British Government have supported, become, on this argument, justifiable and necessary. They are in no sense inconsistent with Persian independence. They merely enforce the condition of it. They enable Russia to recover the influence she is presumed to have lost.

It is a plausible and ingenuous argument, but it has one grave defect. It takes no account of the Spring-Rice Memorandum, or of the quotations given on this point, both from M. Tsvolsky and Sir Edward Grey. From these it is perfectly clear that the independence which they professed to contemplate was not a conditioned independence at all, but independence in the natural and obvious sense of the word. Neither of the two Powers was to intervene in Persian affairs "unless injury is inflicted on the persons or property of their subjects." Persia henceforth might "employ all her powers in internal reforms," including, it might have been thought, the forcible deposition of a corrupt and tyrannical ruler. She was to be "forever delivered from the fear of foreign intervention, and would thus be perfectly free to manage her own affairs in her own way." If words like these have any meaning, they destroy the very foundation of Sir Edward Grey's argument. The value of the Spring-Rice Memorandum is not that it goes beyond the official declaration, but that it expresses the same meaning in full and clear language, which cannot now be explained away.

From this it is clear that the policy of respecting Persian independence ourselves, and of requiring that Russia should do so, too, is not merely a policy dictated by British interests, as they have been understood for the last hundred years, but it is a policy to which we are definitely pledged, both by the terms of the joint Official Note, and by the unmistakable language of our own Minister at Teheran. To suggest that the independence of which the Note speaks is meaningless, or that Sir Cecil Spring-Rice's explanation has no validity, are mere evasive devices, too transparent to deceive anyone who takes the trouble to inquire into the case, and it may be hoped that they will now be dropped.

For the moment it must be admitted that it seems very like mockery to speak of Persian independence at all. The events of last November, of which the full effects are only now being felt, have pretty well destroyed what was left of it. But the outer form is still there, and if the Government are prepared even now to stand by their pledge—and thus incidentally to secure British interests—they will use their influence in undoing some of the harm that has been done, and allowing for the revival—however slowly—of a free and undivided State.—Yours, &c.,

PHILIP MORRELL.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Reuter wires from Tripoli on the 2nd.—The Italians have given notice of blockade from April 1st of the ports of Tobruk and Camarun, an important international pilgrim station.

The Italians have cut the cable between Camarun and the mainland. They have also captured and taken to Massowah a small British steamer, *Woodcock*.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Rome, March 12

Two battalions of Infantry with a mountain battery were attacked at Tobruk yesterday morning by a large force of Turks and Arabs, while covering the operations of a company of Sappers engaged in the construction of a new fort. The enemy were driven back by successive bayonet charges and the mountain battery, aided by the guns of the fort, completed their defeat. The Italian losses were one officer and 12 soldiers killed and three officers and 70 soldiers wounded.

Rome, March 13

General Brucola, commanding at Benghazi, being informed yesterday morning that two oases to the north east of Fojat were strongly occupied by the enemy, ordered General Ameglio to attack and occupy these positions. Accordingly seven battalions of infantry, together with three mountain and three field batteries, proceeded to the assault. The enemy, who numbered 6,000, were dislodged by repeated bayonet charges and lost 400 dead on the field. The total Turkish loss is estimated at 1,000. In nearly every case death was due to bayonet wounds, one small portion of the field alone yielding 91 bodies killed by this arm. The Italian losses were 3 officers and 26 soldiers killed and 7 officers and 55 soldiers wounded.

At Tripoli two dirigibles made a flight beyond Zanzur over the enemy's encampment at Zavia. From a height of 1,500 metres 25 bombs were dropped into the enemy's camp, causing great slaughter and confusion. The damage was plainly apparent from the dirigibles.

The news of the victory at Benghazi gave rise to a demonstration of patriotic enthusiasm in the Chamber this afternoon. In a brief speech General Spingardi, the Minister of War, recalled the recent successes of the Italian arms at Home on February 27, at Derna on March 3, at Tobruk on March 11 and now again at Benghazi. This last was the most complete victory of them all and testified most strongly to the able preparation of the Italian commanders and the valour and discipline of the troops. The President of the Chamber, Signor Marcora, replied, sending a salute to the victorious troops.

In announcing the Italian victory at Benghazi to the Chamber, General Spingardi, Minister of War, said.—

"Yesterday at Benghazi the sun of victory, more resplendent than ever, shone forth again upon our arms which achieved a complete victory, all the more manifest from the enormous losses of the enemy. Our possession of the whole coast of Libya has thus once again been consecrated by the blood of our heroes and the victory of our arms. Let us, therefore, send a grateful greeting to all those fighting for our country."—(Reuter)

Constantinople, March 13.

The Ministry of War announces the receipt of a telegram from Edhem Pasha, Commander of the Turco-Arab forces in Benghazi, reporting an important Turkish success at Tobruk. The message says,—

"After fighting, which lasted for 11 hours, the Italians were driven out of their positions and retreated to their ships. The Italian casualties are estimated at 2,000. The Turco-Arab losses were heavy. They include a number of Arab women who were supplying the troops with ammunition and provisions. It is also stated that the Italians have evacuated Ain Zara, in the Tripoli district. This announcement, coupled with the reported Turkish success at Tobruk, has produced the best possible impression in Turkish circles, although the failure of Italy to score a decisive victory in Tripoli is regarded as increasing the probability of the extension of the operations to the Aegean Sea."—(Reuter)

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Venice, March 13

Telegrams announcing the presence of Italian warships off Salonika have engendered rumours here that Italian naval operations will be undertaken there or in the vicinity. These rumours find little credit in competent quarters.

Severe fighting is reported from Tobruk, where a vigorous Turco-Arab attack was repulsed on Monday by the Italians, with considerable loss on both sides. Reuter's Rome correspondent telegraphs that the official account published there yesterday says that the Italians had 1 officer and 12 men killed and 3 officers and 70 men wounded. The losses of the enemy are described as "enormous."

The Turkish Ministry of War announces the receipt of a telegram from Edhem Pasha, the commander of the Turco-Arab forces at Benghazi, reporting an important Turkish success at Tobruk. The message says that on Monday the Turkish and Arab forces compelled the Italians to retreat on their entrenchments or to take refuge on board their ships. The Turks captured a number of rifles, a quantity of ammunition, and one prisoner. The losses of the Turks and Arabs were 18 killed and 68 wounded.

It is also stated at Constantinople that the Italians have evacuated Ain Zara near Tripoli.

(By Alan Outler, "Express" Special Correspondent with the Turkish Forces in Tripoli.)

TURKISH HEAD-QUARTERS

Via Drhebat, March 13

The Italians have been forced to evacuate Ain Zara completely. They were continually harassed by night attacks and the majority of the troops retreated some time ago. On the night of March 9 the Ottoman troops attacked the remainder of the garrison and succeeded in reaching the Italian commissariat depot at Ain Zara, which was set on fire. The Italians, believing the attack to be general, hurriedly withdrew, after shelling the Turkish force without effect.

(FROM THE "DAILY EXPRESS")

Wholly conflicting versions of the battle near Benghazi are given in telegrams issued at Rome and Constantinople.

According to the Italian account, there were at least 6,000 Turks and Arabs, supported by artillery, while the Italian force included seven battalions of infantry, three mountain and two field batteries, and some cavalry.

The Italians claim to have successfully executed a flanking movement which enabled them to pursue masses of Turks and Arabs beyond two oases and to bayonet many fugitives. They found 400 bodies in the oases, 91 being in one place. Ali had been bayoneted. The Turks are said to have lost over a thousand men killed and many more wounded, whereas the Italian casualties are given as only 3 officers and 26 soldiers killed and 7 officers and 55 soldiers wounded.

On the other hand, Edhem Pasha, the Commander of the Turko-Arab forces at Benghazi, had telegraphed to Constantinople that the Turks scored an important success and that the Italians were driven out of their positions after eleven hours' fighting, being forced to retreat to their ships. He estimates the Italian casualties at 2,000.

Edhem Pasha admits that the Turco-Arab losses were heavy. They included a number of Arab women who supplied the troops with ammunition and provisions. The Arab levies were commanded by one of the Senussi Sheikh's lieutenants.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN")

The Constantinople correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* states that the Government is taking extensive measures in all places which could be attacked by the Italian navy for the prevention of anti-Christian disturbances. In Constantinople especially the measures are on a large scale. The police have been considerably strengthened, and the whole city has been divided into sections in order better to cope with eventualities. Both the police and the gendarmerie daily receive special instruction on how to deal with a popular rising.

It is reported from Adana that a number of bedjas are going about inciting the population against the Italians. The Government has telegraphed an order to the Vah to arrest the agitators.

(FROM THE "DAILY NEWS.")

The Sheikh of the Senussi has sent to the Porte the following message.—

"I have been informed that the Great Powers are trying to force Turkey to conclude peace with Italy. I know by experience that Turkey has no means to assist us in an effective manner in the defence of our country and that in truth Turkey is not at war with Italy."

"Nevertheless, we are proud of having shed our blood in defence of Turkey and of Islam. I say, therefore, that if the Porte listens to the Powers and betrays us to the infidels, nothing will prevent us from proclaiming a new Khalifate which will better defend the power and the honour of Islam."

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

M. Pierre Baudin, recently reporter on the Franco-German Treaty in the French Senate, writes an article in the *Sécu* on the situation in Persia, in which, while obviously trying to be indulgent "to the ally and to the friend," he passes some criticism on the terms which Russia and England are believed to be trying to impose on the Persian Government. He finds the interest of 7 per cent. attached to the loan too high, considering that the loan is amply secured on the Customs revenue. Next "the amnesty indiscriminately accorded to the partisans of the ex-Shah and to the robbers who have indulged in all sorts of excesses in the course of the recent political troubles cannot fail to encourage the latter in recommencing their profitable expeditions." The Note," M. Baudin adds, "also speaks of the licence of the irregular troops. But these are the troops which have twice saved the Constitutional régime in Persia, and it will perhaps be imprudent to disband them before a new Parliament is elected and a regular army is organised." With reference to the latter M. Baudin observes, "The Note does not state that its officers will be taken from foreign armies, and yet it is desirable that these troops should be so organised as not to appear to constitute a direct threat to Turkey."

(FROM THE "EGYPT")

According to a report in a Cairo paper, the Sheikh el Senussi has left Kufra at the head of a large army to fight the Italians, including a great number of negroes who have gained experience as soldiers in the wars against the French in Wadai. The Senussi forces, it is said, are extremely well provided with arms and provisions.

News from Turkish Sources.

The War in Tripoli.

(FROM THE "TANIN"]

(Specially translated for the "Comrade.")

FOUR months ago, when I had left Constantinople for Tirabulus ul-Gharb, I was a pessimist. The news that had reached us was indefinite, contradictory, the situation undefined, and public opinion nervous. And I must confess here that I had entered the theatre of war with the belief that I should find misery, lack of organisation and order in Tripolitania.

I remained there for two and a half months and observed without any restraint the most important points and positions of the seat of war. I had intimate intercourse with our officers, and specially with the Arab Mujahids. I had the good fortune to witness to the minutest details some engagements and battles. All these observations and investigations contributed in an increasing degree every day to belie my pessimism, and to-day I return from Tripoli a perfect optimist and in complete confidence of the future.

It is over a month now that I left Azzara the head-quarters of the commandant in Tirabulus ul Gharb. As a general statement, I shall here say that the prevailing spirit there was most excellent. Everyone was happy and contented, doing his duty and waiting impatiently for the next battle in order to win glory in it. And the most noticeable thing on our side was a general feeling of confidence, which is such a great operative for success. This was entirely absent in the Italians.

That big Italian Army of at least sixty thousand men equipped according to the latest theories of the science of war is there, lowering its head before our soldiers and the brave Arab Mujahids; perplexed as to what to do, impotent to advance, ashamed to go back. For the last three months it is their enduring torture and shame, powerless to put its aggressive robbers' foot in the bazaar of our country, and unwilling to return to its den. It is waiting to get its deserts.

The situation of the enemy to-day is exactly the same as took shape after the battle of Azzara on 22nd November.

This battle had resulted in our having to leave Azzara and opening a new chapter in the operations. After two months of fighting, the Italians, after a tremendous expenditure of money and life, could only take Azzara—which has again been captured by us—a place not more than ten kilometres from the town of Tripoli.

This success of the Italians, on which the Italian newspapers are incessantly harping—was in reality a success for them, and who profited by it? The Italians,—military toys—dared thus to put themselves out of the protection of their most valuable asset—the fleet. That is to say, after the battle of Azzara the aspect of war was changed. The shells of the enemy's powerful fleet guns did not drop on our tents which were now out of their range. This was fatal to the Italians. The Italian soldier in whose blood a single spicule of valour or of any other military quality cannot live, simply turned into a thing made of wood or stone, as soon as he was out of the protection of artillery of the fleet. He displayed such fear that our Mujahids were really angry with him. Facts, the military situation and their own reluctant admissions prove my statements more than any words of mine.

Spurred by shame, the Italians, after Azzara, indulged in some desperate aggressive movements. There did take place some small and some relatively big and really smart engagements such as those of Bir Tobras, Qirq Qaresh but the Italians always emerged out of these engagements worse than they went in and showed that their *morale* had descended to below zero. These engagements did not, and could not change the military situation on both sides. For us it was a safe position to be out of the reach of their naval guns. But in reality, success was on our side. These three months' encounters resulting in material and moral losses to the enemy, invariably strengthened the *morale* of our men. They brought a sense of confidence to every man, and added to his pluck, a feeling of obedience to discipline. And last of all, these encounters created such a feeling of comradeship among our warriors as nothing could shake.

You can take in the whole situation from the following—

It is three months now that the Italians are wedged in the tract from the town of Tripoli, to Qirq Qaresh fortifications running parallel to the sea shore and from there to a triangle of about 8 or 10 kilometres to Azzara. The number of their troops is 50,000 or 60,000 or perhaps as they themselves say 80,000. Now these hundreds of thousands of mouths want to be fed every day, to be clothed, to be treated, the ammunition of rifles and artillery so lavishly expended to be replenished, in fine all these things are necessary and over them and above them all, hundreds of thousands, ay, millions of francs are required daily to provide these things. Three months have passed thus and the Italians believe more than we do that three years, if they stayed on will pass like this. The daily occurrences have demoralised them so much that not a trace of grit is left in them. Our Mujahids are standing like a wall of iron before them . . . And if they advance, it is because of their officers who lash them to it. In no direction do they see salvation. Such is the position of the Italian Army. Confidence, obedience to authority, and unity have vanished from among them. I have heard of and seen Italian officers threatening their soldiers with revolver and sword and thus driving them to battle.

On our side the aspect is quite different, I wish to write fully about it, but it should be here sufficient to say that the opposite of what I have said about the enemy is true of our men. There is no exaggeration in this. The unity, the valour, the enthusiasm of our men are at their highest. When they talk of Italians they ridicule them and laugh at them. In their opinion the meaning of the word Italian is, one who flees, one who surrenders, one who tears. And their highest amusement is to play with the Italian toys who are very sensitive lest they get broken. We have got everything in Tripoli. When I say that I know what everything means, and I ask my readers to understand that. Camel loads of provisions are brought to us continuously. I can say that our Government, since its decline, never entered upon a war so well provisioned. Specially during the last two or three months we have been exceptionally well stocked. And the Italians have not given small help in this matter. Every man in Tirabulus to-day is in possession of something taken from the Italians. This is the position in Tripoli to-day, and it is for this reason that I have returned an optimist from Tripoli.

AHMED SHAREEF.

(Special Correspondent of the *Tanin* in Tripoli).

Italy Burns Her Last Cartridge.

(FROM THE "JEUNE TURC.")

(Specially translated for the "Comrade")

ITALY has reached her last resources. Rendered powerless at Tripoli, not daring for the past five months to take a single step forward, having imprisoned 150,000 soldiers in the fortifications and covered with shame, she has at last recourse to inundation directed rather against the Powers than against Turkey, with which she threatened them for a long time. A handful of brave Ottoman warriors force the Italians to acts of cowardice which at the end will have no other result but to bring to light their unworthiness and to provoke general horror and the farcical scene of the opening of the Italian Chambers, the popular manifestations organized beforehand, the grotesque greetings sent by the President of the Italian Chamber to an army which up to date has had no victories other than flight and defeat. The ridiculous tone of the Italian papers which compare to ancient Rome the Italy of to-day, which owes its existence and its life to French pity, the heroism of the Italian fleet, which blockades ports and throws projectiles into towns undefended and without fortifications, all this proves that the Italians exaggerated to the last degree wish to play a trick on the world. To begin with they wish to intimidate the Great Powers. In fact from the very beginning of the war, they put their hope in these Powers, they counted especially on the friendly allied Powers to press their friendly intervention on our Government, making it accept the annexation as an accomplished fact. But that did not succeed. Not that the friendly Powers or allies failed in their duty of giving friendly advice to the Ottoman

6th April.

Government, but solely because the Ottomans, indignant at this unjust attack and this violent insolence undertaken without any pretext, have categorically opposed all ideas of mediation. Deceived in her hope on that side, Italy shortly after conceived the project not of asking the Powers but of forcing them to intervene. It threatened them, in spite of their previous engagements, to carry the war into the Ottoman waters, to blockade our coasts and to bombard our ports. It was a threat directed against the commerce and industry of the Powers, and the Italians had cleverly chosen the weak points of European psychology. The Powers, in fact, intervened, and this time in their own interest, but the Ottoman Government made them understand that it was not Turkey that prejudiced their interest, that it was not she that attacked anybody, but when attacked, outraged and wounded without cause or pretext, she was only exercising her natural right of defending herself, and that this right is so holy and so indefeasible, that not only the Powers but God Himself could not deprive her of it. Besides, in the name of what principle of international right or of war could they be forced to accept the conditions of peace proposed by Italy? The latter wishes to conquer Tripoli. Well let her conquer it. If, for the annexation of a country, it sufficed to make galling declarations like those of the King of Italy, then Turkey would only have to declare that China and America have been annexed to her possessions. Would the Powers then be so unjust as to compel a Power which has been attacked and insulted unjustly to accept conditions of peace, dictated by an enemy who is constantly being repulsed? The Powers could not but lean towards so just and so well founded a reasoning on the part of the Ottoman Government. They understood that it was not at Constantinople they were to safeguard their threatened commercial interests, but at Rome. They therefore addressed themselves to Rome, advising the Italian Government to limit their military actions to Tripoli and to try and make an effort for a real conquest. Italy pretended to listen to these Powers, she redoubled her activity in Tripoli and sent her new expeditionary corps. But the greater activity she showed the more she increased her forces and the more her impotence became manifest. At each sally her soldiers were defeated. The army of 150,000 men which she has concentrated in Tripoli resembles an immense flock of sheep, which each time that they try to come out of the fold receive blows from a stick, and bewildered and maddened they are forced to retreat to the fold. What is most disheartening and most galling to the Italians is, that one does not even know when this situation, which may last indefinitely, may end. And yet Italy has to feed and maintain this immense army, use her fleet, enclose the stoppage of her commerce and the financial and economic crisis. Will she be able to resist long? This is the terrible question put to the statesmen of Italy and which they in their turn put to the King of Italy. To save their position, they have decided to run all risks. The last of these adventures is to fight through their pockets and threaten their commerce by carrying the war into the Ottoman waters. In the bombardment of Beyrouth, the foreign countries have mostly suffered! The reason is simple. They are chosen expressly as objects of destruction so as to provoke in Europe a general anxiety, a movement in favour of the intervention of the Powers for the conclusion of peace. But we can assure the statesmen of Italy that even if Europe intervenes in this way, she would not find in Turkey a Government that would dare to accept peace under the conditions laid down by Italy. If there is a public opinion in Italy, there is also one in Turkey. The latter is not loud, nor demonstrative, but outraged in its deepest sentiments by a shameful and causeless attack, it would not suffer any Government that would submit to this blow. Italy can boast easily of her heroism at sea, she can continue to attack our ports and to blockade them, but this will not influence the issue of the war. These cowardly acts of the enemy will only increase the scorn that the Ottomans feel for them and the ardour to continue the war to the bitter end.

It will only end when Italy will have effectively conquered Tripoli and come to fight with us on land. Then no peace, no reconciliation!

AHMED AGAIEF

An Interview with an Italian Prisoner.

(FROM THE "JEUNE TURC.")

(Specially Translated for the "Comrade.")

The war correspondent of the journal *Al-Aksa* sends the following interview he had with an Italian prisoner at Derna, named Nasli Monpellié. The correspondent writes: I met this prisoner in the tent of the Red Crescent. He is a young man of 28 years, intelligent looking and speaks only Italian. The conversation took place between us by means of an interpreter. Here it is as it took place between the prisoner and myself.

Q. Are you comfortable?

A. Yes.

Q. How is that since you are the enemy's prisoner?

A. It is true that I am a prisoner, but it is as if I was at home. I live, I eat and I drink with my enemies as they live, eat

and drink. Besides the Pascha (Enver Bey) has just made me a present of a ring of Italian origin. I thank him for it and also for his kind treatment to me. If I had known that I would have been treated so well I would have come over with at least half of the Italian army and joined the Arabs.

Q. Why so, and would your comrades have accepted?

A. No doubt, for we do not care to fight with people who have done us no harm, and besides we do not love war.

Q. I have noticed that the Italian troops in many instances have fled before us. Why is that, since you are more numerous than ourselves, better equipped, prepared for a long time for this conquest, whilst we have been taken unawares, have neither a fleet to defend us, nor a fort to shelter us?

A. It is quite true that our soldiers do not care to fight. They are forced to go out against the Arabs. Their *morale* is completely lost, and you know that *morale* is much more important than the number of the troops. On the other side, it must not be forgotten that the Italians fight in a strange country and that the people are full of religious fanaticism,.... Courage is wanting in the troops except with the officers, and that is why the losses amongst the latter are so numerous. At the rate things are getting on and if our officers continue to expose themselves on the battlefield, Italy will have no more officers left.

Q. You say that we are led in our struggle by religious fanaticism. Do you forget that you are placed in the same way and that the Pope has blessed you before your departure?

A. It is true, but it has not succeeded in creating in us what we lack, I mean moral strength.

Q. They say that your soldiers spend their nights on board the warships. Is it true?

A. It is so, because we fear an attack from the Arabs during the night—as it is we do not know our way in the day, what would it be during the night?

Q. Is there any trouble in your country, do you believe that that the people will end by forcing the Italian Government to end the war as they did in the war against Abyssinia.

A. At the moment when I left Italy there were some troubles but since then I do not know what has happened. It is possible that at the end the people will rise against the Government if the war continues without success, for on account of it business is at a stand-still.

Q. How do you treat the prisoners?

A. If they are Arabs they are executed, if they are regulars they are sent to Italy.

Q. How do you treat the people of Derna?

A. The inhabitants are obliged to be in doors from sunset till next morning. Those who are found carrying arms are hung. In doubtful cases they are exiled to Naples.

Q. About how many have been executed lately?

A. About 800 to 900 between hanging and expulsion.

Intervention.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, March 10.

YESTERDAY evening the Councillor of the Russian Embassy, acting for the Ambassador, who was indisposed, paid a visit to the Foreign Minister at the Consulta and inquired upon what terms Italy would be willing to accept the friendly mediation of the Powers in favour of the cessation of hostilities. In this step he was followed in succession by the Ambassadors of France, Great Britain, Germany and Austria-Hungary. According to an official communication the Foreign Minister reserves his reply.

The Ministerial *Tribune* remarks that it is its duty to register this overture made by five Powers on the initiative of Russia, but that it cannot conceal its own conviction that Italy will do well to push energetically her military operations. The Italian public and Press would be wise not to put too much confidence in these diplomatic negotiations nor entertain sanguine hopes of peace.

This is the first collective action taken by the Powers towards mediation between the belligerent countries. Whether it will succeed or not depends chiefly on their subsequent action in Constantinople. The one irreducible condition made by Italy—namely, absolute Italian sovereignty over Tripoli and Cyrenaica—is so well known that it is not conceivable that it should be ignored in these overtures. Outside that it is, of course, possible that concessions may be made which would help to conciliate Turkish opinion, but in the present temper of the Italian public those concessions will have to be of very moderate nature to gain consideration here.

Paris, March 12.

No reply to the inquiries of Russia and the other Great Powers with regard to Italian terms of peace has yet been received here. These inquiries, which I understand represent the result of the third Russian initiative in this matter, are naturally confined in the strictest sense within the limits of those *dear odds* which were contemplated in The Hague Convention. They can in no way compromise

the neutrality of any of the Powers which have associated themselves in this action, and they fulfil the essential condition which Great Britain, as well as France, is believed to have postulated—that all the Powers should act together and in the same sense. It depends, I am told, on the nature of Italy's reply whether the Powers will consider it worth while to transmit that reply to Constantinople. In well-informed unofficial quarters not much hope is entertained at this stage of any basis, however slight, for peace negotiations. In Italy, as in Turkey, public opinion ties the hands of the Government.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN")

The Constantinople correspondent of the *Journal des Débats* sends a useful reminder through his paper of the actualities of the position in which Russia has thought proper to revive the idea of mediation. "Turkey," he says, "has every advantage in defying mediation of all sorts. The price of good offices which she never asked has only too often been paid to her in a coin which has no currency on the market, and which has only enriched her by some bitter experience." Turkey, therefore, looks with suspicion on all attempts at mediation—especially when proceeding from Russia.

"It is difficult," says the correspondent, "to defend here the claim of disinterestedness which Russia is putting forward on the present occasion. People are too little accustomed here to regard Russia as capable of taking account of the *amour propre* of the Ottoman Empire, or for that matter of its right to exist. I have met here many people who regard her as an accomplice of Italy, bent upon exhausting means of mediation which have no chance of success in order thus to justify an attack upon the Dardanelles, which will then permit her to raise the question of the Straits and to solve it to her advantage." All that Turkey asks is to be left alone. Time is on her side, and will enable her, as she hopes, to reconquer the two African provinces. "This hope," says the correspondent, "was not in existence at the beginning of the war—it was born out of the impotence of the Italian effort, and we see it growing every day under our eyes."

The subject of mediation is also dealt with by the *Temps* in a leading article devoted to a refutation of Signor Cunini, the well-known Italian deputy, who complained the other day in the *Stampa*, of Milan, that France and England, by extending the offer of mediation to Rome, had transformed the Russian proposals into a *démarche* in favour of Turkey, thus ignoring the "accomplished facts," in Tripoli and Cyrenaica, and breaking (so far as France was concerned) the diplomatic engagements entered into with regard to Tripoli. The *Temps* makes very light of the "accomplished facts" in Africa, which are nothing but dreams, and as for diplomatic engagements, it denies that they meant anything more than mere *desinteressement* or implied any diplomatic or other assistance. The Italian publicists, remarks the Paris journal, live by phantoms, and only create "uneasiness and resentments."

The latest step undertaken by the Powers with a view to mediation between Turkey and Italy has led the semi-official *Tribuna* of Rome to define once more the standpoint of the Italian Government. Complete Italian sovereignty over Tripoli and Cyrenaica, full religious liberty for the natives, including the recognition of the spiritual authority of the Sultan, a general amnesty to the "rebels," a suitable indemnity to Turkey—these are the conditions which the *Tribuna*, in anticipation of the official reply of the Marquis di San Giuliano, puts forward as the sole basis acceptable to Italy for the conclusion of peace. The journal adds to this the usual melancholy reflections about the obstinacy of the Porte in refusing to recognise "accomplished facts" and also the dangers to the general peace of Europe that ensue from Turkey's attitude.

This declaration of the Roman journal meets with an equal tenor from the two opposite camps into which Europe is divided. M. Jean Herbette, who is certainly in touch with the French diplomatic world, writing in the *Siecle*, observes that if the reasoning of the *Tribuna* really foreshadows what the Italian Cabinet is about to reply to the "pilgrimage" undertaken by the Ambassadors to the Consulta "in a spirit of charity, but without much faith or hope," the war will no doubt continue. He says:—"If Turkey were unable to defend Tripoli the Italians would have proved it by immediately advancing into the interior, but this is exactly what they cannot do. . . . If on the other hand Turkey stood to gain nothing by prolonging her resistance, the *Tribuna* would herself have been less anxious to fret at the inaction of Europe and to obtain the intervention of the Powers. Lastly, the peace of the world is much less threatened by the energy exhibited by Turkey—an energy which causes other would-be heirs of the 'Sick Man' to reflect—than by the impossibility of accepting a compromise in which Italy has placed herself by proclaiming the annexation of territories not yet conquered."

On its part the Vienna Foreign Office publishes through the *Montags Revue* the following remarkable warning:—"The neutral attitude of the central Powers has hitherto formed the rule of conduct for the whole of Europe, and their influence will also be exercised in the same direction in the future—let us hope with the same effect. Nevertheless the Italian Government must by no means absolutely rely upon deriving under all circumstances complete protection from the rigorous impartiality of its allies. If the action of the Italian

navy should inflict damage upon important interests of the western Powers or of Russia it may give rise to protests and even retaliatory measures which Austria-Hungary and Germany would not be able to prevent. The danger of a European intervention against Italy has passed, but it will be well for Rome to remember that such considerations as recently determined the London Cabinet to suggest intervention have by no means disappeared."

Constantinople, March 12.

It is stated that the attempted mediation of the Powers in the war has failed completely. (Exchange)

The Dardanelles.

(FROM THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH" VIENNA CORRESPONDENT)

In authoritative circles here it is believed that the intervention of the Powers having proved ineffectual, the Italian fleet will probably undertake action against the Dardanelles. It is supposed that the outer forts of Sedd el Bahr and Kum Kalesi will first be bombarded. The prospects of the Italians are regarded as not unsavourable, because their naval artillery is excellent. It is also considered possible that after silencing the forts Italian troops may be landed to form a base for future operations. A high official in Vienna remarked that it is doubtful whether the Italian Government will be able to withstand the public opinion that will be created by such action.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, March 8.

I understand that the Governors and military commandants at the Turkish seaports on the Mediterranean have received instructions authorising them to take all necessary defensive measures in the event of the appearance of Italian warships. Further artillery and infantry reinforcements are being despatched to the Dardanelles. The recent attack on Turkish vessels at Beirut and the fact that Italian cruisers have been sighted at several points in the Aegean in the course of the last ten days seem to have inspired these precautions.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN")

According to a Constantinople telegram the Governor of the Dardanelles has just informed the Consuls of the Powers that from to day both steam and sailing ships are forbidden to navigate the straits outside a channel specially marked by buoys which begins off Harussen Point, on the European coast.

A Lloyd's Dardanelles message says that the straits are mined, and Government tugs will henceforth accompany passing vessels.

The following semi-official note was published at Rome—"Some newspapers have announced that there are Italian warships in the Aegean Sea. This statement is absolutely incorrect!"—(Reuters)

(FROM THE "DAILY NEWS")

Sir J. Grey has received from the British Ambassador at Constantinople a communication to the following effect—

"A notice has been issued by the Porte forbidding the passage of the Dardanelles by night from 6th March for all merchant vessels."

His Majesty's Vice Consul at the Dardanelles reports that since Sunday contact mines have been placed in the Straits, that a channel marked by buoys will be left, and that at least two pilot ships will be meeting vessels from each direction.

Venice, March 12.

In military circles here it is believed that the bombardment by Italy of the Karaburnu forts, guarding the approach to Salonika, is imminent. Information received here shows that the Turks have about twenty-five thousand men available in this locality, while the entrance to the harbour at Salonika is guarded by a triple line of mines.

Naples, March 12.

Advices received here appear to indicate that the entire Italian fleet, with the exception of the reserve squadron and the battleship *Regina Margherita* is now in the Aegean Sea. It is suggested that the first action to be taken will be the occupation of a port or an island near the Dardanelles to serve as a base.

There is a rumour that in the matter of action against the Dardanelles Italy is acting in agreement with Russia. (Central News.)

The Board of Trade have received a notification from the Foreign Office to the effect that the Turkish Government on the 10th instant began to lay contact mines for the defence of the Dardanelles. It is assumed that the work has now been completed. A channel marked by buoys will be left and at least two pilot ships will meet ships from each direction.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Paris, March 13.

The probability of Italian operations against Samos appears to be quite unfounded. There is reason to believe that at the beginning of the war the Italian Government gave an express assurance of its intention to respect the neutrality of Samos in accordance with the *status* of the island as defined in the Sultan's Firmans of

1832 with the assent of the three protecting Powers, Great Britain, France and Russia. It is not regarded as improbable, however, that the Italians may decide to operate against other islands in the Aegean

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN")

The *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna published last week an authoritatively worded Note to the effect that Great Britain had approached the Great Powers with a proposal to undertake a collective *démarche* at Rome with a view of preventing any action of the Italian navy on the Asiatic or European coasts of Turkey. The Note added that the proposal had met with the opposition of Germany and Austria-Hungary, which regarded any such interference with the movements of the Italian navy as a breach of neutrality.

The news has been stoutly denied in the Italian press, but a Berlin telegram to the *Kölnerische Zeitung* confirms it, merely adding that not only the allies of Italy but also France received the proposal unsavourably.

As against this it is interesting to place on record the "denial" given to the statement by the often inspired Rome correspondent of the *Temps*. "In diplomatic quarters," he says, "absolutely nothing has been heard of the alleged initiative of the British Government," and "it is certain that Sir Rennell Rodd, the British Ambassador in Rome, has never spoken to the Italian Government on the subject of the limitation of naval operations." A personage of "high authority," though not actually a member of the Government, has assured him that the Vienna report is merely a "new piece of bluff having for its aim to embroil Italy with the Triple Entente." The impression, says this anonymous informant, who may be looked for in the vicinity of the French Embassy at Rome, "the impression produced by the present diplomatic situation is that the greatest obstacle to a solution of the Italo-Turkish conflict emanates from the allies of Italy. It is with a view to neutralising the bad effect produced on Italian public opinion by this attitude that the Austrian bluff of a British *démarche* to which Germany and Austria are said to be opposed has been invented. The truth, on the contrary, is that if Berlin and Vienna had shown a little more goodwill peace would have been on the best road to realisation."

It is certainly a pity that the Rome correspondent and his informant have not read the important *Cronaca della Sera*, which, while denying the accuracy of the Vienna statement, says that "all that England has done was to inquire of the European Cabinets if an understanding with Italy (on the subject of her naval action) would be useful." The Milan organ then breaks out in reproaches against Europe, which "would prefer an inactive Italy, without energy and averse to colonial enterprise, to a reinvigorated one disturbing the plans of other Powers and threatening to upset the balance in the Mediterranean." It may be noted that the official denial issued by the Stefani Agency does not touch the point. It states that no steps have been taken by any Government at Rome in order to limit the naval operations, whereas the information published at Vienna refers to an exchange of views between the European Cabinets set up by Great Britain.

M. Tcharykoff.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

St Petersburg, March 11

The oft rumoured recall of M. Tcharykoff is an accomplished fact. His appointment as Senator is something in the nature of a disgrace. M. Tcharykoff's departure from Constantinople is popularly ascribed to intrigues at the Foreign Office. A more probable reason is the failure of the policy of conciliating Turkey, in which he persisted in spite of lack of encouragement from the Turks. Just at the moment when the Powers are acting as peacemakers between Turkey and Italy the necessity for M. Tcharykoff's recall appears regrettable.

Constantinople, March 12.

The unexpected news of M. Tcharykoff's recall was at first received here with a mixture of incredulity and concern. It was afterwards confirmed by the Turkish Ambassador in St Petersburg, who also informed the *Ertez* that he had received assurances from the Russian Government that its policy in Constantinople would undergo no change. These assurances have, however, not altogether allayed the apprehension caused by the news.

Vienna, March 12.

In one respect the removal of M. Tcharykoff from the Russian Embassy at Constantinople is regarded here as simplifying the outlook in the Near East. He has long been credited with a personal policy distinct from that of his Government, and, though he is not the first Russian diplomatist of whom this has been said, it is undeniable that his activity, whether laudable or blemeworthy, was not calculated to deprive Russian policy of the appearance of frankness. Henceforth, it is supposed, the attitude of Russia towards Turkey will be clearer, but, inasmuch as the nature of M. Tcharykoff's alleged personal policy is not precisely known, doubt prevails as to the direction in which the Russian efforts will now tend.

In the Austrian Press M. Tcharykoff is taxed with Pan-Slav aims, and his removal is therefore greeted with some satisfaction. On

the other hand, his friends claim that he worked for a good understanding between Russia and Turkey on the basis of the opening of the Dardanelles to Russian warships, and of the formation of a Balkan League under Russo-Turkish auspices. If this be true, his removal might imply a change of method in regard to Turkey, though not necessarily a change of object so far as the opening of the Dardanelles is concerned. The near future may, perhaps, throw light on this not unimportant point. In the meantime it should not be forgotten that, as an authoritative Italian journal remarked last week, Russia has been the only Great Power to maintain from the beginning of the war a consistent attitude of friendship towards Italy. Neither the Russian press nor the Russian Government has allowed its bearing to be affected by the influences and incidents that have caused wavering elsewhere. No surprise need therefore be felt if the further course of events in the Near East should reveal a concordance of views and sentiments, if not indeed of action, between Russia and

Constantinople, March 12.

In Turkish circles the recall of M. Tcharykoff is generally ascribed either to the Russian Government's dissatisfaction with his conduct of the recent informal conversations with the Grand Vizier concerning the question of the Straits or to its intention to adopt a new and more imperious attitude in its dealings with the Porte. It is impossible, in the absence of any but the vaguest information concerning the nature and scope of the above mentioned conversations, to express any opinion with regard to the former theory, while the latter can only be proved or disproved by time or by the nature of the Russian Government's choice of a successor.

While by no means blind to the mistakes of the Young Turks, M. Tcharykoff held that the new régime was infinitely preferable from the European point of view to the old, and never concealed his belief that they deserved to be given a fair chance by the greater and lesser European Powers. His attitude on this point undoubtedly did something to dispel the secular Ottoman mistrust of the "Moskov" and all his works, though the Jewish and other influences to which Young Turkey has shown itself peculiarly susceptible prevented his conciliatory policy from being appreciated as much as it deserved. Similarly his advocacy of a better understanding between Turkey and the Balkan States and between the Balkan States themselves was misinterpreted by Turkish Chauvinists and aroused the suspicion of those whose ambitions were likely to be adversely affected thereby, but none the less it did much to promote a Turco-Bulgarian *détente* at a moment when peace seemed likely to be jeopardized by Chauvinists on both sides of the frontier.

St Petersburg, March 13

The newspapers agree that M. Tcharykoff was an unsuccessful Ambassador, but entirely disapprove of the manner of his recall. Their opinion coincides with the views prevailing in diplomatic circles. M. Savonoff, the Foreign Minister, throughout deprecated M. Tcharykoff's attitude, and suggested his transfer to another post, but the humiliation inflicted on the Ambassador is unwelcome to the Foreign Office. It is surmised that M. Tcharykoff precipitated his fall by outspoken opposition to the mediation proposals which will be collectively made at Constantinople as soon as Italy has formulated her reply. His recall implies no change in Russia's policy towards Turkey.

Vienna, March 13.

In the diplomatic circles best qualified to express an opinion upon the removal of M. Tcharykoff from the Russian Embassy in Constantinople it is suggested that, though Italy has not yet answered officially the recent joint inquiry by the Powers, the inquiry may yield a positive basis for mediation, and that in view of this possibility the Russian Government wished to be represented in Constantinople by a diplomatist of less accentuated opinions. The attitude of M. Tcharykoff is reported to have been not only Turcophil, but anti-Italian, and his estimate of the probable course of the war to have been erroneous. He is said to have believed Italy incapable of steady effort, political or financial—a mistaken conviction, derived possibly from his own short and one-sided experience of Italy as Minister to the Vatican during the years immediately following the Abyssinian campaign of 1895-96.

St Petersburg, March 14.

It is understood that M. de Giers, the Russian Minister to Roumania, will succeed M. Tcharykoff as Russian Ambassador in Constantinople.

Constantinople, March 14.

The *Zaman*, in a leading article, laments the recall of M. Tcharykoff, whom it describes as the one diplomatist who succeeded in avoiding every species of dispute with the Ottoman Government. It refers in highly complimentary terms to the fact that he was the first foreign Ambassador to instruct his Consular staff to avoid an uncompromising attitude on questions connected with the capitulations and praises his tactful avoidance of a diplomatic incident by a "transformation" of the Russian Government's Note on the Malissori question.

Other journals confine themselves to somewhat gloomy comments on the possibility that the recall of M. Tcharykoff forebodes an entire change of Russian policy in the Near East, and in some cases hint at an impending Austro-Russian understanding in regard to the Balkans.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN")

The dismissal of the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, M. Tcharykoff—for such it is—seems to have produced a bad impress-

sion in Turkish political quarters. "People at Constantinople," says the correspondent of the *Journal des Débats*, "recall the similar fate of Baron Mayor des Planches, the former Italian Ambassador to the Porte, who was recalled a few months before the declaration of the war. That experienced and prudent diplomatist was, like his British and German colleagues, much upset at what he conceived to be the 'surrender of his Government to the influences of an unscrupulous intrigue,' and knowing well the difficulties of a campaign in Tripoli he reprintedly warned the Italian Government against the adventure, and for several months tried on his own responsibility to delay the fatal hour. Ultimately he fell and was disgraced. Turkish public opinion sees in the recall of M. Tcharykoff a similar sinister omen. M. Tcharykoff, to , had, ever since his appointment, pursued a conciliatory policy towards Turkey, offering a sort of protective friendship in return for the opening of the Dardanelles, and latterly championing the *status quo* in the Balkans. His disgrace foreshadows, then, according to Turkish conceptions of the situation, a change on the part of Russian policy. With him has disappeared the last obstacle to what is believed to be M. Savonoff's policy of 'realisation,' and all the uneasiness which has been caused by the Russian plan for one-sided mediation will reappear."

In an editorial note introducing the above message the *Journal des Débats* characterises the news of M. Tcharykoff's recall as "grave," and sees in the action of the Russian Government a "sign of the dissatisfaction caused at St. Petersburg by the prudent reserve maintained by M. Tcharykoff in the mediation business." The journal adds significantly. "There is in Russian diplomacy a party which urges common action between Russia and Italy, and recommends violent pressure on the Porte in order to compel her to accept the Italian terms. M. Tcharykoff no doubt did not fail to draw the attention of his Government to the gravity of this step. His recall would seem to signify that the St. Petersburg Cabinet has decided upon a 'forward' policy."

The allusion to the party which advocates common action between Russia and Italy refers, of course, to M. Isvolsky, who, together with Signor Tittoni, his fellow-dupe in the Bosnian affair, has instigated from Paris all the recent steps of Russian diplomacy against Turkey. One can judge from the attitude of such an influential organ of the French *grande bourgeoisie* as the *Débat*, that France would not be greatly edified by an Italo-Russian co-operation against Turkey.

How bitter, indeed, is French feeling against Italy—and by implication against any assistance that could be given to her—is shown in a message which the *Siecle* prints from its Constantinople correspondent. Speaking of the rumours of an impending armistice, the writer asserts positively that there is absolutely no foundation for them. Turkey being more than ever determined to carry on the war to the end. "The Italians," he says, "who were at the beginning of this infamous war so badly informed as to believe that it would be a simple military promenade across Africa, are still under the same delusion, and believe that by their *dernières* they could impose peace at Constantinople. They will, on the contrary, only succeed in covering themselves with still greater ridicule in the eyes of Europe and the Turks. The latter, so far from thinking of making peace, are taking all possible measures to offer a terrible resistance to the Italians should they be seized with the fantastic idea of attacking the fortified ports in Europe or on the Dardanelles. The Italians ought to know that this very perilous operation may constitute for them a veritable disaster, and cause them to lose in the eyes of Europe whatever little glory the Italian navy has won by the bombardment of undefended Tripoli and Ben Ghazi."

Such language, while a "patriotic" paper like the *Siecle* permits it to appear, is scarcely calculated to inspire much hope that a co-operation between Russia and Italy would be regarded by France with favour.

M. Jean Herbotte, writing in the *Siecle* on the subject of the recall of M. Tcharykoff, the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, seems to be inclined to ascribe it on the one hand to "the cordiality which he so largely manifested towards the Turks," and on the other to "the rancour of a Minister, or former Minister" (obviously meaning thereby M. Isvolsky). He deals, however, more especially with the question of his successor, and while discussing the rumour which has designated as candidate for the vacant post M. Hartwig, formerly of Teheran and now of Belgrade, betrays clearly the point of view from which France regards the future of Russo-Turkish relations.

"While rendering," says M. Herbotte, "full justice to M. Hartwig's correct and genuinely Russian attitude at Belgrade, one has some difficulty in forgetting that he was in Persia the persistent champion of a policy hostile to the two principles which he would have to act upon in Turkey—the Anglo-Russian accord and the constitutional régime. His arrival on the shores of the Bosphorus would therefore be regarded as foreshadowing a Russo-Turkish tension and a divergence of views between St. Petersburg and London. Of course nothing shows so far that these disagreeable theories could be realised, but what will Russian diplomacy gain by allowing them to arise? Is it not enough that people at Tiflis, as reported a few days ago by the *Nova Kritika*, have been talking about grave events impending between Russia and Turkey? Is it not enough that the

Tribune, taking its desires for realities, has announced a Russian mobilisation on the Ottoman frontier?

"If the Russian Foreign Office wants to pursue in the Near East a policy which accords with the great traditions of the Slav race it ought not to ignore the following two lessons of history. The first is that such a policy would not find encouragement in Berlin or in Vienna unless it is to cost Russia a good deal and bring her in little or nothing. The other is that cordial relations between her and Turkey and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire will be more advantageous to Russia than all the quarrels and partitions. This is a thesis expounded by Prince Kotchubey in his memorandum of 1802, it is a thesis put into practice by Nesselrode in 1839, and it is a thesis recommended as against all international action in 1870 by a man who cannot be reproached with having been the least energetic M. Tcharykoff's predecessor, namely, General Ignatiess."

The allusion to the "great traditions of the Slav race" in the Balkans and to General Ignatiess may not be quite appropriate. The warning, however, that France would not relish a new adventure of Russia in the Balkans is quite clear, and probably well founded.

(FROM THE "DAILY NEWS" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, Wednesday.

The recall of M. Tcharykoff, the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, no doubt because he was too friendly to Turkey, is coupled here with the mobilisation of Russian troops along the Black Sea and in the Caucasus. So far these two facts are unexplained, but they bear a sinister significance for Turkey.

The *Débat* says that the mode of M. Tcharykoff's recall indicates the marked disgrace of the Ambassador. "There is," it says, "in Russian diplomacy a party which is pressing for common action between Russia and Italy, and which recommends violent pressure upon the Porte to compel it to accept Italy's terms."

The Constantinople correspondent of the *Temps* says that Turkish opinion has been rendered uneasy by M. Tcharykoff's recall and the Russian mobilisation. People are asking whether the Russian Government's attempts to persuade the Powers to force peace upon Turkey were not the first sign of a secret agreement between Rome and St. Petersburg. As for the nature of that agreement it is considered not unlikely in Constantinople that Russia may take action in the North at the moment that Italy takes action in the Aegean.

A Vienna despatch to the *Echo de Paris* reports a great movement of Russian troops towards the Turkish border in Armenia.

Competent observers here take for granted that Russia is now working in conjunction with Italy, and they more than suspect that the indefatigable M. Isvolsky, now Russian Ambassador here, is, with Signor Tittoni, the Italian Ambassador, responsible for this agreement. But a joint attack upon the Dardanelles or upon Turkish territory is regarded as impossible. France, with her millions invested in Turkey would not be disposed to allow it.

A Story of the Desert.

By ALAN OSBEEK,
(*"Express"* Special Correspondent with the
Turkish Forces in Tripoli.)

Gharian, February 11.

The German Red Cross field Hospital is installed at Gharian. Or, at least (for some of the big tents have still to be set up), the doctors, assistant, and gardes malade have brought their wonderful equipment here, to the top of the mountains, after three days of the gallantest toil that ever I saw performed by horses, mules and men.

This should be a saga. "How the Red Cross came to Gharian." It is a tale worthy to have been sung by the skalds, whose ballads delighted the common fathers of ourselves and of the Germans a thousand years ago. Myself, I cannot hope to do justice to the story.

There is something of Hannibal's crossing of the Alps, with elephant trains and parks borne on the heads of the sweating negroes, there is something of the adventures of the early settlers of Western America crossing salt plains and prairies with their hooded wagons, and not a little of the hardihood and resource of the explorers who, even as I write, may be dragging sledges across the hummocks and iceloes of the frozen deserts of the Antarctic.

When the Germans came to Azizia, with three hundred and sixty heavily loaded camels and fourteen wagons laden with cases too big for a camel to carry, I thought it impossible that they would ever get their stores and instruments up even the first of the hills that lead to Gharian.

That was six days ago. To-day the last of the wagons has been pushed and pulled by men and horses over the last of the mountain roads, and what seemed impossible has been accomplished.

I came with the wagons from Azizia. I am proud that I have helped to drag them up the rocky beds of mountain torrents, toiling in shirt-sleeves side by side with bearded German professors and pink, perspiring German peasants. There are fifteen of them—three doctors and twelve gardes-malade and hospital assistants, and "Wullahi!" as the Arabs say, "These are children of men!"

They set off late in the evening of 7th February, mules and horses of the Turkish artillery dragging the wagons across the soft,

6th April.

clinging sand of the desert. It was a slow journey. Darkness—the velvety blackness of a moonless African night—hid the track before we had travelled five miles.

So we halted and made great bonfires from dried twigs and thorn bushes, and waited for the moon to rise. The soldiers of the Turkish escort sang wild, plaintive songs, and the Germans responded with the simple tunes of the fatherland—"Die Lorelei," "Tannenbaum," "Strasburg," and, of course, "Die Wacht Am Rhein." At midnight the moon rose, pale and golden, and the creaking wagons bumped and jolted through the sand till dawn. It was a strange journey. Somehow, these blond, simple hearted fellows seemed out of place in the African desert. Their songs and choruses, their jollity and kindness, belonged not to this barren savage land, but to a world of pleasant fields, forests, glades and rolling rivers.

They brought with them the atmosphere of a country life which I have not enjoyed for something like a year, and made me realise, with a sudden pang of homesickness, the beauty of lanes and woods and fields in friendly, kindly Europe.

Only two of them had ever ridden on horseback before—but, disdaining donkeys, more than one insisted on learning then and there the art of horsemanship. Their evolutions on (and off) the backs of quarrelsome Arab stallions serve to beguile that long night ride. At daybreak we halted and slept for a few hours. The road was becoming really bad by now, being full of huge boulders and unexpected precipices, and both men and horses were in need of rest. When we continued our march it was across country such as that in which the horses of the Galway "Blazers" learn to jump like goats and climb like cats—country in which the wagons had literally to be lifted over the dried beds of rivers, dragged through thorn thickets and hauled across belts of shifting sand. Here the way must be cleared with spade and mattock, there the reluctant wheels forced round with levers. Now a series of pits must be filled up, and not, fixing extra ropes to the shafts, Turk and Teuton hauled until the skin came from their palms, while the horses' hoofs clattered vainly to get a grip on the slippery rocks.

There was no distinction of rank or class. The Turkish officer in charge of the escort, the German doctor in charge of the hospital party, toiled and gasped side by side with private soldiers and Bavarian peasants. The Germans joked with the stolid Turkish soldiers, and the latter, understanding not a word of what was said, smiled gravely, and urged the straining horses forward with whip and spur and wild cries.

So, by evening, we came to the foot of the mountains. There are, as I have said, two veritable mountain stairways to be climbed by those who wish to reach Gharian, and as it was hopeless to think of working more than day the wagons were left at the foot of the first ascent and guarded by the Turks until next day.

In the morning, reinforced by forty sneaky Arabs, the Germans set to work again. The task before them was ten times more difficult than that they had accomplished. Perhaps if you imagine Shooter's Hill covered with boulders of basalt and granite of all dimensions, from the size of a football to that of a furniture van, and then increase its height and steepness by at least one half, you may conceive an idea of the road up which these wagons must be hauled. That was a day of toil beyond belief. One wretched horse literally snapped the sinews of its leg. A wagon overturned, carrying men and horses with it, and would have crashed down a seventy-foot precipice but for a jagged granite boulder that jammed against the axle.

At the end of the day most of the wagons had stopped the race in a more or less shattered state. There still remained two to be accounted for. These two had been left far behind in the desert on the day before, for they carried particularly cumbersome cases, one containing a great filtering apparatus and the other a refrigerator.

By midday on the next day, when the other wagons had begun the ascent of the second "stairway," which is rockier if possible even than the first, these wagons were still missing.

The arrival of the filter was an all important affair, and it became urgent that someone should go back over the mountain huntabout in the desert, and find these wagons.

I count it an honour that I was permitted to undertake this, and was not unreasonably proud that I managed to take the filter to pieces, pack it on the backs of two camels and bring it into Gharian by a shorter route, while the Red Cross party were still wrestling with their carts at the foot of the second ascent. I had engaged Arabs for the performance of this feat, and by making them literally prop the camels up on either side, managed to get the filter over apparently impossible ground. The warmth of the welcome which the Germans gave me on my arrival was a thing that I shall not forget. They had left three of their carts at the foot of the last hill overnight. This morning, harnessing extra horses and also men to the shafts, and levering the wheels along with might and main, they brought their task to a close. Standing at the top of the hill, bare-armed, flushed and perspiring, they looked down at the jumble of crags and boulders that they had mastered. The doctor in charge sighed complacently. "I am glad that we have brought our hospital over that road. I do not think any people in the world would do such a thing except Germans—and Englishmen," he generously added. They are fine men, these Germans of the Red Cross.

Italy's Plight.

The Italians are behaving like children in the conduct of their war with Turkey. Having embarked on their Tripoli adventure in the spirit of schoolboys proposing to rob an orchard, they are whining now to the Powers to help them out of their scrape. They are not fighters, and, being apart, have nothing in them of the qualities which go to the making of a conquering race. The Piedmontese, it is true, have some grit in them, but as for the rest, and especially the Neapolitans and Sicilians, they are a poor, unmanly crew, vicious, depraved, cowardly, essentially degenerate. They rushed into this war, knowing nothing of what war meant, thinking, indeed, there would be no more fighting than just firing their rifles against an unarmed enemy, having the amusement of a bit of plunder, and coming home after a few weeks as heroes, with medals and trophies and tales of their valour. But the first battle proved them cowards. With the exception of the Bersaglieri, who made some stand, they dared not face the least enemy in the open and have since remained closely behind their earthworks and under protection of the guns of their fleet. This is their present position, a hundred thousand of them afraid to make any forward movement, idle in the seacoast towns, having wasted the four winter months favourable to an advance, and with the prospect before them of an African summer, with its burning desert winds, for Tripoli is essentially a desert.

As to the Italian Government at home, it stands in an attitude towards the Courts of Europe of extreme ridicule. It has solemnly annexed the province it has been unable to conquer, and so has made a retreat from North Africa impossible without gross discredit. It would seem that the leading motive of the raid, as far as the King of Italy was concerned, was the hope that he would get his Imperial allies of Germany and Austria to consent to his assuming a title of Emperor equal to their own, and it is to this futility that we may ascribe his insistence on annexation instead of any less absolute form of dominion. There is a rage just now for empire everywhere, and Italy would like to measure herself with the best of her neighbours, and, as she was bullied in the past, so now she desires to bully others. She calls this her "self respect," her sense of "national dignity." At the same time she is not ashamed to make appeal to the Powers for help in her military predicament. What she wants is that these should put pressure upon Turkey to leave off its too successful fighting and acknowledge the paper annexation as a reality.

Sir Edward Grey is capable of almost anything in the way of diplomatic weakness, and yet we do not think he will go so far as this. He was willing to let the Italian Government try its hand last summer, and by declaring Egypt neutral to give it practical assistance, but this was because he thought he could detach Italy from the Triple Alliance at a moment when he had made up his mind to help France in her quarrel with Germany over Morocco. But to-day the position is not quite the same. He is less keen for a fight with the Kaiser and Italy has less to offer. She has proved herself contemptible as a fighting force, and her methods have discredited her as an ally. There is no reason why our Foreign Office should be otherwise than contented with the actual position of impotence in which Italy finds herself. Let her waste herself in Africa, let her spend her money! Why not? The worse position she finds herself in, the better it will be for the enemies of the Triple Alliance, of which she is still a partner. The only real trouble is the disturbance she is from time to time capable of making in the Levant and the Red Sea. The Italian fleet may become a nuisance to British trade; but the injury it can do to Turkey is very little by its operations, and England has it always in her power to put a stop to it by the threat of allowing Ottoman reinforcements to pass through Egypt by the land road to Tripoli. We are of opinion, therefore, that Italy will be left to stew in her own North African juice, notwithstanding her importunity and her undignified prayers for a one-sided intervention. There are many signs that Italy is recovering from her debauch, and that the advance in the quotation of the shares of the Banco di Roma which took place at the beginning of the war, however gratifying to Signor Pacelli and his financial associates, is not regarded as a sufficient compensation by the nation at large. Tripoli, it is realised, will never provide any serious outlet for the Italian surplus population, whilst the cost of holding it must constitute a severe drain on the Italian budget. Signor Giretti offered a calculation some time ago in *La Riforma*, from which he made out that the annual cost of the "new colony" will be 200 million lire, in addition to the initial cost of the army of occupation. Then there will be the additional cost of naval and military defence, the fleet needing to be augmented in proportion to its greater responsibilities. Altogether Signor Giretti works out the annual burden to be 350,000,000 lire, equal to about £14,000,000. This is an exceedingly conservative estimate, and since it was made the army in Tripoli has been nearly doubled, so that altogether the prospect for the Italian tax-payer is not a pleasant one. These facts cannot be obliterated by the hilarious ratification of the decree of annexation in the Chamber and Senate.



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DIST. FYZABAD, OUDH.

SUMMONS FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

(Order I^r, rules 1 and 5, of Act V. of 1908)

REGULAR SUIT NO. 832 OF 1911

IN THE COURT of the Additional Munisif, Fyzabad 1, Lallan Prasad Shukul, son of Patesri Prasad, resident of Mz. Shahabuddinpur Parg., Pachehumrath, District Fyzabad, Plaintiff versus 1, Gaya Din Singh, Defendant

To Gaya Din Singh, son of Ram Nawaz Singh Chattri of Mz. Shahabuddinpur Parg., Pachehumrath, District Fyzabad, presently employed as peon in Survey Office, City Maubim

WHEREAS the plaintiff has instituted a suit against you for Rs. 218 11 5 you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person, or by a pleader, duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions on 9th day of May 1912, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim, and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that day all the witnesses, upon whose evidence and all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence. Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 28th day of March 1912.

By order,
DEBI PRASHAD.

NOTICE.

(1)—Should you apprehend your witnesses will not attend of their own accord, you can have a summons from this Court to compel the attendance of any witness, and the production of any document that you have a right to call upon the witness to produce, on applying to the Court and on depositing the necessary expenses.

(2)—If you admit the claim, you should pay the money into Court, together with the costs of the suit, to avoid execution of the decree, which may be against your person or property, or both.

Note.—Hours of attendance at the office of the Additional Munisif, Fyzabad, from 10 A.M. till 4 P.M.

The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal.

Edited by Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

—Morris.

Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 15. Anna 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, April 13, 1912.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1.

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The Week.

Syeder's Day at Aligarh.

The fourteenth anniversary of the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was celebrated on the 8th Nawab Vizir-ul-Mulk speaking on the Syed's relations with the Government told his hearers that to criticise some measure of Government honestly and at the same time boldly could never be counted as disloyalty and that this was the policy handed down to them by their great leader.

The Nadwat-ul-Ulama.

At the annual session of the Nadwa at Lucknow Maulana Shibli said that the local Arabic College had justified its existence. He said the religious leaders must move with the times. Resolutions were passed asking the Nizam to make the education of religious guides compulsory and asking Government to allot a portion of the Imperial Durbar grant to Moslem religious institutions.

Home Rule.

Mr. BONAR LAW en route for Belfast met with a tremendous reception at Larne, being welcomed by large crowds headed by bands singing the National Anthem and firing rockets. Similar scenes took place at Belfast.

Belfast presented a most animated appearance on the 9th on the occasion of Mr. Bonar Law's speech. Special trains arrived from all parts of Ulster and processions paraded the streets with bands and Union Jacks.

Reuter wires from Belfast on the 9th.—On the occasion of Mr. Bonar Law's speech here to day, there was a demonstration of several hundred thousand persons. Tremendous enthusiasm was manifested. Mr. Bonar Law with Lord Londonderry, Sir Edward Carson, Mr. Walter Long, and other prominent Unionists observed the manifestants from the platform, a procession eleven deep and stretching four miles marching past and saluting Mr. Bonar Law, who bowed his acknowledgments.

In his speech Mr. Bonar Law said the Unionists regarded Ulster's cause as that of the Empire. Ulster's resolution to resist Home Rule must prove irresistible. He emphasised that Tariff Reform would benefit none more than Ireland. To-day's demonstration, he declared, showed that Home Rule was not the end but the beginning of the Irish problem. There had been no change in British opinion with regard to Home Rule. The Radicals had sold the constitution and thought they had sold Ulster, but Ulster was not theirs to sell (Cheers.) The present danger was very great. There was no hope that the Government majority would be broken, but the loyalists must trust themselves and help would come.

The meeting passed a resolution assuring Mr. Bonar Law of Ulster's unalterable opposition to Home Rule.

Sir Edward Carson, presiding at a subsequent meeting, said they would meet the resolution heedless of consequences. Their one object was victory.

The Unionist papers are enthusiastic over the magnificent demonstration at Belfast as proving that Ulster is not shrinking from an expression of its resolve to resist Home Rule to the end.

The Radicals sympathise with Ulster's fears, while they are scornful at the Conservative policy regarding them. The Radicals are confident that the safeguards in the Government Bill will be a most effective answer to the demonstration.

China.

THE Times regards the Chinese Republican Cabinet as possessing many advantages over its predecessors under the old régime. The paper points out that almost all the members of the present Cabinet were educated abroad and says they must have a grasp of realities unknown to the ignorant obscurantists of the Tsungli Yamen and the Wai-Wu-Pu.

Reuter wires from St. Petersburg on the 7th.—It is announced that Russia has decided to join the group styled the "Four Powers" Banking Syndicate for the issue of a loan to China. Russia makes the proviso that the issue shall in no way prejudice special Russian interests in Manchuria, Mongolia and West China.

Reuter wires from St. Petersburg on the 9th.—A telegram from Urga states that in response to an invitation from Yuan-Shi-Kai asking Northern Mongolia to join the Chinese Republic, the Kutchta replied that the people had proclaimed their independence in order to maintain the inviolability of religion and territory. He begged Yuan-Shi-Kai to respect the frontiers of Mongolia and to support the Mongolian Government, in consolidating the internal administration and in strengthening its friendly relations with neighbouring States. Though the Kutchta had been ready to renounce independence, it was impossible to oppose the wishes of the people and he suggested that Yuan-Shi-Kai should submit the Mongolian question to the Powers interested.

Tibet.

There are ominous rumours of fresh trouble brewing between the Tibetans and Chinese at Gyantse.

Mr. Mashihchan, the Chinese official who was in charge of Pipitang (near Yatong), has arrived here with his family and some Chinese soldiers. It appears that he has been in difficulties about funds. He sent some men to Lhasa for money, but they have been delayed and it is doubtful whether they can get through the hostile Tibetan soldiery.

It is rumoured that heavy fighting has broken out in Tibet. A Chinese attack is reported on the monastery near Lhasa, which was vigorously met by the monks.

No official information has reached here regarding the rumoured massacre of Chinese in Lhasa. On the 9th it is said there were only one hundred left alive. These have found sanctuary in the Dalai Lama's brother's house.

A Moslem Scholar.

We are much pleased to learn that Mohamed Yusuf Khan, B.Sc. (Civil Engineering), of Durham University, M.R.S.I., A.M.Sc. the younger brother of Mr. Mohamed Karani Ilahi, B.A., R.L., Pleader, Chief Court, Sialkot City, has passed the M.Sc. examination in Civil Engineering of the Durham University from the Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne. As a special favour to Mr. Yusuf for his high abilities and his heading the list in the B.Sc. examination the University has held this special test of M.Sc. for Mr. Yusuf this March instead of its usual dates in June. Mr. Yusuf is the only Indian who has passed the M.Sc. Civil Engineering from any British University. He is staying in England to try for the P.W.D. Imperial Indian Services in which there is not one single Muhammadan up to this day throughout the whole of India.



Anecdote.

AN ARROGANT little white man sneeringly asked the great Dumas if it was really true that he had negro blood in him. "Yes, Monsieur," was the reply. "My father was a mulatto." "And his father?" He was a negro." Oh I really! But who was his father, then?" "His father," said Dumas, "was a monkey." "A monkey?" said the little white man. "You don't mean it?" "Yes, Monsieur, I do. You see, my ancestry began where yours ends."

During the English tour of the one and only Pavlova, she was desired to write in a hotel visitors' book and she obliged with "I dance because I must.—Anna Pavlova." Since then the ever merry Joe Coyne has been at this hotel, open the book, and entered underneath, with his Quaker love of truth, "I sing because I can't.—Joe Coyne."

TETE À TETE



THE recent session of the Nadwat ul-Ulama will be remarkable in the history of the movement in that it The "Nadwah." has been presided over by Syed Rasheed Raza, the famous scholar of Egypt. It is

the first time in the recent annals of the Indian Moslems that a great theologian and man of letters has been invited from a distant country to guide the deliberations of an assembly mainly composed of their ulema and those interested in the ideals for which the important movement of Nadwah stands. The fact is significant in two of its aspects. In the first place, one feels the unity and broad comprehension of Islamic culture which makes it possible for a gentleman, grown up in different environment, to enter easily and naturally into the spirit of the conditions obtaining in India and treat them with true insight and sympathy. Secondly—and this perhaps to some extent explains the first,—the general situation all over the Islamic world is almost alike in its broad intellectual and social character. The deeper evils that afflict Moslem society in all its parts, in Russia, Persia, Turkey, Egypt as well as in India, are not different in kind. Everywhere the problem is one of fresh intellectual equipment and social reconstruction. The inspiration of Islam is still a vital force, but it has got to be released and set to work by removing the thick encrustations that ignorance, religious indifference, and other secular causes have left over the Moslem mind. The intellectual renaissance of the Musalmans in one part of the world will react on the other parts and thus hasten its final consummation. This is the true "Pan-Islamism," i.e., the intellectual response of the Musalmans of the world to the best impulses of modern civilisation and not the political monstrosity that weighs on the brains of some alarmists in Europe.

A CORRESPONDENT writes that "the Government Gazette of Eastern Bengal and Assam, dated 6th instant (March), "Favoured Nation Treatment." publishes the new appointments in the Provincial and Subordinate Executive Service.

Out of four Deputy Magistrates we find only one Muhammadan and out of fourteen Sub-Deputy Magistracies only two have been apportioned to the Mussalimatis. Is it the method of safeguarding the Muhammadan interest? Is that the number they are entitled to in proportion to their population? Is the Government prepared to say that no qualified Muhammadan candidates were available? Is this the reward of loyalty or of contentment? Or, after all, is this the customary treatment of "the favourite wife"?

As we informed our readers a fortnight ago, we have been in communication with the Right Hon'ble Mr. Ameer Ali with a view to equip a "Comrade Party" to go to the seat of war as part of the British Red Crescent Society organisation. We had announced our intention of writing to him to accept our offer. We are now glad to state that we have authorised

Mr. Ameer Ali to organise a small field hospital on behalf of the readers and other sympathisers of the *Comrade* and send it to Tripoli. It will also, we believe, deeply interest our readers to learn that we have arranged for a correspondent to accompany the party who will supply us, direct from the field, prompt and authentic information about the progress of the war. We have hitherto had to depend for war news on the melodramatic accounts made in Rome, while news from Turkish and other reliable sources reach India after a wearying lapse of time. The despatches of a correspondent in direct communication with us will, we are sure, be read with considerable interest. The arrangement will, no doubt, cost us a good deal, but we are confident our readers and others who have been so liberal in response to our appeal on behalf of the war sufferers, will redouble their efforts now that we have definitely decided to send our own party to the field.

It is, indeed, a matter of regret that the collection of funds for the Moslem University is not proceeding as swiftly as it should.

The Moslem University. The desirability of collecting promised donations has been dinned into the ears of the Moslem public so often without any appreciable effect that one may well begin to doubt if the desire for a university was as intense and genuine as it appeared to be. The total collections up to 25th March were Rs 10,08,508-12 8½, which means that about 15 lakhs more shall have to be collected before the University comes into being.

We note with pleasure and admiration the indefatigable efforts of Nawab Viqarul Mulk Bahadur who in spite of the infirmities of age has been touring through some of the districts in the U. P. for the realisation of the promises. Let us hope the Moslem leaders in other provinces will imitate the example of the venerable Nawab and speedily realise the money that is outstanding in their respective spheres of influence. We are glad to learn that the work in connection with the University Fund is progressing very satisfactorily in Hyderabad. Several gentlemen of weight and influence are interesting themselves in the work of raising funds and we hope to be able ere long to announce handsome donations from the distinguished members of the Hyderabad Aristocracy. The general appeal of the Moslem public to H. H. the Nizam to raise the annual Hyderabad grant to the Aligarh College to Rs. 50,000 is, we believe, being favourably considered, and we trust we shall not have long to wait before the decision of His Highness is announced. We may mention here by the way that some misapprehension has been caused about the annual grant of Rs. 10,000 recently announced by Her Highness the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal, which has been incorrectly reported to have been Rs. 2,00,000 by a section of the Press. Let us once more impress upon the Moslem leaders the urgent nature of the task that lies before them. We trust they fully realise the magnitude of the undertaking on which they have embarked and will spare no effort to make it a success. The character and honour of the Moslem community are on their trial—its capacity for sustained work, self-help, and power of organisation, its spirit of self-sacrifice, sense of duty, and devotion to great and noble causes. The collection of funds will mark only the initial stage in the creation of the University. The weightier problems still lie ahead. But the success in the preliminary stage will be the correct measure of the capacity of the Mussalmans to grapple with the great constructive work of organising communal education with any degree of confidence. We hear that the Secretary of State's despatch on the Moslem University has been received by the Government of India in which Lord Crewe, while generally approving of the constitution of the University on the lines submitted by the University Committee to the Government of India, has withheld his assent to the principle of affiliation. We do not know on what grounds His Lordship has based his decision in a matter so vitally important to the development of Moslem education on right lines. Perhaps Sir Theodore Morison, whose views on the question are well known, has influenced Lord Crewe's opinion. If so, he has done the greatest disservice to a

community whose views and feelings he ought to know and understand. We are constrained to say with regret that many of the troubles of the Aligarh College date back to the time when Sir Theodore Morison was its Principal. We trust, however, that the Government of India will move the Secretary of State to reconsider his decision on the subject. Otherwise much of the utility of the scheme will be vitiated and its power to help in the spread of the right type of education will be enormously curtailed. We hope the Moslem leaders will take early steps to settle the matter with the Government of India.

The end of the Farce. WE LEARN through *Reuter's* recent cablegram that the second act in the disgraceful farce about Morocco has come to a close. French Protectorate has at last been formally established over that doomed and luckless country.

One feels a touch of wierd irony in the solemn hint of Baron Reuter, who has been punished with unconscious humour for his sins, that the transaction has been duly "signed." This is but a classical instance of the euphemistic lore that modern Imperialism has accumulated in its notous career through a prying and incredulous world. The lay mind can well imagine the sort of pleasure with which Mula Hafid must have signed the death warrant of his country. The whole transaction, with the final exit of the Moors as their own masters from the stage, bristles with many a moral and not a few melodramatic tales. International finance is the one dragon which is throttling all the fine impulses that ever redeemed human endeavour from ugliness and brute lust and imparted to the whole range of life and purpose the beauty that is divine. It is modern finance that has evolved modern Imperialism in its most militant aspect. The French Bourse, more than any other single force, is responsible for the fate of Morocco. Mining syndicates and company promoters control the forces of diplomacy to an extent never known in the history of the world before, and States and ministers are but the passive instruments in the development of schemes for ruthless material exploitations. The real authors of French aggression must have winked mightily at one another when they listened to the grandiloquent exposition of the French colonial methods delivered recently in the Chamber by the Resident General of Tunis. In that analysis, which is in effect a bare-faced panegyric sung to a society of mutual adulation, there were clumsy efforts at altruistic feeling and unctuous references were made to the restraint and chivalry of the nation that so manfully bore the White Man's Burden in Africa. It was evident, however, that the minister in charge of the Colonies moved guiltily in his seat. The land-grabbing scandals of the French adventurers who are forcibly depriving the Moors of their lands even before the Protectorate has been "lawfully negotiated" and defying law and justice under the patronage of their own consular courts, must have given to the Moors the foretaste of how they are to be civilised and made fit for the proud dignity of being enfranchised as French citizens. "France has to carry out the sacred mission of civilising North Africa," i.e., to dump atheism, Parisian conventions about tastes and manners and modes of life, cases resounding to the echoes of mirthless gaiety produced by huge drink, in places where life is yet simple and honest and illumined by the light of faith.

The Ghastly Tragedy. THE "civilising mission" of the French, however, is a comparatively tame affair compared to the manner in which Russia is seeking to bear the "white man's burden" in Persia. As the *Nouvel Vremya* informed the world the other day, Russia, too,

like her French ally, has felt a "call," though to outward seeming it has borne the appearance of earth-hunger tempered by assassination. After crushing life out of the best and noblest patriots under her iron heels in Tabriz and calling it "order," she has now turned her attention to Meshed, one of the most sacred places in the country, and bombarded a mosque, killing many pilgrims and others while engaged in prayers. We do not know whether civilised Europe will be roused to protest against this outrage, the horror and enormity of which have convulsed the whole Islamic world. When Persia has already been reduced to tutelage, with her sovereign rights crippled and her liberties taken away from her, sheer pity would demand that the reign of terror and wanton carnage

introduced by Russia should come to an end. One is almost ashamed of even hoping that considerations of fairplay and common humanity will appeal to the Muscovite, whom nature has deprived of both. It is to the British Government that one turns in the last resort to see justice done to a forlorn and down-trodden people. The weak and halting attitude of Sir Edward Grey has often been justified on the sole plea that the Convention has got to be maintained for the sake of the moral influence it enables England to exert on St Petersburg. So far the only consequence of this policy has been that Russia has had her way with supreme nonchalance, reducing the British Foreign Office to a passive role. But, of course, the Convention has got to be maintained! Sometimes even the best of motives are reduced to a mere fetish and convention through lack of will.

THE Anjuman-i-Himait-i-Islam of Lahore represents the oldest and most important effort of the Punjab Moslems to organise modern education on communal lines. The activities of the Anjuman are wide in their scope and the results that it has achieved during upwards of quarter of a century of its

existence, on the whole justify the influence that it carries with the community. The rather persistent demand for reform in the working and constitution of the Anjuman which was raised a few years ago, was in itself a measure of the inherent vitality of the movement of which the Anjuman is an outward symbol. Ideals of progress are, by their very nature, difficult of definition and very slow of growth. They are apt to grow dim in the severe conflict of motive and opinion, that is the inseparable accident of a period of transition. We are glad, however, the Anjuman has successfully weathered the storm, quickened its pace, striven to form the right perspective and achieved the necessary harmony for the growth of its aims and aspirations. The anniversaries of the Anjuman have always been very interesting and inspiring functions. They attract hundreds of visitors from all over the Moslem Punjab and even from beyond, who are treated to a very interesting and varied programme. The anniversary that has been just celebrated during the Easter holidays appears to have been a success. These celebrations, however, are in the nature of popular festivals, and though they have been serving a useful purpose by sowing the seeds of right and definite ideas, they could not be expected to initiate fruitful discussions or formulate definite lines of work for the spread and development of communal education. A provincial educational conference was urgently needed for the purpose. We are glad such a conference has come into existence. The Hon. Sahebzada Asstab Ahmed Khan presided at its recent session, and we are sure a man of his ability and experience in educational matters must have guided its deliberations into fruitful channels.

IT IS, however, our painful duty to remark that the by-no-means super-abundant energy of the Moslems of the Panjab is to a large extent running to waste through unwholesome friction amongst themselves. We may believe

with the vivacious Frenchman who stoutly maintained that a little intellectual sparring and protestant energy of debate made life worth living. But it is one thing to feel the stress and exhilaration born of the interplay of vital ideas and quite another to fret and foam and toil with hard words under the influence of dark moods and flighty tempers. Some of the recent manifestations of party feeling amongst the Moslems of the Panjab can scarcely be regarded with equanimity by the well-wishers of the community. We need not go into the causes that are responsible for this tension of feeling. It may, however, be noted that the true democracy of Islam is beginning to assert itself and find an utterance. It is possible the sudden and unmistakable growth of popular opinion, its strength and directness, have alarmed the self-constituted "leaders", who find themselves stranded in a sea of doubts while the mass of the community has moved on. Circumstances, however, deal mercilessly with false heroes of the platform and the marketplace, and popular verdicts about public men are usually based on uberring instincts.

Public opinion cannot be for ever bullied by those who imitate the tones of the Oracle without first making sure of the inspiration. The Panjab Moslems are perhaps thoroughly sick of the guidance that they have hitherto received, or rather of the evasions and suppressions that have done duty for guidance. They now call for a definite and sympathetic lead. The treatment meted out in one of the meetings, held in connection with the recent Anjuman celebrations at Lahore, to the gentleman who had some time ago lectured the Indian Mussalmans on their political responsibilities, serves to show that the quack and the charlatan will no longer be suffered in the counsels of the community. Still, however, we must deprecate the unedifying controversy and personal recriminations to which the wholesome popular ferment has given rise. It would be hard to excuse the indecorous lengths to which party papers have gone in traducing their adversaries. There can be no more impressive object-lesson of the dangers of irresponsible journalism than the studied hints and insinuations that were recently made by a vernacular paper called *Millat* and another against the loyalty of an important section of the Panjab Moslems. Ephemeral journals of the sort deserve nothing better than silent and dignified contempt. It should, however, be the duty of the patriotic and public-spirited Mussalmans to raise their public activities to a higher level of unselfishness and effect reconciliation and harmony in their ranks. We hope we shall not be misunderstood when we say that public interests are much more important and weighty considerations than personalities, however largely they may happen to bulk in the public eye. Let those that are honestly disgusted with the things as they are cease sulking morosely in their tents. They should come forward and take the lead if they feel confidence in themselves and in the strength and righteousness of their cause. Devoted, unselfish service is needed everywhere for all purposes that affect the welfare of the community. Ambition to "lead" has had its day. Ambition to serve has less outward attractions, no doubt, but it is the only measure of a great and beneficent life.

THE rumours of Russian intervention in the Turko-Italian war that have been hurtling through the diplomatic Mediation or atmosphere of Europe have been persistently Menace?

of the situation lends some weight to the growing apprehensions that Turkey may have to face some menace from that quarter. The military *impasse* in Tripoli has made Italian diplomacy all the more active and keen and we can quite understand the frantic efforts of her agents to manoeuvre an organised European pressure for coercing the Porte to her will. Russia may have been tempted to co-operate with Italy with the object of securing a free passage through the Dardanelles. The insurrectionary dregs in the Balkans, who are always ready to dance to the tunes of the Muscovite, have had no less incitement from Italian agents to create civil disturbances and anarchy. The unrest thus manufactured in the heart of the Ottoman Empire, the license given to Cretan revolutionary propaganda and the semi-official publication of Italian peace terms have created the sort of atmosphere that may hasten the development of Italian schemes to bring about European intervention, without apparently doing great violence to international sense of justice. Rauter's latest cablegram shows that the Powers "are agreed to the terms of the request to the Porte with regard to the termination of the war." Their request will, of course, be based on humanitarian grounds and "in the interest of Europe generally." They will invite the Porte "to signify the conditions on which it is prepared to terminate hostilities." The Porte may be trusted to accept the good offices of the Powers consistently with the integrity and honour of the Empire; and we hope there will be no effort to press the "irreducible minimum" of Italy as the only basis of settlement. The true basis can be no other than that of the stricken field. If Italy finds the conquest of Tripoli an impossible task, she may be asked to trace back her steps and console herself as best she can with her unrealised and grandiose dreams of empire. If Europe could not punish the brigand, surely it cannot now sit as a judge to give the final award to him, because he is also a coward and has miserably failed to rob. But whatever

may be the trend of European diplomacy—and we are afraid considerations of equity and peace will not be the sole guiding principles in its conduct—there can be no mistaking the shrill and impertinent pacifisms that periodically emanate from that ubiquitous scribe, the Vienna correspondent of the *Times*. We reproduce a sample of his latest efforts elsewhere, in which he warns the Young Turks that better terms than those offered by Italy cannot be obtained "If the Committee continues to obstruct a tolerable settlement," says this portentous Authority on European affairs "a hard blow will be hit at some vital spot of the Ottoman Empire." He foresees disaster in the Balkans and trouble in Crete. According to him, "the Powers are believed to admit the practical impossibility of preventing the Cretan Deputies from reaching Athens." If the Powers are helpless to control Cretan affairs, why did they undertake to supervise them? As regards the other dangers to Turkey, we think it would be infinitely better if the Empire is handed over to the great Vienna correspondent for administering it on the lines of his own devising.


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The Comrade.

The Provincial Conferences.

THOSE students of public affairs who are perpetually forming fresh resolves to come to some tremendous conclusion, but somehow or other miss the last touch that would transmute the hopeless mass of their impressions into definite ideas, should turn to the Provincial Conferences for what they lack in facility of conviction or constructive faculty in the region of pure thought. Politicians, and philosophers who weave theories along devious political paths, are divided from the prophets by a thin line—the latter create miracles, the former foretell them perpetually. But the student of affairs has to watch in ceaseless vigilance what are portentously called "the signs of the times." He exists for them, those elusive political and social portents, and would willingly die for their sake, if need be. The public life in this country being what it is, "the signs of the times" are not to be had in abundance. The student, therefore, has for the most part of the year to rout the elements of his thinking out of a pathetically threadbare journalism in which a host of old familiar arguments are pursued to inconclusive garrulity. It is only when the Provincial Conferences come round with the changing seasons of the earth, when Nature breaks through her spell of monotony and leaf and bud and bird and beast awaken to fresh joys of life, that "the signs of the times" begin to fill round the student of Indian affairs, thick as autumn leaves. It is entirely his fault if he fails to make use of the material and come to conclusions.

There are those who maintain that the Conferences are nothing more than a *revue* of the annual journalistic output of the country, packed into three strenuous days of platform oratory. This attitude, however, is a trifle cynical in ignoring the existing state and character of Indian political life. Paradoxical though it may seem, it is, nevertheless, true that the professional politicians of the Congress school have been stereotyped into a clique which has reduced political thinking to a dead level of sameness and threatens to become a great intellectual tyranny. The Congress demagogue is, sometimes, overheard to deplore public indifference to public questions, and a provincial Congress organ was only the other day mourning the dearth of organised public activity in its province. The fault does not lie with the public but with the methods that have been hitherto in vogue in all public organisations from the Congress downwards, the autocratic ways and temper of the "leaders" who have treated all differences of opinion as heresy, while they have filled the country with democratic war-cries. Words without wisdom avenge themselves on those who utter them in vain. The glaring monotony of the Indian public life is the result of forcing the awakening mind of the people into the east-iron mould, that may break but would not bend. It is a shallow philosophy that seeks to find unity of effort through a uniformity of opinion. A fully-developed national life is a rich texture of multi-coloured hues into which is woven an infinite variety of aim, motive and desire. If the entire people of India were to rise one fine morning, uttering the same hopes, thinking the same thoughts and moved by absolutely the same motives, it would be an unutterable calamity and one might well, like Huxley, pray for some kindly comet that would sweep the whole affair away as a desirable contamination. It would, therefore, be idle to expect the Press and the Platform responding to fresh inspiration and initiating fresh forms of public endeavour as long as freedom of thought is suppressed by those who control the only efficient instruments that democracy has evolved for the organisation of public will and intelligence. If the Provincial Conferences bear the primeval curse of Indian political life upon them, we have no reason to be surprised, even though we may justly deplore that they are comparatively barren of practical results.

13th April.

As we have already said, these Conferences afford abundant materials to a student of Indian affairs in order to arrive at a true estimate of the conditions that govern the political development of the country. Let us take, for instance, the Bengal Provincial Conference and the U P. Provincial Conference that have just concluded their sittings and see what they have achieved. If we understand the term aright, a conference is perhaps meant for taking counsel together and formulating definite lines of action in regard to the matters affecting the welfare of a definite social or political group. The Provincial Conferences are, we may take it, organised for this purpose *i.e.*, to focus public opinion and direct it to well-considered ends. In practice, however, they very often sink into public demonstrations that are treated to big oratorical performances of almost exactly the same pattern as the presidential address of the latest Congress session, and tuned to the loudest notes of the Congress Press. The Hon. Mr. S. Sinha, the President of the U P Conference, was only half-conscious of the want of provincial initiative and individuality when he said that "for one thing it has become a common practice of late for Presidents of our Conferences to deliver prodigious inaugural addresses, encyclopaedic in scope, surveying political, social or industrial problems, as the case may be, from China to Peru, and public taste has become more or less accustomed to expect, if not to always appreciate, such portentous performances which, however, is for me a task to which I am absolutely unequal." It is rather a pity that after this pathetic protest the Hon. Mr. Sinha should have himself succumbed to the temptation, begun to discuss first principles, laid down laws for the guidance of all India, alike that is and that is to be, and wound up with an apology for his sins of omission. His address might well have been delivered from the Congress platform and so might have been Mr. A. Rasul's, the President of the Bengal Conference. There is a lack of provincial perspective and grip with truly provincial problems, a sad lack of local atmosphere in both, and with the alteration of a few formal paragraphs they might very well be delivered from any platform in India from Cape Comorin to Cashmere without losing a jot of their generously broad and indefinite outlook.

The questions dealt with in these Addresses have been at least for the whole year past the stock in-trade of daily journalism. If, however, it is useless to look for fresh movement of thought taking definite shape in popular assemblies, one may at least reasonably expect that the miserably limited round of topics will be treated in some fresh form, from new standpoints or, at any rate, in the light of fresh facts and fresh experience. We hope we will not be understood to mean that the utterances of the Hon. Mr. S. Sinha and Mr. Rasul are devoid of interest. Mr. Sinha's address is a clever performance in many ways and deals broadly and comprehensively with many public questions. With some of his views and those of Mr. Rasul we find ourselves in complete accord. It is, however, when they have tried to deal with the root problem of the Indian situation that they betray the incurable conventionality and bias of their political opinions. Take, for instance, the Hindu-Moslem question. Both of the Presidential addresses are full of fine sentiments and obviously honest in intentions. But when they begin to examine the causes of the friction, they indulge in assumptions some of which are ridiculous, if not worse. Any journalist of note or a public man of knowledge and experience ought to be able to see the rank absurdity of the argument that papers of the type of the *Fatika* have made classical the sort of argument that blamed the Partition of Bengal for the growth of racial tension. The Hindus and the Mosalmans in Bengal, we have been told with wearisome persistence, lived ideal existence before the Partition came down, like some lone fowl from a ruined hell, to break their neighbourly felicity. Let us grant that for the sake of argument. But why should the Partition have become a racial question? Was it not because the dominant and powerful Hindus of Bengal saw in the creation of the new province with its Moslem majority a chance for the Mosalmans to recover their status, break racial

monopoly and secure in some measure the equality of opportunity which was justly their due? The authors of the Partition agitation were in fact responsible for the birth and growth of communal bitterness. It were they who developed sectarian formulas and religious war-cries and sought inspiration for their fight against an administrative measure from the occult sources of the Hindu faith. If, therefore, administrative acts and changes that may hold out a fair chance to the Mosalmans to recover their lost ground, without in any way affecting Hindu interests, are to be condemned as unjust and held responsible for consequences that are in reality the results of communal aggressions, we may well despair of the Hindu-Moslem problem ever reaching a peaceful solution. Mr. Sinha has quoted with evident gusto the remarks of that favourite of the Congress politician, Lord MacDonnell, who thought the creation of the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam would give "predominance to Muhammadans in a country that was essentially Hindu." Even *united* Bengal has a Moslem majority, and if numbers alone are to determine the character of an administrative unit, the Presidency of Bengal is a Moslem rather than a Hindu province. But the true mischief of the remark lies in its tacit assumption that things are to be left everywhere as they are to placate Hindu opinion, even though the change be loudly called for in the interests of justice and fairplay. The attitude that regards Hindu or, for the matter of that, Congress standpoint as the sole test of administrative measures and public policy stands in the way of the evolution of a united Indian nation.

We are afraid neither Mr. Sinha nor Mr. Rasul has risen above the common level of the partisan in the consideration of this vital question. Mr. Rasul has even descended the ordinary plane of good taste and common courtesy to fling wild and vulgar hints at the Mosalmans because they can see no intellectual absurdity in a purely Moslem standpoint of politics. It is unworthy of a public man whose sole title to respect is that he claims intellectual independence. While claiming the absence of the Mosalmans from the so-called "Provincial" Conferences, he has the audacity to accuse the whole community of stupidity, lack of patriotism, political imbecility and moral cowardice. He says.— "Our critics forget that it is not the want of sympathy with the aims and objects of the Conference and the Congress that keeps the Mahomedans back from them, but it is the want of education and the fear of official disfavour. Mahomedans are not as well educated as the Hindus and most of those who do get the benefit of education enter the public service and are therefore debarred from attending political meetings. There are some educated Mahomedans who are either of independent means or are in independent professions, but the less said about the reasons which prevent them from joining the Conferences and the Congress the better for them and the community which has produced them. There are others again who are told by their leaders that the 'Sircar Bahadur' is against these political organisations and that the Hindus are their enemies and that the political interests of the Mahomedans are different from those of the Hindus." We are at a loss to understand the aggressive shallowness of this party effusion except on the hypothesis that Mr. Rasul believes himself to be the only Moslem who has learnt the elements of political honesty and has striven hard to hold on to a straight and difficult path. To assign base and unworthy motives to different sets of ideals and beliefs is the primitive weakness of the human mind, and the measure of a man's fitness for useful public life is the degree to which he has realised that his standpoint is but one of the infinitely various standpoints for judging the entire scheme of things and that he alone has not discovered the secret of human felicity. Mr. Rasul may be a good representative of himself, but that is not a very great achievement; nor does it give him any title to justify his loose political thinking and narrow fanaticism of views by rashly indulging in mud.

In regard to the question of the public service, the Hon. Mr. Sinha had the fairness to admit that "it is an absolutely

legitimate aspiration of the Muhammadans that they should get their fair share of appointments," though he could not forego the luxury of indulging in the favourite platitude of the Congressman as well as of some of the officials that in "the recruitment of the public service" "efficiency" should be "the supreme consideration." Is it meant to insinuate that the Mussalmans want to lower the level of efficiency by insisting on being admitted into the public service without undergoing the necessary test of fitness? Or does it mean that they as a community are unfit, at any rate, in comparison with the Hindus? The argument of the educational backwardness of the Mussalmans has lost every shred of relevancy under the existing conditions. The Mussalmans have made sufficient progress in education, and they are ready to compete for admission into all branches of the public service, provided the terms are equal. It is not the disparity of educational standards, but the formidable opposition of the monopolist, that stands in the way of their getting a "fair share of appointments." We trust "efficiency" arguments will, in common fairness and decency, be dropped by those who profess to talk sincerely "about compromise and reconciliation between Hindus and Mussalmans."

There are various other matters dealt with in the addresses, some of which deserve our entire sympathy. We need not, however, take them up for detailed consideration. We would only say in conclusion that if real provincial public life is to be built up, if genuine public spirit and civic sense are to be evoked amongst the people and if, above all, active efforts are to be made for the growth of organised public will and intelligence, there should be greater freedom and larger scope for the growth of common ideals, greater mutual tolerance, sympathy, and comprehension. Without a change in the attitude and the methods of those who lead and control public activities, the Provincial Conferences will remain the futile demonstrations that they are to-day. Uniformity of opinion should cease to be artificially imposed. There should be greater confidence in the public opinion itself growing freely and evolving ultimate unity of direction. Democracy cannot be reared under the shadow of thorough-going despotism.

The Compulsory Education Debate.

IV

We have already dealt with the official view in regard to the principle of compulsion which the Hon Mr. Gokhale sought to introduce by his Bill in the system of Primary education. But even more important than the question of compulsion is the financial aspect of the scheme. As a matter of fact, that too is only another aspect of compulsion. The Bill provides three kinds of compulsion, compulsion of parents to send their children to school, compulsion of local authorities to provide the schools by contributing towards their cost if they wish and the first form of compulsion to be applied to the local area which they control, and compulsion of Government to contribute the other part of the cost of the provision of educational facilities. But as Mr. Gokhale, anticipating the debate itself, declared, "of course the whole thing hinges on whether the Government of India are prepared to find a good part of the cost." "That is," he added, "in fact, the real crux of the question, and whether the Bill is accepted or thrown out, it is perfectly clear that no large extension of elementary education is possible in the country, unless the Government of India came forward with a generous financial assistance." What has happened then is that the Government refuse to compel parents to send their children to school for a variety of reasons, none of which are even alleged to be applicable to all areas and few of which are really deterrent anywhere. The Government refuse to compel local authorities to provide schools partly because they know only too well on what short ratings they have kept the local bodies, and partly because

under the Bill they cannot compel them to do so without pledging to bear the main portion of the cost themselves.

But what is to be the cost? When compulsion is in full force and at least 10 per cent. of the total male population is at school, money would be needed to provide instruction for 12½ million boys. Of these about 4 million are already at school and cost the country less than Rs. 4 per head per annum. Provision will therefore have to be made for the remaining 8½ million boys, and at the present rate, it should cost the country no more than 3½ crores. But Mr. Gokhale provides a little more than a rupee per head extra for improvements and calculates the cost, as also did Mr. Orange, the late Director-General of Education, at the rate of Rs. 5 per head. That gives a total cost of 4½ crores of rupees, and to be on the safe side he puts it at 4¾ crores. In other words, he leaves a margin of 125 lakhs for improvements of existing arrangements.

Nowhere was a basis of discussion and we were entitled to expect that the Education Department would either accept these figures—which were arrived at by the then highest educational officer of Government and submitted to Government according to their instructions—or explain where they erred. Mr. Gokhale knew fully well the importance of accurate estimating, and commenced his remarks on the subject by stating that "a lot of wild criticism has been indulged in by the opponents of the Bill on this point," and that "all sorts of fantastic estimates have been brought forward to discredit the scheme in the eyes of those who can be misled by such tactics." To this the only answer that Sir Harcourt Butter vouchsafed is the following—

This estimate leaves out of account altogether the cost of increased inspection and training of teachers, the cost of the machinery for enforcing compulsory attendance, the cost of adequate school buildings and appliances, and the multiplication of cost which will be necessary in numerous areas by the provision of separate schools for separate classes of the community who will not frequent the same school. It leaves out of account also the cost of prolonging the course beyond four years, which the best opinion regards as wholly inadequate even were it accepted as a beginning we shall not break down illiteracy on a four years' course. Apart from these shortcomings, the estimate is based on an assumed figure of Rs. 5 per head per scholar a year, a figure which allows little or nothing for improvement. Now if we are to make education compulsory we must give sufficient and suitable education and we cannot give that at the present rate of salaries with the present cost of living.

No—at the very lowest estimate the cost must, in my opinion, be at least double Mr. Gokhale's figure if we are to make any impression in the country.

The Hon Mr Sharpe, whose professional qualifications it has become impossible to forget, adds little to Sir Harcourt's details beyond explaining that "we shall have to pay for the free supply of books, we may have to pay for free meals." He does not wish to be hard on Mr. Gokhale "because he has cut down his bill." He understands and appreciates the reasons whatever they be, but without letting in a penetrating ray of knowledge into our ignorance of such occult things, he is content to tell us that he thinks that "those reasons are far outweighed by what I may call professional considerations." As a matter of fact Mr. Gokhale had no reason to cut down the bill of costs and we are inclined to think that the unmentioned "professional considerations" are equally mythical. If they exist to day, how are we to know that they did not exist when Mr. Orange presided over the Department. If official successors take to destroying the laboriously built up reputation of official predecessors, we fear not a shred will be left of official prestige and that superstitious awe in which the non-official world stands of official wisdom. Who "assumed" the figure of 5 rupees per scholar per year that Sir Harcourt should complain. It rests on the estimates framed by Mr. Orange and it is amply borne out by the scale of present expenditure. If Mr. Orange had erred, it was open to Sir Harcourt or his professional advisers to explain the error. We refuse to magnify the cost by including improvements that the Education Department has

hitherto refused to carry out. It has been content so long to impart a certain kind of instruction in a certain manner to 4 million boys. We ask it hereafter to impart the same instruction in the same manner to 8½ million more. Although not possessed of even half of the professional virtues that have marched past us, we have at least some of the amateur ardour for education which has been exhibited, and we, the people of this country, prefer to plough more ground and cast the seed over a larger area before adopting all the top-dressings and phosphorus manures that Mr. Sharpe has been preparing only in theory in his secret laboratory. We ourselves have some idea of his piling up the costs like all worthy solicitors, for in spite of the fact that Government pay high enough salary to their college tutors—called professors, perhaps because that dignity alone could cover their few years and accomplishments—Mr. Sharpe insists that the Moslem University shall provide for a higher scale, and although Government Colleges spend no more than Rs. 435 per scholar per year, the Moslem University must show resources enough to spend Rs. 500 per head. We too understand his reasons, but we fear we cannot appreciate them as highly as he does and have no desire to provide for an inspection that will cost more than the tuition or the free meals which even Europe has not yet provided. The estimate of Sir Harcourt Butler is for all he has chosen to state a mere guess—and it is a bad one at that. So far Mr. Orange's figures hold the field, and even Mr. Sharpe has not ventured to parade the portly figures of his own creation.

The question of ways and means is more important, for if a Morley had insisted on the introduction of compulsory primary education or as Curzon had in an impetuous moment carried it out, we are certain that the Education Department would have gladly accepted the offer of 4½ crores and at the end of it returned a crore or so to His Excellency the Commander-in Chief to raise the Military Budget from 31 crores to 32. Mr. Gokhale suggests that the local bodies should bear a third of the added cost, the Government of India supplying the remaining two-thirds. Is 3 crores such an impossible sum to raise? Mr. Gokhale gave the notorious instance of the military charges which have risen from 16 crores at the end of Lord Ripon's administration to 31 crores to-day. That is an instance of increased expenditure of 15 crores. But we have another instance equally serviceable, namely, of the diminished income from opium. Only two years ago the opium revenue exceeded 11½ crores and this year we have budgeted for no more than 5½ crores. Here is a decline in revenue of 6 crores in two years. At this rate the whole increased cost of primary education could be provided in a single year, while if we take the accelerated rate of increased military expenditure, it would take no more than seven months to do so. But nobody wants the cost to be increased so rapidly and the least that it would take up to reach the full stature of expenditure would be 10 years. What then is a paltry addition of 30 lakhs to the expenditure every year? Mr. Williamson ventured into a foreign land without permission and without provocation. All too sadly he paid the penalty of his action with his life. But it occurred to the Government of India to take several hundred lives for one in revenge and to call this vindictiveness, a vindication of our imperial dignity. That has cost us close upon 2 crores already and who knows that the vendetta of Mr. Williamson may not entail the full 3 crores which we shall need every year for banishing illiteracy from the men at least in this country.

What we should like to suggest is that the salt revenue, which after deducting all expenditure amount, to 4½ crores and which comes mostly from the people who would directly benefit from compulsory education, should be earmarked for that purpose. But in any case if an additional tax must be levied Mr. Gokhale suggests an increase of 2 per cent. in Customs, which would bring in the required four crores. When even ways and means are clearly indicated, we do not know what holds Government back. But whatsoever checks their ardour, their official apologies are wholly inadequate to cover their shortcomings in this respect.

CORRESPONDENCE



“ Khwab-o-Khiyal ”

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMBATE"

SIR,

Your leading article of March 23rd on the "Khawab-o-Khiyal" contains the following passage : "Writings such as those of Sita Ram could easily lead to breaches of the peace, and we are surprised that those responsible for the contents of the *Fauji Akhbar* at all allowed these passages to go in". May I be permitted to draw your attention to the letter from a correspondent which appeared in the *Fauji Akhbar* of March 30th (page 8 in the Urdu edition, ("Fauji Afron, ke liye ek námunásib kitáb ki ishá'at")) from which it will be seen that the Khawab-o-Khiyál was carefully edited before publication 'n the *Fauji Akhbar* and all passages which were in any way open to objection were deleted.

Yours faithfully,
THE EDITOR,
Fauji Akhbar

"Essays : Indian and Islamic."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR.—I have just opened your issue of 30th March and have perused with pleasure your note on Mr. Salabuddin's "Essays Indian and Islamic." I was inexplicably shocked at the quotations which you had given of the work of this sturdy son of Islam. I was even surprised by your attributing this irreverent and irreligious way of referring to Islam and our noble Apostle to the essayist's "close study" of the *savants* of the West. Well, I suppose there are other students of these *savants* of the Agnostic world. The evil lies not in the study of the irreverent and irreligious critics only. This study nowadays cannot be avoided. The evil lies in the defective and bad early training, surroundings and in the unfortunately extensive desire on the part of many Muslim parents to give their hopefuls a purely mundane instruction that it may fit them to earn their *rohi* honourably or rise to be "dipi sahibs, balister-sahibs" or even "babu sahibs." They care not to teach the youths the meaning of Islam, the spiritual truths that underlie it, the status and meaning of the inspired Prophet, the significance of Inspiration. Thus the parents, always having their eyes like Belial—that ignoble under-hero of Milton—upon the earthly things, are the real authors and originators of this early bedazzlement of the "youthful idea" whose unsophisticated mind cannot meet the shock of the cold glitter and the hollow criticism of the German, European or Agnostic critics, utilising their batteries on the historical ground and seeking to demolish religion and reverence. I expect more such writings will appear in future

میق ازین بسیار کرد است و کند *
حال را مسما رکد است و کند

I was in the beginning often shocked by some half ignorant writers using the words ﷺ ابْنُ نَبِيٍّ "founder of Islam" which has a sinister

significance when used by the critics, inasmuch as it merely means that Islam is the concoction of the active brain of a Qureshite Arab of the 7th century. But sooth to say, Mr. Salahuddin has beaten these writers hollow and has advanced many degrees in saying of the Apostle that his selections of the dogmas of Judaism and Christianity were faulty or that he was master of vituperation, which reminds one of Disraeli's attack upon Lord Salisbury as a "master of gibes, flouts, and jeers!"

Now there should be no mistake in what I mean. If the learned author is a Mussalman, belonging to any known or definite sect or even a rational exponent of Islam who has taken up some visionary "Broad Church" as his model, he cannot be allowed to deny the basic truth of Islam that there is an eternal Existence, which can and does inspire apostles for the **بُشِّرَى** (guidance) of mankind and that of all such appointed agents of the Almighty, Muhammad was the greatest and that whatever he said was in conformity with and by order of the Creator and Ruler of mankind. Now the words that I have used may be verbally taken exception to by sonic Schools, but the general purport of Islam will be defined by all the professors of the faith to include the above-mentioned doctrines.

If, unfortunately for Islam and fortunately for the cause of free-thinking or German criticism, there be any such amongst us who deny the basic truth, then they should have the courage of their convictions. They should not tacitly take up the pose of an orthodox Muslim before Europe and thus deceive the readers of the West into a wrong idea as to what Islam means in the eyes of every Mussalman. On the other hand they should not lead blindfold the ignorant amongst the English-reading Muslims amongst us (who sometimes derive ideas of Islam from such writers) into a hidden disbelief and practical denial of the Message of our great lord and Apostle. Let them honestly say that they were Mussalmans by birth and by sympathies, but that their ideas are independent and free and in their works they do not claim to represent the accepted view of the community, to which in matters other than doctrinal they do belong.

Now suppose we hold to the principle that everyone who utters the word **الله**—**مُحَمَّدُ الرَّسُولُ**—however he may openly interpret them, is a Mussalman (religiously as distinct from politically), we will end by falling into religious nihilism. For **الله** may be interpreted to mean "there is no force operating in the world but a cosmic force, all pervading, not self-conscious" and **مُحَمَّدُ الرَّسُولُ** according to the very liberal and comfortable beliefs of some of our latter-day Platos and Luthers, may be represented to mean nothing more than this, "This Cosmic Force evolves out of itself a self-conscious being called man, and one man Muhammad (رسول) was a highly intelligent leader of mankind who uttered some wonderful truths mixed up, of course, with many things which in latter days prove obnoxious to progress and are worthy of being weeded out."

If there are some who wish to found such a school of thought I for one would welcome their separation from amongst us and would be ready to meet them in fair field. I am, in the present age, an advocate of religious toleration and wish to extend it in Persia to the *Babis* and *Bahais* even, because I regarded their separation as useful to Islam. The agnostic or the extra-rationalistic church amongst us, if it has a moral conscience, should openly come out so that we, the poor "benighted" Muslims, who do not care a penny for the writings of non-religious scoffers of Germany, France or England, may meet them openly.

KHAWJA GHULAM-US-SAQLAIN.

A Short Story.

Vicissitude III.

THE NAUTCH GIRL.

MR. ALI HOSSAIN was very sad—very sad indeed. He felt that in spite of everything life was not worth living. The bitter drop that poisoned the joy of his life was the absolutely unreasonable jealousy of his wife. And his wife really had no cause to be jealous. He was quite devoted to her, but of course it was absurd of her to expect that he should not occasionally pay the tribute of innocent admiration to any one but her. And it was always purely innocent. In spite of his arguments, protests, and expostulations his wife persisted in being jealous. This morning there had been a terrible scene over a nautch girl, who had lately taken the town by storm, and whom he had praised—somewhat injudiciously—as he now reflected. But good heavens, his thoughts ran on. If he were like some men, his wife might with truth be jealous. He wished he could pay her out for once and make her sorry for her absolutely unfounded reproaches.

While he was thus reflecting moodily, seated in his study, a voice was heard calling to him from the verandah.

"Where are you, old chap?" and his brother-in-law, a gay young fellow of about 23, entered the room. "Well, how are you after last night's dissipation? I say Ali, the new nautch girl sings ripplingly. Why don't you arrange to have a tamasha here one evening?"

"Oh shut up" was the savage answer, and Mr. Ali Hossain relapsed into gloomy silence.

"Why, what on earth has upset you? You look pretty blue, and you don't seem particularly amiable. Domestic troubles eh?" grinned the unsympathetic Bachelor.

Ali Hossain could contain himself no longer. He unburthened himself of all his woes, but did not get much solace. His young brother-in-law seemed too overcome with merriment to say anything.

"I see nothing very funny," he growled. "I wish you were in my shoes, then perhaps you might sympathise with me a little more, instead of coming in with idiotic suggestions about having a nautch here."

The young fellow sobered down. "Sorry old man, but it really is comic from one point of view. Look here, I've got a good idea in my head, I think this will smooth matters for you and give you a little peace. Listen—" and he drew his chair near him and whispered a few words in his ear.

The other smiled and nodded and after a few minutes the cloud had quite vanished from Ali Hossain's face.

"By Jove, you're a brick," and linking arms, the two went out of the room together. In the afternoon Ali Hossain went to his wife's room. She received him coldly, still mindful of his misdemeanours. He did not sit down as usual, but said "I only came to tell you that we have arranged for some singing and dancing in the drawing-room this evening after dinner. Mrs. Leach wishes to hear some Indian music. The men will all leave as soon as dinner is over, so you need not keep purdah. All the ladies can sit in the drawing-room." He left the room immediately and gave her no time to reply.

Mrs. Ali Hossain was very angry. She felt sure her husband had done this on purpose to annoy her, especially after what she had said about that horrid nautch this morning. She half thought of refusing to appear, but on second thoughts decided it would not be advisable. Mrs. Leach was the Commissioner's wife—it would not do to offend her—and besides Mr. Ali Hossain rather admired Mrs. Leach. With a sigh Mrs. Ali Hossain began to prepare for the evening, mentally determining to make her husband pay for it all afterwards with compound interest.

Immediately after dinner the men left straight from the dining-room, and the ladies took their seats in the drawing-room. Mrs. Ali Hossain and her cousins were already waiting for them, and orders were given for the nautch to begin.

The nautch girl had arrived, but evidently was not quite ready to appear. A tent had been prepared for her and from where Mrs.

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Ali Hossain sat she could catch glimpses of the men gathered round the canvas flap. Presently the curtain was lifted and Mr. Ali Hossain emerged with the hateful creature hanging on his arm. Mrs. Ali Hossain felt as though she could have stabbed them both. The nautch girl entered, followed by her musicians. She stared round her insolently. She certainly was a pretty creature, though rather masculine looking. Mr. Ali Hossain had crept in the room behind her, and stood near the door. He seemed unable to take his eyes off her. Every time she passed him in the dance she gave him a smile which set poor Mrs. Ali Hossain's fingers tingling. After a little time the English ladies wearied of the entertainment and went to their hostess' room to put on their wraps. After their departure Mrs. Ali Hossain returned to the drawing room. To her horror it was empty, but from her husband's study adjoining came the sound of hilarious laughter, the popping of bottles, and occasionally the chink of anklets and the twang of a sitar. Compelled by her jealousy she crept quietly to the door, peeped in and saw the brazen creature lying on the sofa and her husband bending down tenderly over her. This was enough to inflame the jealous woman beyond measure. Rushing in she prepared to denounce him in no measured terms, when the words were arrested on her lips by the sight of a wig of long black hair on the ground. Looking up she caught sight of the nautch girl's face plainly—and was greeted by bursts of loud laughter.

"Doesn't your brother make a pretty 'haiji'?" For once Mrs. Ali Hossain was at a loss for an answer.

* * * * *

Mr. Ali Hossain has not the slightest hesitation now in expressing his admiration for any one. If his wife shows signs of becoming jealous he has only to utter two magical words—"Nautch Girl."

LIL



The S. P. M. R.

READER, are you an uncle?

Because, if so, will you join the S.P.M.R., or Society for the Protection of a Malignant Relationship? I cannot think you will refuse, because as things are it is difficult for a self-respecting man to admit that his brother or sister has forced this unsolicited distinction on him.

To begin with, the unlucky person so circumstanced has a millstone of tradition hung about his neck. Old and ingrained prejudice has rated uncles in the same category as baronets and step-mothers. Who ever heard it said, among the titles to respect of any famous man you please, that he was good uncle? I have searched the records, but in vain. On the other hand, history and literature are in a conspiracy to make the term synonymous with all that is prosy, preachy, overbearing, over-reaching, villainous! I have traced the slander as far back as Horace. Don't be an uncle to me, says one of his people, and another of them talks about "the lashes of an uncle's tongue." And see how it persists, when one still hears the phrase, "He talked to me like a Dutch uncle." (It would seem that the Dutch variety is especially pestilential). How can a man be expected to take up his uncular burden cheerfully, in the face of such obloquy? How can nephews and nieces rise superior to it? This, this, and no other must be the reason why we never read in our newspapers that a grateful nephew has left uncle Robert residuary legatee, that a bereaved niece has erected a sumptuous mausoleum to the memory of uncle Ferdinand, where she may murmur to herself at midnight, "Oh me, my uncle's spirit is in these stones!" There will be a difference presently, or the S.P.M.R. will know the reason. And then uncles will be able to hold up their heads again in decent society.

To revert to that conspiracy. Passing over the wicked uncles of the Babes in the Wood—thus were our infant minds indoctrinated—the greatest name in literature is also the greatest offender. When

one thinks of Claudius, King of Denmark, of King John, of Richard III—it heavy is the task, but the S.P.M.R. will not shrink from it. I will attempt a forecast of its methods.

Claudius. This amiable prince has been shockingly maligned presumably because he happened to be the younger Hamlet's uncle. The time has now come to offer to the world the latest flashlights of the lantern of historic research upon an obscure byway. (1) Claudius was the eldest son of his father, and consequently was kept out of his rightful dominion by the elder Hamlet, *sor-diant* King of Denmark. (2) Gertrude was originally betrothed to Claudius—a love-match on both sides—and was rudely snatched from his expectant arms by the said Hamlet. (3) The gentle and forbearing disposition of Claudius may be inferred from the fact that for over twenty years he left his brother in possession of his kingdom and his bride. Also (4) his keen sense of justice, which after constant deliberation spread over that period, did not permit him to allow such a disgraceful state of things to continue permanently. (5) The "taking off" of the elder Hamlet, thus admitted necessary, was effected in the least offensive manner possible, considering the period. (6) The celebrated "commission," pursued by the younger Hamlet on boardship, was by him totally misconstrued, he being at the moment in one of his fits of cerebral derangement. As a matter of fact, Claudius packed him off to England to undergo a rest-cure.

Now for King John. *John*, surnamed Lackland, yet styled King of England! How explain the anomaly? By one word, and that word *Arthur*. Arthur's first act, on his worthy uncle's accession, was to rob him of Anjou, his second, to embroil him with the King of France. Such ingratitude is almost without parallel, even among nephews. And when Arthur was dead and gone, a mistaken view as to the manner of his exit caused poor John to forsake Normandy. Shakespeare knew that Arthur was killed in falling from the battlements of a castle, what he did not know was that the lad, who had a passion for architecture, was estimating the altitude of the wall with his eye, and accidentally fell over.

Richard III. A peculiarly bad case of misrepresentation. If ever there lived a man overflowing with the milk of human kindness, it was *Richard*. Why, not even the Lady Anne, who had some surface reason for misjudging him, could hold out against the innate beauty of his disposition, coupled as it was with a modest ardour! Then, look at the callous indifference of his brother Clarence. Richard was ready to go all lengths, even to the extent of taking the pledge, in order to break Clarence of his fatal habit. He often said, "Malmsey will be the death of you, Clarence!" And so, alas, it was! Then, take his solicitude for his nephews. The boys were notoriously delicate, and the Tower, with its cheerful outlook on the river, was considered one of the most salubrious of the royal residences. That was why he sent the little princes there, to recruit after influenza. Of course, it transpired, later, that the drains were out of order, with results which everyone must deplore. But sanitation was then in its infancy, and it is most unfair to put the blame on Richard.

The above is only a tithe of what the S.P.M.R. has to say about this deeply misunderstood sovereign. Which reminds me as Honorary Treasurer that subscriptions are due, and may be sent to me at once, care of the Editor of this paper.

Oh—and the other day two men, strangers to each other, but obviously dog lovers, were sitting side by side in a railway carriage. With the first man was a Welsh terrier, who was taking an active interest in the second man's luncheon. Indeed, before it was over he managed to secure a mouthful. "You must give your dog a new name," said the second man, "you must call him 'Chancellor,' because he robs hen-roosts. These are chicken sandwiches." You don't see the application? Well, perhaps it isn't obvious, only the speaker happened to be

AN UNCLE.

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

REPLYING to Colonel Yates regarding robberies in Persia, Sir Edward Grey was unable to say whether the payment of British and Indian commercial claims would be one of the objects of the next loan. The first object must be the restoration of order.

Reuter wires from St. Petersburg on the 6th.—The shrine at Meshed has been surrendered. The guardian of the Sanctuary has written thanking the Russians for respecting the tomb and mosque.

The incendiary Seyyid and twenty-four others were arrested. The robbers lost 39 killed and 26 wounded but the leaders escaped by a secret exit.

Reuter wires from Teheran on the 6th—Sir George Barclay, the British Minister, informed the Persian Foreign Minister yesterday that the British Government did not contemplate entering into direct negotiations with the chiefs of the Southern tribes.

To-day he informed the Persian Government that the British troops at Bushire would be withdrawn when the assailants of Mr. Smart, the British Consul, had been captured and punished.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT)

Teheran, March 15.

AN UNDERGROUND crisis exists in the Cabinet regarding the much delayed answer to the Anglo-Russian Note. It is customary for the minute authorizing all such documents to be signed by all the Ministers, but in this instance the Foreign Minister has hitherto not succeeded in inducing all his colleagues to append their signatures. The form of the answer has also not been settled, as the Government is making a prolonged fight over the army question, endeavouring, before agreeing to enter upon a discussion, to commit the two Legations to the employment of officers of minor powers only. This is unacceptable, as Russia does not approve of the appointment of officers other than Russian—even though they are from a minor Power—in Tabriz and other important northern towns.

In the light of recent history the recalcitrance of the Cabinet is generally regarded as futile, yet, curiously, Ministers appear to have derived encouragement in their opposition, particularly on this very point of officers for the army, from the recent debate in the House of Commons.

It is probably impossible to find any student of politics in Teheran to-day who would not say that by accepting all the Anglo-Russian proposals and warmly cultivating Russian friendship it would be possible for Persia to save the framework of her independence. On the other hand, worse will certainly befall her from a policy of ineffectual resistance or of perpetual compliance under protest.

Teheran, March 17.

The reply to the Anglo-Russian Note is believed to be now ready, as the two Powers have given Persia an assurance that they have no desire to limit the size of the army, and do not object to the employment of officers of the minor Powers for the army as well as the *Gendarmerie*. This assurance, naturally, does not refer to the Cossack Brigade, the officers of which will always be Russian, and does not lay down any principle restricting the army to the services of officers of the minor Powers.

In accordance with the Anglo-Russian proposal contained in the Note, the Government is already disbanding the *Jedars*. The disarmament so far is proceeding quietly.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

Teheran, March 22.

The following is a summary of the Persian reply presented yesterday to the Anglo-Russian Note of February 18.—

The Persian Government, deeply touched by the good intentions of the two neighbouring Powers, and animated by the desire to give their proposals the most favourable consideration, has the honour to state the following:—

(1) The Government accepts the Anglo-Russian advance of £200,000 at 7 per cent. to be secured by the surplus revenues from

the northern and southern Customs and to be a first charge on the next loan,

(2) The Treasurer-General will be entrusted with the control of the expenditure of the advance, a considerable portion of which will be allocated to the organisation of a *Gendarmerie* under Swedish officers.

As regards the other points of the Anglo-Russian Note, the Persian Government, being convinced that respect for the integrity and independence of Persia, as well as its pacific development, is an object of sincere solicitude to the two friendly Governments, shows its pleasure at these good dispositions by the following reply:—

(1) With a view to convincing its sincere desire to establish on a solid basis of friendship and confidence Persian relations with the Governments of Great Britain and Russia, the Persian Government will take care to make its policy conform to the principles of the Convention of 1907, while taking note of the assurances contained in the preamble of the said Convention.

(2) After the withdrawal of Mohammed Ali and Salar-ed-Dowleh from Persian territory, the Mujahids [Nationalist volunteers] will be disbanded, and the other irregular forces will be gradually trained and incorporated in the regular army;

(3) One of the fundamental points of the Cabinet's programme is the organisation of an effective army proportionate to the needs of the country. The Persian Government will inform the two Legations of its programme of military organisation, so that a friendly exchange of views can take place;

(4) Concerning Mohammed Ali an agreement has been reached and will form the subject of a separate Note.

Having thus given proofs of its goodwill, the Persian Government hopes to obtain the effective help of the two Powers on the following points:—

(1) A loan necessary for the realisation of reforms, the conditions of which would involve merely questions of interest, amortisation, and security,

(2) The evacuation, as soon as possible, of Persian territory by the foreign troops.—(Reuter.)

A further Reuter telegram from Teheran states that the reply is considered entirely satisfactory.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT")

Teheran, March 22.

In connection with the Persian reply to the Anglo-Russian Note I learn that a curious difficulty, which has been safely surmounted, was raised by two Continental Powers regarding the Anglo-Russian Note. It will be remembered that the preamble of the Convention states that Great Britain and Russia desire equal advantages for the trade and industry of other nations, but it appears to be considered in certain quarters that Persia by accepting the Convention might destroy the value of this statement regarding other nations in the preamble since the Persian recognition of the subsequent test might result in the exclusion of other countries from commercial advantages except in the neutral zone. The two Powers in question have accordingly informed Persia that if her reply to the Anglo-Russian Note conflicted with the policy of the open door or their existing commercial treaties with Persia containing most favoured-nation clauses, these Powers would not recognise such a reply nor accept its consequences. The Persian Foreign Minister, with the full approval of the Anglo-Russian Legations, drew the attention of the two Powers to the clause in the preamble, and stated that this would hold good. The reply seems to have fully satisfied the Powers in question, and no further step has been taken.

St. Petersburg, Tuesday

In contradiction to the reports which have appeared in the newspapers to the effect that the situation at Tabriz is threatening, an official *communiqué* states that no ground exists for the adoption of further extraordinary measures. It is pointed out that the recent domiciliary search for arms was without result, and only had the effect of irritating the population.

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"Moreover," the *communiqué* significantly remarks, as the Russian court-martial has already passed death sentences upon 37 persons, and the Acting Governor of Azerbaijan has inflicted the death penalty upon 50 others, there is no need for repressive measures beyond those already taken. Life in town is now resuming its normal course.

The present Governor of Azerbaijan is Samad Khan, a partisan of the ex-Shah, who had been in open rebellion for several months before his appointment as Governor by the Russians.—(Reuters)

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN")

The *Nouvel Vremya* prints some telegrams from its Persian correspondents which lead one to think that perhaps the Russo-British demands have been modified in some points. The demand for the disarming of the Bakhtiari, it would appear, met with a serious difficulty. The Regent refused to give his consent to this measure, which he fears would provoke disorders, and in the absence of regular troops jeopardise the existing state of things. If, the Regent declared, the two Powers should insist on carrying out the disarmament, he would have no option but to leave the responsibility to them and resign.

At Tabriz the process of disarming the population has encountered some check, the nature of which is not explained. According to the St. Petersburg journal, out of 15,000 rifles imported from Russia only 600 have been seized, and cartridges are openly sold in the streets at prices below their actual cost. The whole Armenian quarter is alleged to be armed to the teeth and ready to break out in revolt at any moment. There is no means of checking these statements, but one is inclined to doubt their exactness and suspect on the part of the *Nouvel Vremya* a desire to create an atmosphere of uneasiness that may strengthen the hands of the Government in refusing to withdraw the troops. It is, as a matter of fact, announced that according to orders received from St. Petersburg the troops at Kuzvin will remain there "for some time yet."

"The new Turkish Ambassador, Emin Bey, arrived here to-day. The Persian Government apparently took all possible measures to efface the affront which he received on his arrival at Enzeli, where owing to all the guns having been removed by the Russians he did not receive the customary salute. The Ambassador drove into Teheran in a State carriage drawn by six horses which had been sent for his conveyance, and escorted by a large body of troops. A salute was fired as he entered the city gates"—(Reuters)

England and Persia.

The reply of the Persian Government to the demands put upon it by England and Russia is a rebuke to both. The Persian Government declares that it is "deeply touched" by our good intentions in Persia. We do not like such "deep touches," and we hope that there will be no occasion for them in the future. On the nature of the new Anglo-Russian scheme in Persia, the reply sheds little light, but that little, so far as it goes, is not unfavourable. The loan of £200,000 for which Persia expresses such gratitude will hardly see her over a couple of months' expenditure, but the proceeds of the loan, small as they are, will be subjected to the control of the Treasurer General, who will devote a considerable portion of it to the organisation of a police force under Swedish officers. The Treasurer General is, of course, Mr. Shuster's successor. He is a Belgian, M. Mernard, who is believed to be under Russian influences, and the officering of the new force by Swedes is perhaps to be regarded as an example of the kind of concession that Sir Edward Grey has been able to wring out of Russia in the negotiations. For the rest, the reply of the Persian Government is more encouraging than we had ventured to hope. We gather that as the result of the Agreement that has been forced upon her the Persian Government will conform to the "principles" of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, will disband its irregular forces, and will obey the wishes of the two Governments in its military organisation. We had feared worse things than these. The new Agreement, so far as can be gathered from the Persian reply, says nothing about European control except over the police and the army; and subject to these exceptions and to the raising of interest on the new loan the new scheme would seem to leave the new Government quite unfettered. But it is very wrong that we have not had from the Foreign Secretary a full account of the

new proposals that have been made. If the Persian Government can publish its reply, surely it is time for us to know what were the contents of the Note to which it has replied.

But what are the principles of the Agreement of 1907 to which the Persian Government has now given its adherence? The April number of the Asiatic Quarterly Review contains an article by Mr. H. F. B. Lynch which is the clearest exposition of these principles that we have yet seen. Mr. Lynch quotes with great effect from the speech of Sir E. Grey on the Agreement with Russia in February, 1908. "Under the Agreement," he said, "we bind ourselves not to seek certain concessions of a certain kind in certain spheres. But these (he continued) "are only British and Russian spheres in a sense which is in no way derogatory to the independence and sovereignty of Persia." The maintenance of Persian independence is the fundamental principle of the convention, and by it everything that is done under the Convention will have to be judged. "Nobody," writes Mr. Lynch, "desires to deprive Russia of any legitimate influence in Northern Persia. Let her apply her capital and industry to the development of the country. It will be good for Persia, good for Russia, and good for the rest of the world. That is quite a different thing from covering the country with her troops and performing acts of sovereignty which are wholly incompatible with the bedrock principle of her Convention with ourselves." Persia, under protest, has signed a declaration by which she binds herself to respect the "principles" of the Anglo-Russian Convention. These are not inimical to Persian independence on Sir E. Grey's own showing. But if the terms of the new arrangement are such as to impair that independence, we shall not be taken in by talk of maintaining "principles." The old Anglo-Russian Convention, as we knew it, will have been torn up, and in its place will have been substituted a new Agreement.—*Manchester Guardian*.

Mohammed Ali ex-Shah.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Odessa, March 14

MOHAMMED ALI SHAH, with three followers, arrived here yesterday morning at 8.45 by the so-called Baku express, a train that occupies ninety-six hours between the two termini. His arrival, although previously announced in the local Press, attracted no public attention. The only local authority to receive the royal exile was the Assistant Policemaster. With his wife and two younger sons the ex-Shah proceeded in automobiles to the villa in the Sturdskaya in the Langeron suburb. About noon the Acting Governor, Colonel Ilin, called upon Mohammed Ali and remained in private consultation with him for an hour and a half. Although the subject of the earnest conversation has not, of course, been allowed to transpire, it is generally surmised that His Excellency was the purveyor of certain commands or instructions from the Government to the returned ex-Shah with reference to his future domicile and other arrangements. Colonel Ilin had a second interview to-day.

Mohammed Ali declines absolutely to accord audiences either to local or foreign Press representatives. It has leaked out, however, that the "Persian Pretender" is much depressed and in a very unamiable mood. That is not a matter for surprise, seeing that his last hope of regaining his lost throne has now been finally dissipated. It is further understood that Mohammed Ali is under the impression, or delusion, that Russia was the cause of the failure of his attempted raid upon Teheran and his reinstatement as ruling head of the Kajar dynasty. Whether he had really some kind of provisional promise of support from Russia when he surreptitiously left Odessa last July to prosecute his forlorn campaign will probably only be discovered by the future historian.

It is rumoured to-day that the ex-Shah prefers to take up his permanent residence in England rather than in Russia. That is very likely merely a passing preference, arising from his present resentment towards his Russian host. He will, no doubt, when he cools down and regains a more philosophic mood, perceive the prudence and expediency of accepting the advice of the Russian Government with regard to his future arrangements and place of domicile; on his compliance with the expressed wishes of Russia and England depends the payment of his pension of £9,000 per annum.

The spacious and luxuriously furnished residence provided for him in the Gigol Street is no longer at his disposal, and for the present Mohammed Ali, with his family, suite and attendants, is rather incommodiously housed in a villa of a dozen comparatively small rooms.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

The *Westminster Gazette* publishes a telegram received from Mr. Ameer Ali from the British Red Crescent Mission in Tripoli asking Mr. Ameer Ali to appeal to Britain, India, Egypt and British Colonies for funds for the relief of the refugee coast population. Mr. Ameer Ali remarks, "India is doing her best, may we not look to Britain for assistance?"

The first Turkish elections are proceeding under conditions exciting the gravest dissatisfaction among the Opposition parties, particularly among Christians, which accuse the party of Union and Progress of employing the most arbitrary methods for excluding or terrorising the Opposition voters.

Italy has extended the blockade to the Southern Yemen coast and also northward so as to include Loheia, but neutral vessels proceeding to Camaran, the sanitary station in connection with Mecca pilgrimage, will be allowed access thereto under surveillance of blocking vessels.

Reuter wires from Port Said on the 9th.—The Italian merchant cruiser *Duca Di Genova*, which receives a subvention from Government, has captured a Greek steamer carrying contraband and taken her to Tobruk.

The *Times* correspondent telegraphs from Cairo that Edhem Pasha, Turkish Commander at Tobruk, has arrived from Tripoli. He says that the Turkish troops still number ten thousand assisted by two hundred thousand Arabs and that they can hold out for a year. The Turks recently fired at and brought down an Italian aeroplane at Benghazi.

At a recent meeting of the Indian Red Crescent Society, it was resolved to send a telegram to (1) H.I.M. the Sultan, (2) H.H. the Grand Vizier, (3) Asim Bey, Foreign Minister, and (4) Ahmed Riza Bey, late President, Turkish Parliament, to the effect that Moslem feeling is intensely against recognition of Italian rights in Tripoli.

The following translation of an extract from a private letter to the Secretary from Ahmed Riza Bey may be of interest:—"Do not be discouraged. There is no peril at home. There are simply squalls engendered by the politics of the moment and they are sure to vanish in due course. The Society of Union and Progress is ever influenced by the desire to use its influence for the renovation of the country and the welfare of the Ottomans. You must make this fact known and aid us in our patriotic enterprise."

RKUTER wires from Constantinople on the 10th:—The Powers are agreed as to the terms of the Porte with regard to the termination of the Turko-Italian war. They will point out the desirability of peace in the interests of Europe generally and request the Porte to signify the conditions on which it is prepared to terminate hostilities in view of the offer of the Powers to mediate.

The *Times* is publishing a series of articles on the British Army in Egypt. It praises in the highest terms Sir John Maxwell's able leadership, the keenness of officers, and the splendid training and vigour of the men, but is strongly of opinion that the present strength of the Army of Occupation is dangerously low, especially in view of possibilities arising from the Turko-Italian war. The *Times* urges that when the troops are withdrawn from South Africa, they should be sent to Egypt, which is an incomparable training ground, is healthy for British troops, and inexpensive.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, March 15.

AN OFFICIAL TELEGRAM from Salomika states that an Albanian band ambushed the escort of Hadji Adil Bey, the Turkish Minister of the Interior, on the road between Ipek and Djakova. Secrecy is maintained as to the number of victims. A wounded officer of the escort has been brought to Uskub. Hadji Adil Bey has sent a battalion of infantry and several guns against the aggressors.

Vienna, March 17.

Competent opinions differ whether the advent of peace will be hastened by the Italian condition. Save on the one point of annexation, which is not open to discussion, they are felt to offer Turkey the chance of an honourable and not unprofitable settlement. But it has long been clear that the Committee of Union and Progress has in view rather its own interests as a political organization than the general interest of the Ottoman Empire. The end of the war might

prove to be the beginning of the long-deferred reckoning with the Committee. It is, moreover, possible that the Committee will regard the very largeness of the Italian conditions as a sign that Italian resistance is weakening and that, with a little more squeezing, Italy would be still more open-handed. It could make no greater blunder. However much or little truth there may be in the rumours of a Russo-Italian agreement for joint action against the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, it is quite certain that, if the Committee continues to obstruct a tolerable settlement, a hard blow will be hit at some vital spot of the Ottoman Empire.

The effect of such a blow upon the Balkan States and the Christian races of Macedonia cannot be foreseen, but, apart from this consideration, it must not be forgotten that the Cretan question is gradually assuming a character as menacing as it has ever possessed. The Powers are believed to admit the practical impossibility of preventing the Cretan Deputies from reaching Athens and the futility of expecting the Greek Government to shoot, imprison, or expel the Cretan representatives. If the island be re-occupied by international forces, the Venezelos Cabinet is likely to fall, and with it the only guarantee possessed by Europe that Greece will, on the one hand, pursue a moderate policy, and that, on the other, the dynastic crisis will not be re-opened.

The moment seems, therefore, to be approaching when the Powers who have hitherto viewed the Near Eastern crisis from the standpoint of their immediate individual interests will be confronted with the alternative of undertaking unanimous action in Constantinople in regard both to the Tripolitan and the Cretan question of allowing matters to take a course which only one of the miracles of Allah, invoked by Field-Marshal von der Goltz, can prevent from becoming catastrophic.

Constantinople, March 18.

An Iradeh was issued to-day sanctioning the addition of two new articles to the existing Press Law. The first requires all persons who desire to publish a newspaper in the capital to deposit £T.500 with the Government as a guarantee. In the case of provincial newspapers only £T.100 is required. Would-be founders of Ottoman journals are further required to prove that they have been blessed with an education in Government secondary schools or corresponding unofficial institutions. The second article forbids officers of the active and reserve forces and ex-officers to contribute articles dealing with foreign or internal politics to the Press, under pain of imprisonment ranging from a week to six months.

This addition to the Press Law, which will effectually prevent ex Colonel Sadik Bey and other leaders of the Union and Liberty Party from expressing their views in the Press, has caused much indignation among the Opposition, while the first of the new article is vigorously criticized by practically the whole Press, including the *Tatvan* and the *Jenne Turi*.

Another Iradeh published to-day sanctions the new law further restricting the right of public meeting, and inflicting penalties ranging from a week to five years' imprisonment, with hard labour, for infractions of it. In spite of semi-official assurances that the court-martial will be abolished in a few days' time and the Imperial declaration that the above mentioned laws, though put into operation at once, will be submitted for the approval of the Chamber when it meets, public opinion appears unfavourably impressed.

Sofia, March 18.

Shukri Bey, General Secretary in the Turkish Ministry of the Interior, and Abdul Kerim, Inspector of Public Instruction, have arrived here to ask the representatives of the Macedonian Internal Organization what reforms would satisfy them and under what conditions they would put a stop to the bomb explosions and revolutionary activity. The representatives of the Organization gave the uncompromising reply that the Organization refused to negotiate with the Turkish Government and would continue its revolutionary activity until it had attained its object—autonomy through international European intervention.

St Petersburg, March 21.

Professors Milevich and Georgov of Sofia University have arrived here as delegates of the Macedonian Committee to agitate in favour of European intervention against the atrocities perpetrated by the Turks. A Press campaign has already been started. In leading articles and interviews they insist on the revival of the programme of reforms outlined at the Reval meeting. The delegates proceed hence to London and other capitals.

Vienna, March 25.

The Austrian Premier, Count Sturkh, replying to-day to an interpellation upon the rumours of an impending bombardment of

13th April.

Salonika by Italian warships, stated that the rumours were unfounded and that, according to official information, there was for the present no danger of a bombardment of the city.

An official telegram from Constantinople announces, on the other hand, that the Turkish Ministry of Marine has called upon the French mining company at Herakleia to hold its entire stock of coal at the disposal of the Government. It is supposed, adds the telegram, that the coal is needed for the movements of the fleet in the Dardanelles.

The *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* reports, "from a well-informed quarter" at Berlin that the removal of M. Tcharykoff from Constantinople was due to his partiality for the Young Turks. His attitude increased the difficulty of an agreement between Constantinople and Rome, whereas M. Sazonoff desires to put an end to the war Rome and St. Petersburg, adds the *Tagblatt*, are now in close touch and are certainly weaving at a web dangerous to Turkey. Apart from the strong interests of Russia that peace should be concluded before movements in Macedonia begin, care for the corn trade of Odessa obliges the Russian Government to contemplate measures for the removal of obstacles to the navigation of the Dardanelles.

Constantinople, March 15

Russia has applied to the Porte for its assent to the appointment of M. de Giers, the Russian Minister at Bukarest, to succeed M. Tcharykoff as Russian Ambassador in Constantinople.—*Reuter.*

St. Petersburg, March 19

The Turkish Embassy denies the advance of the Anatolian Army Corps towards the Persian frontier. The denial is not received with conviction in Russian official circles. The persistent increase of Turkish forces at Urumiah within the debatable zone and even within undoubtedly Persian territory is somewhat inconsistent with the Embassy's assurances.

Constantinople, March 17

Most of the Turkish newspapers comment on the attempt on the life of the King of Italy, and with the exception of the newly-founded paper *Lakk*, they express condemnation of the act. The *Lakk*, however, greets the attempt as the precursor of a revolution in Italy.

The *Tanin* sees in it a symptom of the real state of mind prevailing in Italy, which, the newspaper says, the Italian Government is striving to conceal from Europe.

The *Jeune Turc* declares that the whole of the Ottoman Empire is feeling indignation at the odious attempt. This journal attributes the act to the disenchantment of the Italian people whom a maladroit and adventurous policy has thrust into the impasse of a war from which the Italian Government no longer knows how to extricate itself.—*Reuter.*

The *Times* received from Sultanian Bustani Efendi, formerly Deputy for Beirut in the Turkish Chamber and now a member of the Senate, a letter in which he says—

"I have read with great astonishment the communication of your Vienna correspondent in this morning's issue of the *Times*, in which he gives currency to an atrocious rumour that the despicable attempt on the life of the King of Italy was inspired from Turkey. In the first place, allow me to express my deepest abhorrence, which will be shared by every Ottoman, at the attempted crime, and, in the second place, to give expression to my intense indignation and the indignation of my fellow-citizens at the extravagant and wild institution."

Constantinople, March 18.

The Ministry of War has decided to create a school and training ground for military aviation at Bulgariu, above Scutari, on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus. Credits amounting to £17,000 have been granted for this purpose and for the purchase of the services of foreign instructors and pilots. Two Turkish officers, who are at present studying aviation in Paris, will preside over the school, and two aeroplanes of French or, according to some account, of Belgian make, have arrived here. A national subscription has been opened in favour of the 'Fourth Arm'.

Cairo, March 20.

According to a report received here, Enver Bey, one of the Turkish commanders in Tripoli, has been wounded. It is not stated whether the wound is slight or serious, and in view of the difficulty of obtaining trustworthy information from the Turkish camp, it is impossible to say whether the report is more than a mere idle rumour.

Canea, March 15.

The crisis has apparently come to an end. To-day the Assembly met and after stormy deliberations decided to elect a permanent Commission of 81 members, including the President and the Bureau of the Assembly, from whom five, selected from the various parties, will form an executive body holding office in rotation for one month. The Commission will be entrusted with the election of 69 Deputies to the Greek Chamber on March, 24th the date of the elections in Greece.

Constantinople, March 19.

Rear-Admiral Limpus has been proposed by the British Admiralty to succeed Rear-Admiral Williams for duty under the Turkish Government and the proposal has been accepted by the Ottoman Government. Details of the appointment have still to be settled.—(Reuter.)

News from Turkish Sources.

(FROM THE "JEUNE TURC.")

(Specially translated for the "Comrade.")

The *Terdjumanî Hâkîkat* publishes the following telegram dated the 5th March received from Ertoghrul Bey, an Ottoman volunteer at Derna—"We have been in action for 11 hours. The enemy has been pushed back and has suffered enormous losses. Immense booty has fallen into our hands. This victory of ours is brilliant and decisive."

The Agence Ottomane has received the following communication from the Ministry of War—

From Homs—Our troops after having re-occupied the hill of Mergheb have been obliged again to abandon it. The Italians having received considerable reinforcements delivered their attack simultaneously from three sides and were supported by the guns of the naval squadron. Two guns of the Italian Mountain Artillery were, however, put hors de service by us and had to be abandoned by them.

From Tripoli—A detachment of a hundred men of Tadjoura and Djefara delivered an attack against Tadjoura and in the course of action five Tadjourians who had been armed by Italians and fired on our soldiers were taken prisoners and two others were killed. The five prisoners were court-martialled, with the result that two have been condemned to death and three sentenced to a term of imprisonment.

In the morning two Italian dirigibles appeared over Zanzur and dropped five bombs on our soldiers. Fortunately no one was hit.

From Derna.—Five of our men quietly approached in the night the fort situated to the east of Akaba and fulfilled the purpose for which they were sent. They also destroyed with bombs a turret of the fort and killed the sentry.

According to *Zeit* (Vienna) the coal strike in Great Britain threatens to paralyse the action of the Italian fleet, which depends mainly on England for its coal supply.

The Agence Ottomane has received the following information from the Ministry of War—

"According to a telegram received from the Commandant at Homs, which was forwarded to the Minister of War by the Commandant at Tripoli, the Ottomans have delivered another attack in the night on the Italians. This attack was directed on the Italian position on the Mergheb mountain and was completely successful, the position in question being captured eventually by our soldiers. The action continues."

According to a telegram from Enver Bey sent from Derna, in the night a detachment of our soldiers, composed of Regulars and Militia, which was placed in ambush in the environments of the Italian fortifications, suddenly opened fire at 40 metres distance on an Italian battalion, of which an officer and 10 men were killed. Another Italian battalion has also suffered considerable losses. Enver Bey writes that our losses might well be called a little bleeding of the nose.

According to a telegram received from the Commandant at Henghazi, 25 horsemen of the Magariba tribe made a sudden onslaught on a battalion of the enemy, put it to rout completely, killed 20 men, and captured four mules and a quantity of arms and ammunition.

Another telegram received from Colonel Neshat Bey informs the War Office that a body of Italian Infantry which comprised 500 Erytherean soldiers, under the command of Italian officers, delivered an attack on an Ottoman detachment of about 100 men. The action lasted from 3 o'clock in the morning till sundown. Our detachment was quickly reinforced and thereupon took the offensive. The action resulted in the enemy retiring and being pursued up to Ain Zara. Owing to darkness we could not exactly ascertain the extent of the Italian losses, but on the route our soldiers found 20 dead bodies which the Italians could not carry away. Two Erytherean Mussalmans have been taken prisoner and many rifles and mules have also fallen into our hands. Our casualties were 6 dead and 13 wounded.

Intervention.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Berlin, March 17.

THE Italian reply to the inquiries of Russia and the other Powers concerning the conditions upon which hostilities with

Turkey might be terminated is described by the *North German Gazette* as being precise and fully corresponding with the form of the question. It is remarked that even if there is no immediate consequence in the sense of a termination of the state of war it is valuable that the exchange of views promoted by Russia will be continued in the light of the Italian reply.

There is in reality no great optimism here, but the Foreign Office appears still to believe in the possibility, at any rate, of an armistice.

Rome, March 17.

In spite of official denials of the statement published in the *Corriere della Sera* on Saturday, there is reason to believe that the terms of peace as stated are substantially correct and I am therefore sending a *résumé*.—

The Marquis di San Giuliano yesterday afternoon consigned into the hands of the Ambassadors of the Great Powers a Note containing certain conditions the fulfilment of which would induce Italy to consent to the cessation of hostilities.

The Note may be divided into four parts—an introduction, a summary of the fundamental ideas of the Italian Government on the situation, an enumeration of the conditions on which peace may be based, and a conclusion.

The Note opens with an expression of thanks on the part of the Italian Government to the Powers for their idea of mediation and a full agreement with the reasons which led them to that step. It briefly states the causes which led Italy to declare war on Turkey, and accentuates her determination to preserve at all costs the Balkan *status quo ante*.

It proclaims the perfect willingness of the Italian Government to discuss the conditions which may lead to peace, but insists on the recognition by Turkey of the full and complete sovereignty of Italy in Tripoli and Cyrenaica.

It demands the withdrawal of all Turkish troops and officials from Tripoli, at the same time guaranteeing the abolition on the part of Italy of the increased Customs duties.

Seven points are then defined as necessary and reciprocal concessions on the part of both Italy and Turkey.—

1. Recognition on the part of Italy of the religious and spiritual authority of the Khalif in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, with this proviso, however, that such authority does not, in any way, control or influence the administrative and political systems in those countries [The conditions, in short, should be identical with those contained in Article 4 of the Austro-Turkish Agreement concerning Bosnia and Herzegovina in February, 1909.]

2. Respect, on the part of the Italian Government, of the religious liberty, uses, and customs of the Moslem population.

3. Italy's assurance of the complete immunity of that part of the population which might have taken up arms against her.

4. A guarantee to the creditors of the Ottoman Public Debt of a sum of money corresponding to that produced by the Customs of Tripoli and Cyrenaica.

5. Full purchase of the property of the Ottoman Government in these two ev-vilayets.

6. Re-establishment by Turkey of the *status quo* before the war, in all that concerns postal arrangements, Customs due, and Italian schools, and at the same time a promise on the part of the Italian Government to abolish Italian post offices in the Turkish Empire when other Powers possessing similar offices in Turkey shall have suppressed theirs. The Italian Government also proposes to substitute for her present private agreements with Turkey a régime of International Law, so soon as the other Great Powers accept the same conditions. Italy also demands that Turkey should settle claims of Italian citizens in the Empire which were existing before war was declared. She would consent that such claims should be submitted either to The Hague Tribunal or to a mixed Court.

7. Italy would not be averse to taking such measures as should lead to an agreement of the Great Powers to assure efficaciously the integrity of the Turkish Empire.

The article concludes with a declaration of the irrevocable determination of Italy to preserve, as the basis of all conditions of peace, her inviolable right to the sovereignty of Tripoli and Cyrenaica.

Rome, March 19.

It is stated that the Turkish Ambassador, Rifaat Pasha, at his interview with M. Poincaré yesterday, informed the Prime Minister that the Turkish Government could not entertain the Italian terms of peace in the form in which they have become semi-officially known in Constantinople.

(FROM THE "TIMES.")

We published yesterday from our Rome Correspondent a *résumé* of an article in the *Corriere della Sera* giving what there is reason to believe is a substantially accurate account of the memorandum in which the Marquis di San Giuliano informed the

Ambassadors of the Powers of the conditions on which Italy would be ready to make peace with Turkey. As the Italian attitude with regard to the recognition of Italian sovereignty in Tripoli and Cyrenaica was not clearly brought out in that *résumé* and as the point is of capital importance, we give below a full translation of the passage in question—

To-day the step taken by the Powers opens the way to a cessation of hostilities, if not to a real and genuine formal treaty of peace. The Italian Government consequently declares itself ready to discuss the conditions which could lead to a settlement. This settlement should imply for Turkey the implicit recognition of the new state of things (*nuovo stato di fatto*) created by Italy in Libya and on the part of the Powers the recognition of the new judicial situation (*stato di diritto*), or, in other words, of the sovereignty proclaimed by Italy over the two African provinces which belonged to Turkey.

The formula adopted by the Italian Government would not therefore oblige the Ottoman Government to sign a treaty of peace in which the sovereignty of Italy over Libya should be expressly recognized. It would be sufficient for us in substance that our sovereignty should be recognized by the Powers and that Turkey should desist from hostilities.

In addition to the parts of the article summarized yesterday, the following deserves attention—

And thus, continues the memorial, Italy, while pursuing by all the means that she may think useful the operation of war, declares herself disposed to examine, moreover, other eventual conditions that the Powers on their initiative—always on the basis of the irrevocable sovereignty of Italy over Libya—may wish to put forward for safeguarding as completely as possible the *amour propre* or prestige of Turkey.

("MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

According to the Italian press, the Marquis di San Giuliano's Memorandum comprises four parts. In the first the Italian Government thanks the Great Powers for their initiative, the second is devoted to a review of the Italian claims in Tripoli, the third sets forth the Italian terms of peace, and the fourth concludes the argument.

The *Journal des Débats* commenting upon this reply, points out that the first part contains only what is due to the Great Powers, inasmuch as the Ambassadors only acted "by the desire of the Consulta [the Italian Foreign Office], which was anxious to indicate officially the conditions on which it would be inclined to make peace without appearing to take the initiative in the matter." As regards the second part the journal agrees that the war is a danger to Europe, but declares that "the responsibility for this perilous situation rests no doubt upon Italy, which declared war on Turkey without the slightest provocation." The journal pronounces that the Italian arguments to justify that piece of aggression are still less valid than those by which Count von Ahrenthal tried in October, 1908, to justify the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Austria was, at least in effective occupation of the two provinces, whereas Italy to this day is powerless to proceed to the real conquest of Tripoli.

Passing to the third and most important part of the Italian Memorandum, the *Journal des Débats* notes with satisfaction a certain progress in the conception of the Italian Government concerning the real state of things, inasmuch as it no longer demands the explicit recognition of the Italian annexation of Tripoli by Turkey, but merely desires a tacit acknowledgment of accomplished facts in the form of withdrawal of the Turkish troops. The Paris journal, however, points out that even this modified demand raises a number of difficulties, among which, the question of the treatment of the Arabs, who will certainly continue the fight, occupies not the last place. Are the Arabs to be treated as belligerents, or will they be regarded as rebels?

As for the other conditions indicated by the Consulta, the *Debats* shows that they are faithfully modelled upon those on which the Austro-Turkish conflict was settled in 1909. They include the recognition of the spiritual authority of the Sultan, complete religious tolerance, a general amnesty, a promise to suppress the Italian post offices in Turkey and to renounce the privileges enjoyed under the capitulations if other Powers should do likewise, the payment of a vested indemnity estimated at £3,000,000, and lastly a guarantee of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

The *Debats* justly observes that these terms would all prove acceptable if only the first one were absent. As it is, both the Cabinet by proclaiming and the Italian Chamber by endorsing the annexation of the still unconquered provinces had committed a fatal mistake, and Turkey, short of renouncing her independence as a State, cannot agree to recognise her own dismemberment. "Turkey will only bow before an accomplished fact. Italy by proclaiming the annexation has undertaken to conquer the two

provinces, and so long as she is "not mistress of the country over which she claims sovereignty she will not be in a position to compel recognition of that sovereignty."

It would appear that the Italian Government by demanding in its recent Memorandum, in reply to the *demande* of the Ambassadors, the recognition of the annexation of the two Turkish provinces by the Great Powers has committed a new grave mistake. The Rome correspondent of the *Temps* sends the following significant message to his journal—“People are asking them selves here whether the Powers will not be prevented from making an eventual *demande* at Constantinople by the demand of the Italian Government that the annexation of Tripoli should be recognised by them apart from and before the recognition of the accomplished fact, which is claimed from Turkey. Such a recognition would clearly be contrary to the neutrality which the Powers have repeatedly declared to be the guiding principle of their attitude towards the two belligerents. This initial mistake may well prove enough to bring about the definitive collapse of all attempts at mediation.”

That the writer, who is notoriously pro Italian, is not mistaken can be seen from a telegram in the *Stocle* from its correspondent at Constantinople. It says that the Turkish Cabinet has been semi-officially informed of the contents of the Italian Note and has decided to refuse the Italian offers without further ado. In these circumstances it questions whether the Great Powers will transmit these offers to the Porte at all. “It is noted that Italy is demanding the recognition of the annexation not from Turkey but from the Powers, a procedure which will have this result—that several Governments, three at least, will, in order to avoid the appearance of according to this demand and of departing from the attitude of strict neutrality which they have assumed from the beginning of the hostilities, refuse to submit the Italian terms to Constantinople. It is as well to note,” the message adds, “that these Governments (which include the French Government) have not replied to Italy’s notification of the decree of annexation, and have informed the Italian Government when inquiring about its terms of peace that they would not transmit them if unacceptable to Turkey.”

There can thus be no doubt that the attempt at mediation undertaken by the Powers has collapsed even before it has been carried out in its entirety. Bearing in mind that it was set on foot by Russia who is already responsible for two previous equally unsuccessful attempts, and that it certainly responded to the wishes of, if it was not actually suggested by, the Roman Foreign Office it is scarcely surprising to find that the Porte is awaiting further developments with anxiety, and attaches considerable credence to the rumours that Italy will now try to carry out a *coup de force* in the Dardanelles, and that Russia will assist her in this. The Constantinople correspondent of the *Stocle* says in fact—“In view of the collapse of mediation everyone is expecting some decisive action on the part of Italy—more particularly an attack on the Dardanelles. On the other hand it is asserted that Russia on her part is contemplating the possibility of taking advantage of the situation, and that to an attack on the Straits by Italy will correspond a bombardment of the Bosphorus by the Russian navy, which at present is cruising in the Black Sea close to the entrance of the Straits. The sudden recall of M. Tcharykoff, the appointment to Constantinople of M. de Giers, who is a brother of the Russian Ambassador at Vienna, and the audience which the latter has just had with the Emperor Francis Joseph—all these facts lead one to believe in the existence of an *entente* between Russia and Austria—an *entente* which will permit M. Sazonoff to realise his schemes.”

The Porte having through its Ambassadors notified the Great Powers that the Italian terms of peace would not be acceptable to it, the British, French and German Ambassadors at Constantinople have, according to the reliable information of the Constantinople correspondent of the *Stocle* called individually at the Porte, assuring the Turkish Cabinet that the Governments which they represent are more than ever determined to observe strict neutrality in the conflict between Turkey and Italy. The correspondent of the Paris journal concludes from this that if Russia were now to approach the Porte with the terms of the Italian Government her action could not assume the form of diplomatic pressure, and would in any case be futile. “This,” he observes, “is the epilogue of the attempt at mediation.”

M. Tcharykoff.

(FROM THE “NEAR EAST” OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, March 16.

The war in Tripoli, the possibility of Italian attacks on the islands and perhaps even on the Dardanelles, the state of Macedonia, and perhaps even the elections, have been placed in the background as subjects of conversation by the recall of M. Tcharykoff, the able

and energetic Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, by his Government. In the words of the *Times* correspondent at St. Petersburg, M. Tcharykoff’s recall and appointment to the Senate is “something in the nature of a disgrace.” Its causes are being discussed with the utmost animation, and a variety of theories have been propounded, which may be set before the reader, less on account of their intrinsic probability than for the light they throw on the diplomatic situation in the Near East.

According to the first of these theories, Austrian and, in a less degree, German influences, combined with the Russian partisans of a forward policy in the Near East and the Court elements which distrusted M. Tcharykoff, supposed Liberalism to oust the Ambassador. Those who propound this theory aver that the growth of good or, at least, of more correct relations between Austria-Hungary and Russia may lead to a new Murzsteg agreement for common action in the Balkan Peninsula. M. Tcharykoff was believed in Austro-German circles to have worked in favour of an alliance, or at least of a close political understanding, between the Balkan States and the Ottoman Empire. Such an understanding would not only bring Turkey into friendlier relations with her old enemy, Russia, but would bar the dreaded advance on Salonika, of which Austrian military men have so often spoken in *Danzer’s Armee Zeitung* and other professional organs. It would also cut the ground from under the feet of those Turks who, believing that Bulgaria and Russia are the inevitable opponents of a reformed Turkey, hold that an understanding with the Central Powers is necessary. “Austria,” they say, “may have designs on Macedonia. That is a danger, but if we can promise certain concessions to Germany she becomes our advocate with her ally, while the Dual Monarchy, if won by these means, will keep the Bulgar and help to keep the Russian off our backs.” This is the basic idea which underlies and explains the pro-German policy of the Young Turks, who, one must admit, are justified in their belief that it is extremely improbable that either France or England would expend a single Chasseur or Highlander to keep the Crescent flying over the fortress of Scutari in Albania or over the capitals of the Macedonian provinces. A Balkan understanding which included the Ottoman Empire would have turned the flank of the pro-German party, the more so as Austria, however capable she may be of driving the Turk from Plevlye to Salonika, would hardly dare an offensive against the combined forces of Turkey, Bulgaria, and Servia.

Another explanation of M. Tcharykoff’s recall may contain at least as much truth as the last. It is believed that the Ambassador, who lost no chance of proving his sympathy with the new régime by *petits soins*—instructions to his consular staff to abstain from creating incidents and to interpret the Capitulations whenever possible in a pro-Turkish sense, frequent expressions of confidence in the ultimate triumph of the Committee, generous entertainments, and it is whispered, a somewhat anti-Italian attitude—counted too much on the influence wielded by that group of Young Turks with whom he and his first dragoman, M. Mandelstamm, were most in touch. In other words, M. Tcharykoff believed that the influence of Djavid and Djahid Bey and their followers, as of one or two of their foreign friends, would be successfully exerted on behalf of a Russo-Turkish understanding based upon the opening of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus under certain limitations to Russian men-of-war. Events proved that he or his advisers were wrong on this point. In spite of the pro-Russian leading article of the *Tasvin*, the Committee of Union and Progress supported Said Pasha and Assim Bey in their *non-purumus* attitude with regard to the opening of the Straits and the great bulk of the Turkish Press, apparently inspired by the Government, subjected to the severest criticism, not M. Tcharykoff’s *avert* proposals, the tenor of which is unknown save to a few highly placed officials, but the suggestion that an *entente* between Russia and Turkey might be reached on the above mentioned basis. It is certainly possible that this version of the immediate cause of the Ambassador’s disgrace is the correct one, the more so as it is currently reported that M. Mandelstamm will not return to Constantinople.

Other explanations of M. Tcharykoff’s recall—“Court intrigues,” etc.—explain little or nothing. Meantime the Russian Government has informed Turhan Pasha that its policy in Turkey will undergo no change, and the news, which, if not official, comes at all events from well-informed sources, that it is M. de Giers, and not M. von Hartwig, who will be appointed to the Constantinople Embassy has to some extent calmed the uneasiness of the Young Turks who had followed events in Teheran. But it would be idle to pretend that the Young Turk leaders are not perturbed or that the Porte is entirely free from anxiety as to what Russia may intend. As for the *Tasvin* group, they are, to judge from a leading article in that journal, much distressed by the departure of a friend of Turkey, but it was surely unnecessary for the *Tasvin* to expatiate so much on M. Tcharykoff’s services to the new régime as to give the Russian Chauvinist an excuse for describing him as an excessively pro-Turk Ambassador. Another instance of “Save me from my friends!”

The Turco-Arab Forces in Tripoli.

A BELATED but still interesting letter, dated the end of February, is published by the *Vossische Zeitung* from its correspondent with the Turkish Forces at Azazia (30 miles south of Tripoli). The writer explicitly admits that he cannot give any particulars of the state, the number, or the disposition of the Turco-Arab troops but his description of the general spirit pervading the Turkish head-quarters leads us to infer that the Turks see no reason as yet to despair or even to feel downhearted. Fethi Bey, the chief of the general staff, said to the correspondent "The enemy has 50,000 regular troops, excellently armed and drilled in accordance with modern ideas, powerful artillery, provisions and supplies in abundance, fourteen generals, aeroplanes, balloons—and we? What have we got? No artillery, a colonel as commander-in-chief, few troops, old rifles, no reinforcements, no technical appliances. How is it, then, that the enemy, who has everything, is besieged, held in check by us who have nothing?"

The correspondent proceeds to speak of an old artillery captain, with a long, snow-white beard, Ahmed Shukri, who was introduced to him on his arrival at the camp. "For 52 days he shelled the Italian positions with his artillery, and only one gun was rendered useless by the combined fire of the naval field guns of the enemy directed from a balloon. 'I had only,' he told me, 'three cannon, and mountains of exploded shells were heaped up round me yet they did not succeed in driving me away, and I only withdrew after having fired my last shell. Against these three old fashioned guns no fewer than three quick-fires and four heavy naval guns, had been hurling shells and shrapnel for weeks and months together."

The correspondent adds "A more primitive field army than these Turco Arab troops can scarcely be imagined. But they are animated by an excellent spirit, and their leaders are unshakably convinced of their ultimate triumph.—(Manchester Guardian.)

Italy's Deadly Foe.

A CONSTANTINOPLE Correspondent sends an interesting account of the famous Sheikh who has been honoured by the Sultan and of the tribe over which he holds sway

What causes General Caneva, the Chief Commander of the Italian forces in Tripoli, the greatest perplexity and anxiety, and what seriously embarrasses his military operations (says the Correspondent) is the mysterious tribe of the Senussi. They are gathering now in thousands from their far-off centre on the oasis of Kufra, in the Lybian Desert, from many another distant oasis of North Africa, from the Sudan, from Arabia and from Egypt to wage the Holy War against the detestable "Macaroni," polluting with their unholy boot-clad feet the sacred territory of the Mahdis. And of all the innumerable Moslem sects and tribes, none can wage this Holy War with more passionate self-abnegation, with more terrible fanaticism and ferocity than the Senussi.

Many are the stories concerning this most extraordinary of Islamite brotherhoods. Some assert that they are Freemasons with a constitution and the rites very much resembling European masonic fraternities.

One thing seems to be perfectly certain. The Senussi symbolism of the "Rose," the secret password of the Mahdi's emissaries, has worked a veritable miracle. By means of it alone, the present Sheikh of the tribe, Sidi Ahmed El Mahdi, the grandson of the founder of the sect, was able, in a very short space of time, to gather, from distant parts, a formidable army of fanatical warriors ready to face General Caneva's forces with all the crushing resolution of religious frenzy fighting for Allah and Islam.

From an excellent source I gather that the number of these warriors amounts at present to about 100,000 men. All of them are exceedingly well-armed. Their ammunition is of a most modern type. Their leaders or Sheiks possess about £2,000,000 sterling. It is the name of the "Rose" that keeps them together and infuses them with unwavering enthusiasm. It is the "Rose" that is influencing the whole of Tripoli. And it will be the "Rose," it is asserted by those who know, that will finally carry victory over the invading infidels.

That remarkable Sudanese woman, herself a member of the Senussi sect, styled by the enthusiastic and grateful warriors "The Jeanne d'Arc of the Desert," with a lacerated left arm waving high in the air and with fierce outcries of religious fanaticism fired, the other day, the men of her tribe to an assault upon the strong entrenchments of the Italians. She accomplished the defeat of the numerically stronger enemy, in spite of the thunder of their cannon, only through the miracle working mystery of the password of the "Rose."

The political significance of the Senussi came into prominence when they began to fight against the corrupt system of the old bureaucratic administration. This is one of the chief reasons

why they were disliked by the former Sultan and could never obtain during his régime a firm footing in Constantinople itself. They are most enthusiastic champions in the cause of freedom and of enfranchisement from every form of despotism.

The present Chief Sidi Ahmed El Mahdi (Mahdi means "He who is led by Allah") is described as a very pious man, full of strength and courage. He has already fought, and very successfully too, in many a difficult campaign. The fight in Tripoli will be hot and long, and the Italians will perhaps arrive at the melancholy conviction that between the proclamation of the annexation and the actual possession of Tripoli is a wide and insurmountable gulf. (Englishman.)

Morocco and Tripoli.

AN ARTICLE of considerable importance has been published by the semi-official *Tribuna* of Rome in reply to a section of the French press which has denied that France owes anything to Italy in the matter of her African adventures. The *Tribuna* emphatically asserts that the secret Agreement of 1902, so far from being confined to mere declarations of *d'entretien* in Tripoli and Morocco, contains an explicit undertaking on the part of France to render positive assistance to Italy in Tripoli in return for similar assistance on the part of Italy to France in Morocco. The Roman journal points out how loyally Italy discharged her obligations at Algeciras, where she supported the French claims against those of her own ally. It then charges the French Government with a desire to evade the corresponding obligations on France's part, and concludes by pointing out that there are still some outstanding questions connected with a French protectorate over Morocco, such as the abolition of the capitulations, with regard to which the co-operation or at least the consent of Italy would be indispensable. "Italy could only maintain towards France in Morocco the same attitude which France is maintaining towards her in Tripoli." These are ominous words on the eve of the meeting of the Kaiser with King Victor Emmanuel at Venice.—(Manchester Guardian.)

Egypt.

LORD KITCHENER, contrary to all precedent and in defiance of the Constitution, such as it is, took upon himself to impose his presence on the Council of Ministers, and to preside, in conjunction with the Khedive, at an important meeting of the Council held two months ago at Kubbah Palace. This is resented, and is certainly quite outside the functions of the British Consul-General. Neither Lord Cromer nor Sir Eldon Gorst ever attempted such an irregularity.

Another pretension put forward by Lord Kitchener has been that of taking precedence over the diplomatic representatives of other European Powers at Cairo on the occasion of levées and official receptions. Accepted diplomatic etiquette universally gives precedence according to the date of appointment, not according to the importance of the Government represented. Lord Kitchener as junior of the diplomatic body at Cairo has no conceivable right to any but the lowest place. He insisted on taking the highest. This has caused friction and, we understand, protests; and we are informed that the difficulty was only solved by the Khedive's avoidance of the usual reception on the anniversary of his succession when instead of holding it, he took train for Saloum.

A late report speaks of negotiations having been opened between Constantinople and Cairo for solving the difficulty in Tripoli through a suggested cession by the Sultan of the Cyrenaica to Egypt, that district being added to the Khedivate in return for an increase of the tribute payable to the Sultan. We give this report under all reserves. It has a certain appearance of probability, and would doubtless serve the ends of British diplomacy, while it becomes more and more certain that the Italians will be unable to hold the Cyrenaica against the united efforts of the Senoussia and Enver Bey.

It is remarkable that in Lord Kitchener's speech recently delivered at Khartoum no mention whatever was made of the Khedive's name. This is an innovation typical of the new Consul-General, who outgoes Lord Cromer in the desire to monopolise the limelight on public occasions. The great object at the British Agency now is to show itself as the fount of authority and initiator of all things, whether good or evil.—(Egypt.)

Italians and the War.

(FROM A "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" CORRESPONDENT IN ITALY.)

THE *passeggiata* of a week has lasted nearly five months, and there are few victories to keep enthusiasm at the desired pitch; indeed, it would seem now to be mainly nourished on soldiers' letters, which are published in great numbers, and experience inclines one to think that these are carefully edited.

The hope that Professor Salvemini's paper *L'Unità* would form a strong centre for the protesting party has hardly been justified. Salvemini is a man who commands universal sympathy and respect. He suffered the loss of his entire family in the earthquake at Messina, and though thus cruelly stricken he devotes himself unweariedly to the work of the country at large and the interests of the South in particular. He has long opposed Protection and striven for electoral reform. The general trend of *L'Unità* is now plain. It launched a strong reproach against the Socialists for failing to make a better organised opposition to the war during the months preceding the ultimatum, and it sternly condemns the policy which led to it, but since the war is now a fact *L'Unità* holds that it is useless to do other than join in the effort to carry it through as well and as thoroughly as possible.

The interest of the first issues lay in the exposure of some of the falsities which in September last helped to prepare the public mind of Italy for hostile action. Six documents were published called the "Rohlfis Report," consisting of a correspondence purporting to have passed between Rohlfis, a celebrated German traveller Crispi, and Camperio in 1804. The most important of these was the Rohlfis Report on the social, economic, and political condition of Tripoli and Cyrenaica, and a letter from Crispi, dated 16th August 1804, dealing with the future of North Africa and the duty of Italy to go to Tripoli. Salvemini from the first doubted these documents, and has been able, with the aid of experts, to prove clearly that they are forgeries. The false documents did their work, they nullified the influence of certain carefully reasoned articles just then published by one of the most profound writers on political subjects in Italy, Gaetano Mosca, Professor of Constitutional Law in the University of Turin, and they drove forward the already excited people to battle pitch.

L'Unità is wise in urging upon the Italians greater calmness and dignity, whether facing victory, defeat, or calumny. It protests against the more than regal reception given to Jean Carrere, the French war correspondent, who denied the barbarities described by his colleagues. The whole peninsula received him as a conqueror, deliriously throwing themselves at his feet. It bravely protests also against what is described as "the not less than savage language of multitudes of the people" reflected in the average newspapers, by which they show themselves no better, intellectually or morally, than the Arabs of whom they speak.

Salvemini's journal can do nothing to stop the war. It can and does do something to hold before the eyes of Italy a loftier line of conduct.

The Turkish Tommy.

By Alan Outler.

("Express" Special Correspondent with the Turkish Forces in Tripoli.)

Gharian, February 13

If we are to believe what historians, military critics, war correspondents, and similarly qualified observers have left on record, the soldier of every nation has his distinctive quality. So we come to recognise the British Tommy by his pluck, the French soldier by a certain fearless gaiety, the German by strict adherence to the letter of military discipline, the Russian by sullen pertinacity, the Japanese by sublime indifference to death, and so on and so forth.

Well, I am at a loss how to label the common Turkish soldier. Plucky is not precisely the word for him, since pluck implies bravery, coupled with a certain dash and alertness. Brave the Turk certainly is, but not so much, I think, because he disdains danger as because he never seems to realise its presence. Dashing and alert he certainly is not.

He has all the fearlessness of the French pion pion, with none of his gaiety.

He has the pertinacity of the Russian, but he is not sullen. And his obedience would put the best drilled German to the blush.

He is quite as indifferent to death as the Japanese, but he has none of the fervour with which the sons of Japan courted it at the mouths of Russian cannon for their country's sake.

Altogether, the Turkish soldier is an enigma. To describe him adequately, one must speak of two qualities which he possesses to a superlative degree—extraordinary endurance; and superhuman stupidity.

His endurance is a thing to make one gasp. Ill-clad, ill-fed and particularly ill-paid, he will fight all day on a handful of flour and a cupful of dirty water, sleep as best he can, unsheltered from rain, dew or sandstorm, walk ten miles to hospital with a wound that would kill any other human being; lie-in-a-dirty, crowded hospital, whose doctors cannot treat him because they have no drugs and no instruments; recover, if it please Heaven, and go about his duties once again, and if not, die quietly; and all without a word of complaint.

The Turkish soldier never complains, and never wilfully fails to carry out an order, however harsh or tedious. I know quite well that if one of the soldiers here were told to go alone into the Italian camp and kill the general, he would salute and trudge off without a word. I have seen him, after two days of semi-starvation, clumsily prepare some poor meal for himself, light his fire with infinite pains from wet and scanty fuel, sit patiently watching his pot till the mess was cooked, and then, just as he was about to fall to, rise and leave all, to carry out some trivial, perhaps needless, order, without so much as a sign of discontent.

A few evenings ago a soldier brought me a great coat which I had left behind at one of the outpost camps. He walked eleven miles through the sand to bring it, would on no account accept any reward whatever, and as soon as he had delivered it, tramped eleven miles back to his station. He had been on duty, of course, all day since sunrise, and must have been tired out when he set off on his errand.

The Turkish trooper, o. private, lives the life of a dog. Indeed many a dog is better fed and better kept than he. Until quite recently, he was inhumanly treated by his superiors. Yet I never heard of a Turkish soldier who complained, and if one did, his mates would most certainly treat him as an outcast. Uncomplaining obedience, a pathetic, ox-like endurance of hardship and misery, are qualities which the Turkish soldier possesses beyond all belief.

As for his stupidity, that, too, passes all understanding. He knows it, apparently, and does not in the least resent comment upon it. There were two orderlies, Emin and Ahmed, whose duty was to wait upon the staff in the barracks at Azizia, and to make the beds and generally keep the room tidy. One morning Ahmed was sweeping the room with a stolid thoroughness that raised choking clouds of dust, against which I protested, suggesting that he might go to work a little more gently.

Ahmed stolidly ceased from sweeping, and awaited further orders.

I told him to sweep, but not in such a manner as to raise the dust. He fell to work as before.

While I was in the midst of trying to explain to him that it was possible to sweep efficiently and yet gently, Emin, the other orderly, arrived.

In less than twenty minutes Emin had grasped what I meant. Then he explained to me that Ahmed was dull of understanding.

"Ahmed," said he, "is quite like a beast 'n his mind—very stupid. Are you not, Ahmed?"

Ahmed admitted it without the least rancour.

"Even Lutfi" (a most notorious thickhead and butt of the camp) "calls me a fool," said he.

For several days after this the intelligent Emin, whenever occasion offered, reminded me that he had grasped my meaning "almost at once," whereas the stupid Ahmed "had a mind quite like a beast."

Yet even the brilliant intellect of Emin moves somewhat ponderously. The other day I saw him set about grooming a vicious horse. As soon as he came within reach, the horse bit him. Emin withdrew, but without haste, to a safer distance, and stood for some minutes looking alternately at his bitten hand and at the horse.

Presently he approached, slowly, and kicked the horse in the stomach. Having thus appeased the creature, he set about grooming it, and was within an ace of being bitten again.

Again he withdrew, and stood obviously meditating on the unreasonableness of the brute. He attempted to plant another conciliatory kick in its ribs, but the horse anticipated his move, and countered so quickly that Emin's wonderful headpiece escaped fracture by a miracle.

Emin walked away and sat down on a manure-heap, to evolve a new plan of campaign. After much thought he once more approached the horse, and almost briskly, thrust a nose-bag over its head. Then he slipped a hobble over one of its hind feet, and after regarding his work complacently for full five minutes, set about his original task of grooming the horse.

He had half finished, when an idea struck him. He stopped, meditated for a while and then, with the air of one inspired, seized a stick and gave the horse two resounding thwacks with it.

Then he tranquilly finished grooming.

Stupid, honest, kind to children, albeit somewhat callous to the sufferings of animals, brave, and, above all, silently enduring, the Turkish peasant-soldier is a man for whom one cannot help feeling a strong sympathy in all his miseries. And see him in such a campaign as this, see how he responds to the intelligent kindness (provided you can get him to accept it at all) see how cheerfully, and with what simple humour he makes light of his hardships, and then your pity will become a stronger feeling still.

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The Week.

China.

REUTER wires from Shanghai on the 13th.—A mutiny broke out among the troops at Nankin. Houses and shops were looted and buildings burned. The Cantonese regulars surrounded the mutineers and re-captured most of the loot. It is reported that fifty were killed in the fight.

Northern soldiers are giving evidence of growing dissatisfaction with the Republic, and it is possible that if a leader were forthcoming, the North would restore the Monarchy.

Reuters wires from Peking on the 13th.—The Belgian Syndicate has signed at Shanghai a further preliminary loan of two millions sterling. This, like the first loan, will be considered as an advance on the proposed big loan. The Russo-Asiatic bank is not participating, pending a settlement as to Russia's entry into the international group.

Reuters wires from Washington on the 13th.—The Senate has passed a resolution congratulating the Chinese people on the assumption by them of the powers, duties and responsibilities of self-government.

Reuters wires from Peking on the 14th.—It has been decided that pending the pacification of troops in the South, the Military Commander at Nanking will continue under the direction of the President to exercise certain control under which will come the civil, military and diplomatic affairs at Nanking. This decision is considered

most important as emphasising Yuan-Shi-Kai's determination to avoid a rupture with the South and a tacit acknowledgment that the South is not yet prepared to dissolve its military organisation.

Reuter wires from Paris on the 14th.—France and Russia are completely agreed with regard to the participation of the latter country in the Chinese loan.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 15th.—The Government replying to the protest of the four nation group against the Belgian loan states that it appears probable that the Belgians will join the international group in order that the political deadlock may be overcome. The imperative need of funds is again causing the Government extreme anxiety.

Afghanistan.

The *Pioneer* reports that a serious revolt against the Amir's authority has occurred in Khost, an Afghan district.

It appears that the Governor of Shahgashi, Mohamed Akbar Khan, ruled in such an oppressive manner that the Khostwalias petitioned against him. He was summoned to Kabul last year but was able to make out such a good case for himself that he returned with greater powers than he had enjoyed before. The Jagis were the first to resent his enlarged authority and fresh representations were made to the Amir. The relation between the Afghan garrison of Khost and the local tribesmen became strained and matters were complicated by the demands made upon the Khostwalias generally for forced labour to build a new road, which the Kabul Government had ordered to be constructed. The Mangals, a powerful and warlike clan, were the first to move and they combined with their hereditary enemies, the Jadrans, in the scheme of revolt, some sections of Jagis also giving assistance.

Last month concerted attacks were made upon the Afghan garrison. Post after post fell and the fugitive soldiers began to arrive in Kurram. The revolt spread with amazing rapidity and there was little quarter given to Afghan soldiers though the Jagis kept some as prisoners with a view probably to using them as hostages.

The latest reports are that the Governor with the remainder of his troops is besieged in Matun, the capital of Khost, a town which lies in the open plain and that the Mangals and Jadrans are masters of the position. The present revolt certainly seems by far the most serious one that has ever occurred in Khost and the Amir has issued orders for four brigades to move into the country. Their first objective will be Matun, which must be relieved before any punitive operations in the hills can be undertaken. The campaign seems likely to last some months. At least fugitive Afghan soldiers who have appeared in the Kurram are being sent to the Afghan outpost on Peiwar Kotal which is always strongly held.

Moslem University.

The Nizam's donation of five lakhs to the Moslem University has now been paid in. His Highness has also raised his annual grant to thirty-six thousand rupees. Salar Jung III has given a donation of a lakh on coming into his estate in Hyderabad State, and Nawab Muhyayuddin Khan, son of the late Sir Asman Jah, has given one and a half lakhs. Total cash in hand for the Moslem University is now twenty-six lakhs, leaving only one lakh more to be collected to bring the total to the minimum required.

Home Rule Bill.

April, 11.

IN INTRODUCING the Home Rule Bill, Mr. Asquith said it was 19 years since Mr. Gladstone introduced the last of his measures to provide for the better government of Ireland. That speech contained a perfect exposition of the historic case as between Great Britain and Ireland. He would not pretend to cover that ground, but before he entered upon an explanation of the provisions of the Bill, he would take up the narrative at the point at which Mr. Gladstone left off, and would ask the House how far the case for and against Home Rule had been effected, one way or another, by the course of events since 1893.

First dealing with the question from the Irish standpoint, Mr. Asquith said that since the extension of the franchise in 1884, there had been eight General Elections. The fortunes of parties had ebbed and flowed. Governments had come and gone—they had had peace and war, shifting issues and changing policies, but throughout the welter and confusion, one thing had remained constant, namely, the insistence and the persistence of the Irish demand.

Mr. Asquith emphasised the predominant character of the vote given in favour of Home Rule in Ireland. Look at Ulster (Opposition cheers.) Seventeen Unionists and sixteen Home Rulers had been returned for Ulster (Ministerial cheers.) These figures were quite sufficient to show the misleading character of the picture that Ulster would die rather than assent to Home Rule. (Ministerial cheers.) He had never under-estimated the strength and determination of resistance to Home Rule in Ulster. It was a factor which a sane and prudent statesman could not leave out of account. He hoped presently to show that they had not ignored it in framing the Bill. They could not, however, admit the right of a relatively small minority, especially when care had been taken to safeguard their special interests, to veto the verdict of the vast majority of their fellow-countrymen.

Mr. Asquith reviewed the progress of Ireland since 1893. He pointed out that that had deprived Unionists of many of their arguments. Every year had emphasised the imperative need of emancipating the Imperial Parliament from local cares. They would never get the separate concerns of the different parts of the United Kingdom treated with adequate time, knowledge and sympathy, until they had the courage and wisdom to hand them over to their special representatives.

Mr. Asquith laid stress on the congestion of business in the House of Commons under the existing system and asked how they were meanwhile discharging their duty to the Empire at large. He referred to the creation of the Commonwealth of Australia and the grant of self-government to the Transvaal and to the Union of South Africa. The case of the Transvaal, he said, was strictly analogous with that of Ireland, and he would be a bold man who would assert that the case of Ulster presented more difficulty than that offered by Boer and Briton living side by side in territory just recovered from an internecine war.

Then he came to the Bill itself. It was expressly stipulated in the first clause that the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament remained unimpaired. An Irish Parliament was to be established consisting of a Senate and a House of Commons. This Parliament would have power to pass laws for the peace, order and good government of Ireland. It would only have power to make laws respecting matters exclusively relating to Ireland.

The list of excluded matters with which Parliament was not able to deal in the last Home Rule Bill was maintained with certain additions, including Land Purchase, Old Age Pensions, Insurance, Constabulary, and the Post Office Savings Act.

The Constabulary, however, was to be automatically transferred after six years. With regard to Old Age Pensions and Insurance, power was given to the Irish Parliament to demand the transfer of these services after a year's notice. The Irish Parliament could not alter the Home Rule Bill itself or alter the power of appeal to the Privy Council.

There were special provisions for the protection of religious equality, while the third clause stipulated that, in the exercise of its powers, the Irish Parliament should not make laws to either directly or indirectly establish or endow any religion or prohibit the free exercise thereof, or give preference or privilege to any religion or make any religious ceremony a condition of validity of any marriage.

The Lord Lieutenant had power to veto or suspend a Bill on the instruction of the Imperial Executive. Any question of the interpretation of the Home Rule Act and its application was to be settled by appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The Senate would consist of forty members and the House of Commons of 164 members of which number Ulster would have 59 and the Universities two.

The Senate was to be a nominated body, in view of the special circumstances prevailing in the case of Ireland. It was very desirable, continued Mr. Asquith, to get into the Senate the representatives of the minority. The Senate would be nominated in the first instance by the Imperial Executive for a fixed term, but as they retired in rotation, the vacancies would be filled on

the nomination of the Irish Executive. Where there was disagreement between the two Houses they had followed the South African precedent, and the two Houses would sit and vote together as at present, but there would be no religious bar and the Lord Lieutenant would hold office for a fixed term. The authority of the Executive would be co-extensive with the authority of the Irish Parliament.

Turning to finance, Mr. Asquith said the Government were unable to adopt the scheme suggested by the special committee appointed to investigate the financial relations of the two countries, but that they had derived great benefit from that report. He emphasised that, under the existing system, it was in nobody's interest in Ireland to economise. During the next year there would be a deficit of a million and half on Irish administration, and if the present system continued, the deficit would be added to year by year. The Bill anticipated a future when Irish income and expenditure would balance, and provision was made for that state of affairs, and meanwhile collection of all taxes would remain an Imperial service and would be paid into the Imperial exchequer. It was provided that there should be transferred from the Imperial to the Irish exchequer a sum called "the transferred sum," representing the cost as determined by a Board called "The Joint Exchequer Board" to the Imperial exchequer of the Irish services at the time of the passing of the Act. There would further be paid over to Ireland half a million sterling in the first year, diminishing by £50,000 yearly to £200,000. The postal service would be made an Irish service, and Ireland would get the benefit of all economies made by her administration. The Irish Parliament would have power to reduce or discontinue Imperial taxation, subject to certain reservations, these including income-tax stamps, and estate duties, but there would be a corresponding reduction in "the transferred sum."

The Irish Parliament would have full powers to devise new taxes and to increase, reduce or discontinue Imperial taxes subject to the following restrictions:—

Firstly—As regards income tax, estate duties and customs, other than customs duties on beers and spirits, it would be unable to add more than will produce 10 per cent increase in yield. As regards excise its hands would be free.

Secondly—it could not impose customs duty except on articles dutiable in the United Kingdom.

Thirdly—There were certain stamp duties which ought to be uniform throughout the United Kingdom.

Fourthly—Any reduction or increase in "the transferred sum" corresponding to the diminished or increased yield thus caused.

The Irish representation at Westminster would be reduced to 42, namely, one member for every 100,000 of the population. The Irish Universities would cease to be represented in the Imperial Parliament. The Commons must continue to be the Commons of the United Kingdom and the Irish members would have unfettered right to vote.

Sir Edward Carson speaking for the Opposition denounced the proposals contained in the Bill as ridiculous and fantastic. The safeguards, he said, were delusions. Was Mr. Asquith going to submit the Bill to the country? Would he assert that the Bill had been before the country? Sir Edward Carson ridiculed the supposed safeguard of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament as a mere palliative for members with some conscience left. He vigorously attacked Government for introducing the measure while the Constitution was suspended and the preamble to the Parliament Act was still in abeyance. "So long," he said, "as Government had had a majority independently of the Irish, nothing had been heard of Home Rule. Our plain duty was to oppose the Bill with all the energy we could." He believed it to be an unnecessary Bill, fatal to both countries, and he regarded it as the outcome of the greatest series of dishonourable transactions which ever disgraced a country.

Mr. Redmond, on behalf of the Nationalists, heartily approved the measure. He said it was idle to tell the House that the safeguards were useless. From the financial standpoint alone the Bill ought to commend itself to Englishmen. Speaking also for his colleagues, he declared, "This is a great measure—one adequate to carry out the objects of its promoters and we welcome it." The Bill, he added, would be submitted to the Irish National Convention and he would unhesitatingly urge the Convention to accept it.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald for the Labour party approved the Bill.

Mr. O'Brien, while reserving judgment as to details, approved of the Bill generally and appealed to Ulster Unionists to accept it as an honourable settlement of the Irish question.

April, 15.

Mr. Balfour, in resuming the debate, ridiculed the safeguards outlined by Mr. Asquith and declared that the alleged supremacy of the Imperial Government was comparable with the ancient claims of British Sovereigns to be Kings of France. Mr. Asquith's initial experiment with Federation, he said, was lop-sided and botched, and utterly unworthy of British statesmanship. He severely criticized

the financial provisions of the Bill pointing out that the position of the constabulary was absolutely impossible.

The scheme also involved the setting up of a Customs barrier between England and Ireland. He did not believe that English and Scottish members would support the insane suggestion of a future federal system divided by Customs barriers. If Ireland could use the Customs against foreigners, declared Mr. Balfour, then Government would be involved in appalling difficulties which would arise from the folly of trying to reverse the true policy of national development.

All nations looked to the future with anxiety and misgiving, and great social communities felt they must maintain their place by integration, not disintegration. Alluding to the union of South Africa, he said, South Africa was a great dominion conscious not only of her place in the Empire but of her special difficulties and dangers. South African statesmen realised when they rejected the schemes of Home Rule and Federation but adopted closer union that a country so constituted could alone do its best rapidly, conclusively and decisively against some imminent danger.

What was the position of Great Britain in times of danger with this lopsided federation? It was only a fair-weather constitution. He asked whether they thought the absurd scheme would last a decade. If Nationalist really believed Ireland to be a nation they would not and ought not to be content with such a makeshift. He desired to see the Irish as free as the English and Scotch and co-operate in the great work of Empire. He maintained they had such freedom under the present system.

Mr. Herbert Samuel replying on behalf of the Government said Mr. Balfour's arguments against the Bill might equally and justly be advanced against any scheme of Colonial Self-Government. He pointed out that six years ago Mr. Balfour had described the grant of Self-Government to South Africa as a "reckless experiment". The experiences of hundred and fifty years, he said, proved that it was the denial, not the grant of Home Rule, that had led to separatist tendencies. Colonial autonomy was not only not inconsistent with but essential to imperial unity. Appeals were continually being received from all parts of the Empire urging Home Rule for Ireland, not only from statesmen of the Irish race but from such men as Mr. Botha and Sir Joseph Ward, while Mr. Cecil Rhodes, an Empire builder if ever there was one, spoke from his grave in favour of it.

Dealing with finance, Mr. Samuel said it would be unjust in the first instance to burden Ireland with the whole deficit. The state of her finances was not her fault but the result of English financial administration. Her revenue was paid on the Irish scale, while her expenditure was on the English scale. Therefore, it was obviously indefeasible, after accustoming the Irish to this scale of expenditure, to impose on them the burden of finding the whole of the expenditure. If they did not assist, the new Irish Parliament would be faced in the first year with a deficit exceeding one-fifth of the whole revenue, which would mean a 15 to 20 per cent. increase in taxation. At the same time it was unjust that the deficit should be permanently borne by the British taxpayer.

He was convinced that when Ireland was prosperous she would be willing to assume her just share in the burden of Empire. The Government's scheme provided that the finances of the one country would not be appreciably disturbed by a change in the finances of the other. If the Irish Government were able to effect economies, they would be free to reduce any taxes they liked, such as those which pressed the heaviest on the poorer classes, namely, Customs duties especially those on tea and sugar. It was impossible, however, to give unfettered control of Customs, as such action would be inconsistent with the general policy of Government.

Financial experts who had enquired into the Anglo-Irish Finance prior to the drafting of the Home Rule Bill had found the situation so utterly unsound that they had actually recommended complete fiscal autonomy for Ireland and an annual subvention of £900,000, but the Government was unable to accept the recommendations for various substantial reasons. The whole of the Irish revenue would continue to be paid into the Exchequer so long as the deficit lasted. The total sum transferred annually from the Exchequer would be about six million sterling, but this was not a grant from the British taxpayer, as it would be derived from Irish taxes. The total cost of the reserved services would be about five million sterling. The loss thereon at the outside would be about two million sterling, but if the present rate of progress continued, this would gradually diminish and disappear in ten years. The Irish Government would be authorised, if they so desired, to borrow money for the purpose of national development. The Irish Exchequer Board would have power to issue loans and make provision for payment of interest on the sinking fund from the "transferred sum."

April 16.

Mr. Long said it was a mere pretence to suppose that a Bill propitiating the enemies of British Rule and humiliating

those loyal to the British flag could bring peace and harmony to Ireland. There was no analogy with the case of the Dominions. In South Africa, there had been a great process of unification affording no precedent for the Government's proposals. Criticising the details of the Bill, Mr. Long said that the nominated Senate was still-born and was without a friend anywhere. The land legislation provisions would throw a great scheme into hopeless confusion.

Mr. Timothy Healy made a strong appeal to the Unionists for appeasement. He suggested that half of the Senate should be nominated by Protestant bodies and that the Senate should be empowered to veto appointments worth over £500. While criticising details, he warmly supported the Bill generally and apologised to Mr. Asquith for ever expressing doubts as to his sincerity.

Mr. Bonar Law said it was impossible to regard the Bill as a final settlement, because it gave a Constitution to which none of the self-governing Colonies would submit for a week. If it were necessary or possible, he would give Ireland the same powers as Canada, because there would then be a chance of a friendly Ireland. Under this Bill, whenever things went wrong, all the blame would be placed on the restrictions of the Imperial executive, and the grant of the Irish Parliament would give the agitation a leverage, making it infinitely more dangerous than at present.

Concluding, Mr. Bonar Law said Ulstermen were ready to lay down their lives, and how could their resistance be overcome? He reiterated that Government were introducing the Bill against their convictions, because they were dependent on Irish votes. Mr. Asquith's debt of honour regarding the reform of the Lords must wait till the debt of shame had been paid to Mr. Redmond. Finally he declared, "the Bill cannot be carried without submission to the people."

Mr. Birrell said the speech of Mr. Bonar Law was violent and impudent. The Liberals were content with their Premier, and did not envy the Opposition their new leader.

The first reading of the Bill was subsequently carried by 360 votes to 266.

April 17.

The Home Rule Bill has been issued. It enacts that the term of office of Senators shall be eight years and the duration of the House of Commons five years. The Irish Parliament will be summoned on the first Tuesday in September 1913, upon which day Irish members at Westminster will vacate their seats.



Verse.

In Praise of Gul Mohurs.

What can rival your lovely hue
O gorgeous boon of the spring?
The glimmering red of a bridal robe,
Rich red of a wild bird's wing?
Or the mystic blaze of the gem that burns
On the brow of a serpent king?

What can rival the valiant joy
Of your dazzling, fugitive sheen?
The limpid clouds of the lustrous dawn
That colours the ocean's mien?
Or the blood that poured from a thousand
breasts
To succour a Rajput Queen?

What can rival the radiant pride
Of your frail victorious fire?
The flame of hope or the flame of hate,
Quick flame of my heart's desire?
Or the rapturous light that leaps to heaven
From a true wife's funeral pyre?

SAROJINI NAIDU.

TETE À TETE



The news that His Highness the Nizam has raised the annual State grant to the Aligarh College to Rs. 36,000 has been received throughout Moslem India with feelings of peculiar pleasure and gratitude. The creation of a University is by far

The Moslem University.

the most important effort that the Indian Mussalmans have made in modern times and it is peculiarly gratifying to note that all classes of the community from the highest to the lowest have participated in the great communal undertaking with equal degree of zeal and devotion. The consciousness of having laboured unitedly for the fruition of a noble ideal will remain a great moral asset of the community. To us a matter of supreme gratification is the liberal help that has been given to the University movement by ali the Mussalman Ruling Chiefs in the country as the telegram we publish elsewhere clearly indicates. We are glad to feel that the natural leaders of the community, enjoying great powers for good or evil, have become alive to the needs of the times. The liberality of Her Highness the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal has been unstinted indeed. The Moslem public had cherished high hopes of the Nizam and we are happy to think that they have been realised. The increase of the annual grant by Rs. 12,000, though below public expectation, constitutes a generous measure of help, while the donation of 5 lakhs to the University Fund was well worthy of the traditions of Hyderabad. But we regard these merely in the light of a renewal by the successor of the late Nizam of those intimate relations that have always existed between the premier Moslem State and nerve centre of 70 millions Mussalmans. His Highness is an enlightened Prince and he could not have failed to note that although Hyderabad has given much in charity no gift has been a tenth as productive as the State grant to Aligarh. We are now informed by the Honorary Secretary of the Aligarh College that His Highness the Nizam's donation has been paid into the Bank of Bengal. The Honorary Secretary also hopes to be able to announce ere long "very encouraging news about the progress of the University Fund in Native States." In the meantime he requests the public "to rise to the occasion and pay up their promises at once and help in the realisation of subscription from friends to enable the Central Committee to apply to the Government to introduce the Moslem University Bill during the next session of the Imperial Council at Simla." We fully associate ourselves with the request of the Honorary Secretary. It may also be noted here that two of the greatest nobles of Hyderabad, Salar Jung III and Nawab Mohayyud Din Khan, grandson of the late Sir Asman Jah, have promised to give Rs. 1,00,000 and Rs. 1,50,000 respectively to the University Fund. The required minimum for the purposes of the Bill requires a lakh more to be complete. Even a little systematic effort ought to suffice to bring about the wished for consummation.

THE enormous difficulties that confront China in her political reconstruction have aroused great sympathy for her throughout the world. Unfortunately, however, the temptation to fish in troubled waters was never

Diplomacy. so strong a force in European diplomacy as it is to-day, and it is on this account that the dangers lying across the path of the Chinese statesmen have grown immensely formidable. The self-restraint so far exercised by some of the European Powers is no doubt creditable. It must also be remembered that the revolutionary leaders of China have behaved throughout the period of civil anarchy and commotion with marvellous tact, foresight and wisdom, and have not given the slightest provocation to foreign vested interests that could have led to foreign interference. The only hint of an aggressive nature has so far come from Russia, and more recently from Japan. The development of Muscovite designs in the region of Mongolia need not surprise any one acquainted

with the bellicose character of Muscovite diplomacy. What has, however, surprised us most is the attitude of Japan in her dealings with a peaceful and neighbourly people who are earnestly engaged in setting their affairs in order. The Republican Government of China stands in need of money and a big international loan is being negotiated for the purpose. All the great European Powers as well as Japan have agreed to participate in the loan on equal terms. The resources of China are immense; she can offer a good security; and in the ordinary course there ought to be no difficulty for her in raising the money that she needs. But Russia and Japan, it would seem, are bent on forcing her to surrender some of her sovereign rights as a price of the financial assistance they have promised. Russia wants to include Mongolia in her sphere of influence, while Japan desires that her special interests in Manchuria should be formally recognised. We confess our respect and admiration for Japan would be hardly increased by the manner in which she has begun to exercise her newly acquired strength. We admire her for the sustained efforts and devotion with which she has built up the fabric of her national greatness. We respect the resourcefulness and courage with which she bore herself through the crisis in which her honour, and perhaps life were involved. But we scarcely thought that she, too, would begin to imitate the worst features of the European Powers into whose company she entered after demonstrating her military efficiency. It was only a few years ago that she behaved in a peculiarly unfortunate manner when an effort was made to establish diplomatic relations between Turkey and herself. She, too, wanted to enjoy like the European Powers the privilege of iniquitous capitulations. The suggestion was of course rejected with scorn and thus the effort proved abortive. It is not by blindly walking in the footsteps of Europe that Japan will retain the admiration and regard of Asia. She must indeed thank her stars that the change in her condition came a little before Europe developed the appetite of the giant for more earth. It is in fact her history itself that has helped this earth-hunger.

THE constitutional crisis in China has given birth to a widespread unrest which has been felt to the uttermost confines of the Empire. In Manchuria, Mongolia and Tibet, the three outlying provinces,

the loosening of the bonds of authority have led to chaos and civil strife. Manchuria has been for a considerable time past the theatre of international rivalries and its affairs have never, in consequence, been in a tranquil condition. Mongolia has been within the Russian sphere of aspiration ever since the Muscovite ambitions in Korea and Manchuria were shattered on the plain of Mukden. This aspiration has now naturally materialised into "interest." Tibetan affairs have stood on a somewhat different footing. The country, though a Chinese province and owing allegiance to the Central Government at Peking, has for centuries past remained in a state of splendid isolation. The Russian intrigues and the Youngusband Mission to Lhassa, which was their direct outcome, roused the Chinese to establish more direct and stricter control over Tibetan affairs. The Chinese Amban became the virtual ruler of the country, and the Dalai Lama, after a series of adventures and escapades, took refuge in India as the guest of the Government. He is still at Kalimpong near the Tibetan frontier awaiting developments. The overthrow of the Manchus and the establishment of the Republic has inevitably led to the relaxation of the Central authority. Some untoward incidents have roused the Tibetans to revolt and a number of serious conflicts have occurred between them and the Chinese troops. The country is for the time being in a state of insurrection, a large part of the Chinese garrison appears to have perished in the conflict or fled away and the Amban had been obliged, according to a report, to take sanctuary in a monastery. To-day's telegrams, however, show that the Chinese are not in such a bad plight as all that, and it is very probable that it is the Tibetans themselves that are now hard pressed. The hands of the Republican Government are full, but they will, we may be sure, lose no time in re-establishing their authority. In the meantime the Indian Government is watching the course of events in Tibet. The presence of the Dalai Lama, intent to return at the first favourable moment, has created some sort of responsibility for the Government. We hope, however, that no aggressive part will be taken by us in the settlement of the Tibetan affairs. The Englishman has in sheer commiseration of the plight of the Tibetans invoked "some stronger Power" to come to their rescue, and eagerly asks if Britain would have the courage to imitate Russia. We wish that in thus aiding and abetting political crime, the Englishman had found Britain a bad tool.

THE terrible catastrophe that has overtaken the *Titanic*, one of the world's largest and most luxuriously appointed liners, on her maiden voyage across the Atlantic is one of those events that stagger humanity. The ship was built on a huge scale and equipped with the latest appliances that science has devised for the safety or luxury of man. She had 45,000 tons

displacement and was the second of the White Star line's leviathans that ply between America and England. The *Titanic* started from Liverpool with a complement of upwards of 2,300 men; and while going at full speed of 21½ knots in mid-ocean she struck an iceberg, and after a few hours became a total wreck. In spite of her scientific build and watertight compartments and turbine engines, nothing could avail to save her against the awful and remorseless perils of the deep. It is disasters like this that shake one out of the overweening sense of human knowledge and power and give him a glimpse of the terrible natural forces before which the most gigantic human creations rock and perish like a reed. The *Titanic* sent all sound signals of distress, and some of the liners who picked up the messages hastened to her aid. The *Carpathia* seems to have first arrived at the scene of disaster and took over about 745 persons, mostly women and children, on board. The rest, about 1,595, seem to have perished. There were several distinguished men on board the *Titanic*, one of them being Mr W T. Stead, the famous Editor of the *Review of Reviews*. Nothing about his fate is known with certainty. He is amongst the missing. If he too has found the watery grave along with hundreds of others, the appalling death roll will include one of the most brilliant journalists of the world. Let us, however, hope for the best, though the details yet to hand give very little to hope for.

It seems that the long-drawn historic struggle of Ireland for Home Rule is at last to be crowned with success.

A Bill embodying a large measure of local self-government with an Irish executive responsible to a purely Irish Parliament has been introduced in the House of Commons. This is the third time that a Liberal Ministry has sought to meet the persistent demand of the Irish people to manage their own affairs. The two previous efforts with which the name of Gladstone is associated to his everlasting glory and fame were wrecked through fierce Tory opposition that had succeeded in rousing British electors to hostility by playing on the worst passions of John Bull. The latest effort, however, appears to have been made under the most favourable and auspicious conditions and there seems to be every chance now for the equitable settlement of the Irish question. The partisan controversies, though still hot and charged with passion, have lost much of their virulence. The general British electorate responds but feebly to the party formulas which in the present state of affairs and in view of the new political and social currents have grown flat, stale and unprofitable. It is only through the abject die-hardism and sterile consistency of a race of politicians who had formed their political faiths a generation ago that the dying embers of hate and passion are being fanned into flame. The debate in the House of Commons on the first reading of the Bill has been a comparatively tame affair, and though the old stalwarts of the historic fight in the ranks of the Opposition roared as loudly as caged lions, the note of protest was almost apologetic and lacked its former nerve and a surance. The Bill is sure to emerge successfully through the House of Commons, while that last citadel of Toryism, the House of Lords, has been rendered impotent to destroy or nullify Liberal legislation. Mr. Asquith, while introducing the Bill, referred to the great congestion of business in the House of Commons in consequence of which purely local matters could not be dealt with adequately for want of time, knowledge and sympathy. He foreshadowed a scheme of devolution that would confer self-government on Scotland and Wales, thus setting free the Imperial Parliament for dealing with Imperial affairs. This is a time of development which if pushed to full logical conclusions will be of great moment to the whole of the British Empire. We need not discuss the details of the Home Rule Bill for Ireland. In some matters the authority of the Imperial Parliament has been reserved. The financial clauses of the Bill are the most important and the most controversial. As a matter of fact, it is mainly owing to the financial anomaly of the Irish situation that the present measure has been found so imperatively necessary.

We have received from the Private Secretary to Her Highness the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal a letter conveying A School for Female her thanks to us for publishing in the Education.

Highness' Scheme for establishing a Girls' School at Delhi. We are happy to learn that Her Highness was glad to peruse our candid opinion, in which stress has been laid on the founding of a Normal School at Delhi for the training of women teachers. But in view of the fact that a Normal School for girls already exists at so short a distance as Aligarh, Her Highness thinks that the reduplication of it at Delhi appears unnecessary. Her idea is that all the girls admitted into the proposed School at Delhi should undergo a prescribed course of education the curriculum of which is receiving her careful consideration. Those girls who come out successful at the final examination of this School may, at their option, be encouraged to proceed to the Normal School at Aligarh.

Besides, the girl students at present undergoing the training at Aligarh will have to be provided for, in Her Highness's opinion, before we can think of sending more girls there. In view of these considerations Her Highness is of opinion that at present there is no need for a Normal School at Delhi. With much of this we readily concur, but we have not yet been able to persuade ourselves that girls' boarding schools suit Indian conditions, nor do we feel at all sure that their management is within the capacity of our ladies at present. The fate of the School at Aligarh should be a warning to others. It is our misfortune to disagree with Her Highness, but we fear she judges others according to her own high and, in a way, unique standard, and although it would be a great day for Indian womanhood if there were more Sultan Jahan Begums in India, it must be confessed that they are only too rare, and even then more likely to be found among the *burdah* ladies educated at the knee of their *purdah*-loving mothers than among the "advanced" and "emancipated" women, who are only too often aggressively progressive. We are, however, open to conviction and would invite correspondence on this subject. This would, we feel sure, help Her Highness in forming her own judgment, and at the same time keep her most generous scheme before the public.

The Annual Reunion of the Old Boys of the Aligarh College was celebrated during the Easter holidays when, as usual, a goodly number of the old students of the College came to revisit their *alma mater* from different parts of the country. The programme of the anniversary had all its traditional variety and charm, the customary discussions and earnest debates about every matter big or small, the Dinner with its long-drawn speeches which, however, custom has not stalled, the nights and even moon of "Compounded Ignorance" and merry frivolity. There was nothing very unusual to record except that Mr Shaukat Ali was elected Honorary Secretary of the Old Boys' Association for a period of three years. Mr Shaukat Ali's rôle has hitherto been that of the critic of the Association though he has also done more than any other Old Boy to increase its membership. His frank and loudly-expressed disapproval of the ways in which its affairs had been conducted in the past entitle us to expect that his term of office will be a period of strenuous work to develop the Association to its utmost limit of usefulness. It is by his constructive efforts, his capacity to achieve practical results, that Mr Shaukat Ali will be judged. We hope he fully realises the nature and scope of his responsibilities and will not disappoint those whose confidence he has hitherto enjoyed. Another feature of the anniversary was the interesting ceremony that was performed when Nawab Viqar-ul Mulk Bihadur laid the foundation-stone of the Old Boys' Lodge. The building will meet a deeply felt want and will serve as the home of the Old Boys happening to visit the College. Amongst the speeches delivered on the occasion of the Annual Dinner the most interesting was the one in which Mr. Syed Ross Masud responded to the toast of his health. It was a thoughtful utterance and impressed all those who are deeply interested in the future of the grandson of Sir Syed and the son of Syed Mahmood. The Old Boys' Association had this year to elect one of their representatives on the Board of Trustees. Mr Zaman Mehdhi Khan was elected for the second time. We are sorry an Old Boy of Mr Syed Saifud Hyder's ability failed to secure election. We trust the Association's representatives will always be men of approved capacity and merit who will fully represent the views and wishes of the Old Boys in the government of the College. We regret that once more Mr Shaukat Ali's suggestion that it should be possible for one of the secretaries of the Association to reside outside Aligarh failed to get a two thirds majority necessary for an amendment of the rules. It is certain to be adopted soon for this year too it secured an absolute majority.

According to *Reuters*'s message from Paris the Italians seemed to have screwed up enough courage for an attempt forcing the Dardanelles. The Italian fleet, we were told, had entered the Straits and an Italian vessel had been sunk.

But to-day's Constantinople telegram officially states that Italian warships fired projectiles into the forts of the Dardanelles, and that the barracks of Sed-el-bahr, Orhaniye, and Kum Kala were slightly damaged. The Orhaniye fort replied and damaged an Italian vessel which caught fire and drew off. The Italians subsequently put to sea. Rome, of course, denies that an Italian vessel was damaged, but we can understand what it means when we read that it was only a "demonstration" that took place. Even at that, Italy has demonstrated her incapacity excellently well. Prior to their arrival in the Dardanelles, the Italians bombarded Samos—which is as neutral as Crete, or Egypt—Mitylene and Rhodes. The fleet comprised 39 ships. The bombardment was simultaneous with the opening of Parliament, and His Majesty the Sultan's speech is the best answer to this rush and scuttle. He said, "We desire peace, but only on condition that Turkey's sovereign rights are maintained." It must be peace with honour, and may Turkey not survive the surrender of her honour by a single day of ignoble peace.

20th April.

The Comrade.

The Compulsory Education Debate.*

V

It must be remembered that the estimate of cost furnished by Mr. Gokhale is based on the assumption that compulsory primary education is also to be free and not on the provision of the Bill itself in this behalf. Mr. Gokhale frankly confessed that the proposal to charge fees in all cases except from those whose income was below Rs. 10 per month was embodied in the Bill with the intention of conciliating official opinion. So far as Mr. Gokhale's own views are concerned, he said he was always of opinion that where education was made compulsory it should also be made free. Having failed in his object, he did not see why he should allow room for division in the ranks of his supporters by adhering to this provision, and he was glad to go back to his original proposal. We may add here in parenthesis that it is not absolutely necessary that compulsory and free education should go together. In Baroda primary education was made compulsory two years before His Highness the Gaekwar made it free on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of his accession. But it is certain that it removes one ground for objection on the part of a defaulter against compulsion if education is made free, and some years before the thought of compulsory education crossed the mind of people in this country, the Government of India themselves had addressed a circular letter to all Local Governments advocating that fees should be abolished and that free education should be introduced. In the words of Sir Harcourt Butler, the principle of free elementary education has long been accepted in India. In the Frontier Province of Assam, in Baluchistan and in the North-West Frontier Province, elementary education is already entirely free. In the Punjab and in certain districts of the United Provinces all the sons of agriculturists get their education free. In Burmah a very large proportion of the children pay no fees. In other Provinces proportions of the school population varying from 20 to 33 per cent and even a higher figure, do not pay any fees in elementary schools. And, finally, in a recent communication to Local Governments in connection with the 50 lakhs recurring grant, the Government of India have expressed themselves in favour of the principle of free elementary education for all those who cannot afford to pay fees. It is, in fact, certain that when compulsion is sanctioned by the Government elementary education would be made entirely free, so that like the police and the magistracy provided for the safety of the person and property of all subjects of His Majesty and for keeping the King's peace, facilities for becoming literate would also be provided as the first duty of the State for which no payment is demanded from the individual, though the community pays for it in general taxes. In view of these facts, the remark of the Government of Bombay that "such a policy would be regarded as a triumph by a few persons who have shown no understanding of educational questions" appears highly grotesque, and we are glad that, while showing his high appreciation of all that H. E. Sir George Clarke has done for education in the Bombay Presidency, Mr. Gokhale rebuked his Government for its extreme sensitiveness to criticism and an impatience and intolerance of adverse opinions.

In the matter of free education Mr. Gokhale has met one of the principal non-official objections to his Bill. But there still remains an official objection, namely the charge that the application of the provisions of the Bill relating to compulsion to advanced areas would result in inequality of treatment; the more backward areas remaining as backward as before while advanced areas are helped in their progress. The Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock, as the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, had in some mysterious manner arrived at the conclusion that "the one mile distance limit will exempt more than half of the children of the countryside"—an assumption not supported by the experience of Baroda at any rate—and he thought that compulsion "means merely the concentration of funds for the education of the few at the expense of the many." Sir G. R. Chitnavis quoted this with evident approval; Mr. Dadabhai talked of the classes and the masses, and Mr. Shahi also condemned "the comparative advancement of one section of our people within limited areas and their relative backwardness in the rest of this vast continent." Even Sir Harcourt Butler was betrayed into asking, "Are we to stop the expansion of the voluntary system in the backward areas in order to make experiments in compulsion in the more advanced localities?" Mr. Sharp followed suit and attacked Mr. Gokhale's Bill with the horns of a dilemma. He said, "Suppose the Bill were to become law, and suppose it were to take rapid effect.

* We regret that a serious misprint remained unnoticed last week in the leading article on the Compulsory Education Debate when proofs were being corrected. The cost of the Abor expedition has, of course, been nearly 20 lakhs and not 2 crores.—ED., *Comrade*.

All our efforts for improvement, I am afraid, will be shelved for years to come," and he went on to ask what would happen to this and what would happen to that. "If on the other hand," he continued, "the Bill takes slow effect, then we shall have compulsion in the more favoured and advanced areas, and then we are sure to have a demand for improvement in these areas; and we shall have to meet that demand for improvement, and meanwhile how are we going to find the money for expansion in the vast tracts which will help to pay the bill and where a single school has now to serve many square miles?"

To deal with the last statement first, we must confess our intellect is not subtle enough to grasp the full import of such intricate reasoning, and we are presumptuous enough to think that many others share our misfortune. But it appears to us that this piece of reasoning was never meant to be understood, and only designed to confound the venturesome layman who would trespass on the domain of the expert. The only way we can answer Mr. Sharp's objection is by turning the horns of the dilemma in his own direction. We believe he accepts the position taken up by the Government that elementary education must become universal some day. This may be done by compulsion or on a voluntary basis, and it may be five years hence, or a century later. All that the Bill proposes is compulsion, while the Government still favours a voluntary basis. How would Mr. Sharp get over the difficulty if Mr. Gokhale dropped his advocacy of compulsion? The dilemma of rapid effect and no improvements, and slow effect and the demand for improvements in advanced areas would still be there, and as we have no fear that Mr. Sharp would prefer to be pierced by one horn rather than the other, we leave it to him to explain how he would avoid both if he was allowed his choice of the voluntary basis. What really surprises us is that so little attention should have been paid to what Mr. Gokhale had said in reply to the argument about inequality in his opening speech by way of anticipation. We are confident it will suffice for all reasonable men if we reproduce that portion of Mr. Gokhale's speech, for he has dealt therewith with this objection in the simplest and clearest of ways. He said

Then arises then a scheme like this, a permissive scheme which allows us to consider compulsion only by one is bound to result in serious financial injustice and inequality as regards the assistance received from Government by different local bodies. Now, my Lord, I feel bound to say that this is one of the three arguments that have been urged against the scheme which we are considering. If anybody proposed as a portion of arrangement the element of choice in certain parts of the country should be on a compulsory basis and in certain others on a voluntary basis, and if the areas that were on a compulsory basis got more from Government than the areas that were on a voluntary basis, there would be some force in the contention that this difference would be inadequately treated. But the arrangement that I propose is clearly transparent, in the end every part of the country is to receive a compulsory basis and would share equally in the allotment made by Government. In a transitional stage, provided the same terms are equally open to all, do not see where the injustice or inequality could be. If a local body feels aggrieved that some other local body gets more than itself from Government, the remedy is in its own hands. All that it has got to do is to vote for compulsion itself. Those who object to the proposed scheme on the score that it would lead to financial inequality and injustice might object at once to the principle of introducing compulsion gradually area by area. For how can we proceed area by area unless those areas that introduce compulsion first get also the same time larger assistance from the Government? Moreover, is there absolute equality even at present in all matters? Even now on a voluntary basis, the Government, in many parts of the country, lays about one third of the cost of primary education, with the result that those areas that spend more get more from the Government, and those that spend less get less. Is that equal? Again, take the question of sanitary grants. Under the existing arrangements, those local bodies that go in for the construction of sanitary projects get a certain grant from the Government. Now, if the local bodies that do not take in hand such projects were to complain of injustice, because others that do are assisted by Government, their complaint would be perfectly ridiculous, and yet, it is the same kind of complaint that is urged against the scheme of the Bill. No one has ever suggested, or can possibly suggest, that any money should be taken out of existing expenditure on primary education for its extension on a compulsory basis. No one can also possibly wish to curtail future increases in the allotments to education on a voluntary basis. The expenditure on introducing compulsion is to come out of additional revenue, partly raised locally and partly raised specially by the Government of India. The Government of India's funds will have necessarily to pass through the Local Governments, since education is a Provincial charge. But that does not mean that Provincial Governments will have to curtail their present or future expenditure on a voluntary basis to finance any scheme of compulsion.

This clear statement was not even distantly referred to by the opponents of the Bill in the debate, and one after another they went on repeating their flimsy objection, believing to be some eternal divine principle what was in effect merely human insanity. Sir Harcourt Butler, at any rate, does not seem to have much faith in this objection, for although he repeated it, he himself brushed it aside in the following sentence when he said: "The resources of the local bodies vary enormously, and so does their financial position. To some of them two-thirds of the cost would be an excessive grant; to others it would be altogether inadequate. Some Boards are rich and others are poor. We cannot possibly have one figure for all." If

it is so, what becomes of the fetish of financial equality? In fact, the Bill provides an easily intelligible plan for making the progress of education equitable. This was explained by the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who asked on what principle schools were now being created, and himself answered that "it is a principle which exposes the Department in a greater degree to a charge, which has been brought against the Bill before us, of involving injustice to areas where schools are not created." "This," he rightly added, "must happen when you arbitrarily create schools in certain localities and let other localities go without any school." This will be impossible when local contribution is made the basis of Government assistance, as the Bill provides, and every such local area would get schools as would be willing to contribute part of the cost.

There remains only one general objection, and that a non-official one, to deal with, but we shall not waste much space over it. That is the question of popular contribution to the cost of a compulsory extension of elementary education. The Hon. Mr. Dadabhoi, who did not hesitate last year to desire to reduce the revenues of the country by some half a crore a year by doing away with the Excise duty on Cotton, has yet had the courage to claim the need of patriotism by condemning increased taxation for universal education or the levy of a special education cess. This year he found that many others felt similar patriotic fervour and robbed him of his monopoly. He quoted every such opinion and particularly relished those of certain Local Governments which have, we fear, spoilt the chances of a hard-pressed Finance Member of the future by giving prominence to "the extreme undesirability of enhancing taxation." But if Local Governments recognise "the extreme undesirability of enhancing taxation," we do not fail to do so either, and if Mr. Dadabhoi, Sir G R Clunavas and the Maharajah-Raja Bahadur of Burdwan have objections to be taxed, their poorer countrymen, who have to pay out of the necessities of life and not out of their superfluity, have still greater objections. But can anything be had without paying for it, and is anything certain in life except death and taxes? As Mr. Gokhale said, "if we merely want compulsion but are not prepared to make any sacrifices for the benefits that would accrue from it to the mass of our people, the sooner we give up talking about securing universal education the better." If the Government of Madras and Mr. Dadabhoi found consolation in the fact that of all kingdoms in the world Ireland alone had no education rate, that consolation would now disappear if Home Rule is introduced and Ireland is made to bear her own burden in course of time. It did not occur to Mr. Dadabhoi that if Ireland did not pay the bill, somebody else had to do it just the same, and if he and the Government of Madras can induce England to pay for mass education in India as well as in Ireland, we may be sure Mr. Gokhale will be the first to congratulate Mr. Dadabhoi on so substantial and impersonal a return for his support of Government's views. In the meantime Mr. Mudholkar's test holds the field, that if he "and those that have pronounced their benediction upon free and compulsory education are really serious, if they are really sincere . . . then they must be prepared to put their hands in their pockets." This is a test that has stood the wear and tear of time better than casuistry in debates and indignant protests about sincerity and patriotism. As we had occasion to say last year, it is not yet in the power of leaders of Indian opinion to reject a tax imposed by the Government. But for once we have the option to say whether we shall have an extra tax or not, and is it at the height of independence and patriotism to say "No" because the tax is ear-marked for the enlightenment of our own people, while we groan and bear every other tax, imposed by Government without our consent and devoted to objects that can never be mentioned in the same breath with universal elementary education? In Baroda there is no special tax levied for compulsory education, but a third of the resources of local bodies have to be devoted to this purpose. Mr. Gokhale suggests the corapulsion of local bodies to provide a third of the cost out of their present resources or a separate cess, and throws the balance of the cost on the general revenues of the country whether in their present condition or enhanced, say, by an addition of a per cent. to the Customs. The boon is far greater than the price and we must be content to stand ashamed and humiliated if we are not prepared to pay so little for so much.

The Reform of the Police.

The general question of Police Administration in this country, in spite of much that has been attempted by the Government in the direction of reform, is still a subject of anxious debate. The elements that constitute the problem are complex in themselves, but their natural complexity is liable to be much more enhanced as they touch the *amour propre* of men holding different standpoints. There has, however, occurred a marked improvement in the tone of public discussions, notably in the official attitude towards the subject, as would be evident from the debate that took place on the Hon. Mr. Bhupendranath

Basu's motion in the Imperial Legislative Council. While there was no lack, on the part of some of the non-official members, of well-informed and even trenchant criticism of the methods and the system of police administration and the abuses to which it gave rise, it was, at the same time, freely recognised that the problem was not a simple one and that it was not entirely the outcome of official obduracy or neglect. The Government, too, on their part admitted that there was still room for improvement in the character of the force, and that the reforms introduced as a result of the inquiries of the Police Commission have not rendered the instrument as efficient as it might be. If the same measure of moderation, care and foresight continues to be exercised in the consideration of the problem, if official bias as well as non-official impatience is not permitted to obscure the real issues, there is no reason why the police administration in this country should not speedily come up to the standards of a civilised society.

How to get the police to become an efficient and incorruptible instrument in the administration of justice is the *crux* of the problem. A force primarily concerned with the investigation of crime and the preservation of peace and order cannot but be entrusted with certain powers for the adequate discharge of its responsibilities. It is the manner in which these powers are exercised that makes all the difference. The Indian police is the creature of a very complex environment. We have a society in varying stages of progress undergoing a silent revolution in manners, modes of thought and conceptions of social justice. But, while the classes that have most directly come under the Western influences are fast growing up to new standards of life and conduct, the mass of the people are yet, so to speak, in a state of suspended animation. They hear the voice of the spirit that moves on the surface of the waters, but the accents are strange which raise no responsive echoes in their hearts and as yet kindle no secular enthusiasm. Their notions of law and government are what they have picked up from the wreckage of an ancient polity tempered by their experiences of the modern courts of justice. It is from amongst them that the rank and file of the Indian police are drawn. The rules of thumb that are drilled into their consciousness can scarcely expand their mental horizon or alter the character of their psychology. They exercise their powers as they have seen others exercising them, as indeed the traditions of their Service and their own unaided instincts lead them to exercise. No amount of efficient supervision alone can, therefore, effect a radical change in the system and methods of work of the police as long as there is no corresponding improvement in the mentality of the rank and file. Mass education will do more to facilitate reform than any number of Commissions.

There is another aspect of the question which is, sometimes, strangely misunderstood. The Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock complained in the course of his speech during the Council debate, and many other officials have been heard to complain before, that the people do not come forward of their own accord to help the police in the detection of crime. The complaint is true, but the reasons assigned for the general public reluctance are based on a strange misapprehension of facts. It is not because the people lack the necessary moral sense to abhor crime or the ordinary social virtues to assist their neighbour in getting a redress for his wrongs, that they refrain from actively co-operating with the authorities for bringing the criminal to book. They are, as a matter of fact, held back by the methods of the police, its terrorising and summary ways and the wholesale and indiscriminate harassment that often accompanies the investigation of cases. The masses look upon the police as something set up for their annoyance. The idea of the police as a body of public servants charged with the protection of life and property has not yet largely entered into popular conceptions. There can, therefore, be no great hope for the growth of popular co-operation with the police until a fundamental change takes place in the attitude of the people. This, again, reduces the problem to the simple issue of educating the masses with a view to raise their level of intelligence and conceptions of social duty and, above all, to teach them their rights and duties as citizens of the State. Until the man in the street knows exactly what the nature and functions of the institution of police are and realises its direct bearing on the public peace and welfare, matters will not improve much beyond the stage of surface remedies. In this case, too, as in many others, mass education is the key to the situation.

But even apart from these fundamental considerations, much improvement admits of being carried out in the methods of the police and the system of its administration. The law relating to confessions, as it stands, can easily lend itself to abuse and requires drastic amendment. The Hon. the Law Member, while dealing with this aspect of the Hon. Mr. Basu's Resolution, observed that if any of the hon. members thought an amendment of the existing Law was necessary he should embody it in a definite Bill and submit it for the consideration of the Council. He assured the Council that any such Bill when produced would receive sympathetic and careful consideration at the hands of the Government.

20th April

We hope the Hon. Mr. Basu will take up the hint and bring forward a measure which, while safeguarding the efficiency of police investigations, will effectually put a stop to the kind of coercion and abuse that are possible under the existing law. All the same, we think it would have materially assisted the framer of such a Bill if the abuses of the present laws had been fully inquired into by a Committee of officials and non-officials.

Among the matters that called forth some heated and energetic observations in the course of the Council discussion were the methods of the Criminal Investigation Department. It was strongly protested by some of the hon. members, who had learnt it through sad personal experience, that the instruments employed by the Department for its occult purposes were often clumsy, dishonest and insolently irritating. They had created more unrest than the one the causes of which they were set to investigate. Even if they were a necessary evil, they had to a great extent outgrown their use, now that the general situation in the country had admittedly grown more settled and calm. The Hon. the Home Member, however, in spite of his mild efforts at playfulness, could not effectively apologise for their methods. Surely, it is hardly the right way to dispose of the grievance by asking the public to put up with the existing instruments of the C.I.D., because better ones cannot be had. If the nature of the work cannot attract a better type of men, that is no reason for letting loose an army of inefficient and, in many cases, unscrupulous men who go about harassing innocent and peaceful citizens and fabricating cock-and-bull stories in order to justify their existence. It is better to have no intelligence of guilty conspiracies than to have misleading intelligence, and although we have to endure a less efficient ordinary police, because we must have some police, and cannot get the ideal one at once, or afford to pay the cost, even if we can, the same reasoning does not apply to detectives engaged in unravelling the mystery of political crimes. Here the best is only just good enough and the second best is as bad as the worst. Let the Government devise some organisation to keep in touch with political movements, by all means, but, the organisation must be efficient, and should not be allowed to degenerate into a public nuisance with infinite potentialities for causing provocation and mischief. Under the existing conditions the C.I.D. requires thorough overhauling and drastic reform. We hope the Government inquiries into the working of the Department will result in material reductions in its cadre and in the scope of its activities.

The Hon. Mr. Basu called the attention of the Council to some specific instances of the inefficiency, incompetence and even corruption of the police. Those were, however, cases which had through peculiar circumstances come to public notice. Those who have intimate knowledge of the methods of the subordinate police know that there must be hundreds of cases equally gross and repellent which never see the light of day. The statistics dealing with the cases of police ill-treatment which the Hon. the Home Member quoted to the Council do not reveal the actual state of things. The official records show that there have been in all 166 cases of ill-treatment in five years out of which 57 ended in conviction. "These cases—that ended in conviction—comprised 120 men. It amounts to 24 men a year on a total force which is now just over 170,000." But even the most careful compilation of official records cannot bring to light many instances of torture, cruelty and corruption, which owing to causes not very difficult to understand, pass off unheard, unnoticed and unavenged. The true facts of a single district would supply material enough for 57 convictions in a single year. It is, therefore, doubtful if much consolation can be derived from official figures. But even official figures cannot disguise the fact that the methods of the police are not ideal in an ideally administered system. The strengthening and improvement of the higher grades of the Police Service were carried out with the ostensible object of enforcing stricter supervision over the work of the rank and file. It was also with this object in view that the new post of Deputy Superintendents was created to attract a better class of Indians. We are, however, afraid the experiment has failed to be productive of very good results mainly because the Deputy Superintendents have not been given the powers and responsibilities originally conceived by the authors of the scheme as commensurate with their rank and position. They have no independence or initiative of any kind, in fact, they simply exist as post offices to transmit the orders of the superintendent to subordinate officials or serve as "proper channels" of communication between them. If Indian officers of good training and education can be expected to exercise wholesome influence on the subordinate force, they should be given a freer hand in dealing with police affairs and greater responsibility in order to acquire the necessary discipline of high office. European officers cannot be expected to have sufficient knowledge of the ways of their Indian subordinates to deal effectively with them. Even long experience, free intercourse with all sorts and conditions of Indians, and special gifts of sympathy cannot give them the same intimacy with the ways and habits of the people which an educated Indian claims as his birthright.

The effective reform of the Indian Police may, then, be considered to be possible only if (1) the education of the Indian masses is taken earnestly in hand, (2) the necessary reforms are introduced in methods of police investigation, (3) the defects in the existing law relating to confessions are removed by legislative action, (4) the police force is instructed fully in its duties as public servants, and (5) educated Indians are freely admitted into the higher grades of the Service and given powers commensurate with their rank. There are several other matters, of no slight consequence in themselves, which should be dealt with as soon as possible by the Government. We believe with the Hon. the Home Member that the police administration has been gradually improving and will continue to improve as time goes on. It is, however, the duty of the Government as well as the public not to leave a branch of the administration, so vitally affecting the welfare of the people to accidents of time but to earnestly and wholeheartedly take counsel together and put it on an efficient basis.



Anecdote.

AN actor told the following story of the late Kyrie Bellew at the Players' Club, in New York

"Poor Bellew hated a bore. I'll tell you how he once squelched a bore on the way from New York to Chicago."

"Bellew was reading in the smoker. The bore flopped down beside him and opened up with:—

"Well, who are they going to nominate—Taft or Roosevelt?"

"Bellew looked at the bore with a puzzled frown.

"Taft or Roosevelt?" he said. "Who the deuce are they?"

"Why, man," exclaimed the bore, "you don't mean to say you never heard of Bill Taft and Teddy Roosevelt?"

"Never," said Bellew, calmly, and he buried himself in his book again.

"The bore smoked in silence a long while. He kept glancing at Bellew uneasily out of the corner of his eye. At last he said:—

"I wonder how John D. likes all this trustbustin'?"

"John D.?" said Bellew. "John D.?"

"John D. Rockefeller! Richest man on earth. Certainly you've heard of him!" roared the bore.

"No," said Bellew. "No, he's a stranger to me."

"Holy jumpin' Jonah!"

"The bore's contempt was beyond words. He glared at Bellew steadily for nearly half an hour. Then he snorted:—

"Say, ye fool, did ye ever hear of Adam?"

"Bellew looked up from his novel, yawned, and murmured:—

"Adam who? What's his last name?"

IN 1874 M. Edmund Yates founded the *World*. Mr. Labouchere became associated with the new paper and was understood to be responsible for its startling and stinging articles on financial affairs. But after a couple of years differences arose and Mr. Labouchere, parting company with the *World*, established *Truth* on somewhat similar lines at first. Some one asked him what *Truth* was going to be, and Labby, undoubtedly one of the most brilliant conversationalists, promptly answered, "*Truth* is to be another and a better *World*."

In 1854 Mr. Labouchere had entered the diplomatic service, and during his diplomatic career when he was once ordered to Russia, he arrived after a delay of six weeks. When asked to explain this, he said that as the Government did not pay railway fares, he had had to walk all the way across Europe!

One of Dean Pigan's stories of his college days deals with an encounter between Dr. Whately, when the learned Preimate was Archbishop of Dublin, and a young aide-de camp. At dinner the latter propounded this singular conundrum:—"Does your Grace know the difference between an archbishop and an ass?" "Sir, I do not," answered Dr. Whately. "One wears the cross on his mitre, and the other wears it on his back," explained the tactless officer. "Do you know the difference between an aide-de-camp and an ass?" asked the archbishop, calmly, in return. "No, your Grace I do not," was the reply. "Neither do I" said the grace.

SIR CHARLES RUSSELL, when practising at the Bar, was a noted cross-examiner, and it was a shrewd witness who could circumvent him. On one occasion, at least, however, the laugh was turned on him by an innocently intended answer. He was cross-examining a witness in regard to certain hoof-prints left by a horse on sandy soil.

"How large were the prints?" asked Sir Charles. "Were they as large as my hand?" holding up his hand for the witness to see it.

"Oh, no," replied the man in the box: "they were just ordinary-sized hoofs, sir."



The Council.

BY THE HON. MR GUY.

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please"

--As you like it

February 28th.

SIR GUY once more in the Chair. Explained how his too exclusive attention to hon colleague, the MOSLEM DOWAGER, had led him on the previous day to conclude that he had concluded his remarks, whereas he had only sat down as the BOMBAY DUCK had bobbed up to the surface of the waters.

SANDOW III presented Lunacy report. As a new feature appeared a provision enabling the wise man who diagnosed his own lunacy to enter the lunatic asylum as a voluntary boarder. Alas, how rare is such introspective wisdom! Had it not been so scarce half the Council would have marched off to the asylums as voluntary boarders.

Following in the footsteps of his Chief, DASHING BOY distinguished himself by taking up the sister service of jails and recommending better treatment of another class of wise men, the jail birds. Talked a lot of gibberish about penologists and recidivism which made the Councillors scratch bald pates for a better understanding of the ununderstandable, and giving an unsolicited testimonial to Government for doing all they could for the poor dears incarcerated in prisons, asked for more. Contrasted the efforts of other countries for the discharged prisoner with the nothing done in India and said that his proposal to give them a portion of the income derived from sale of jail products would not cost much. With full assurance faced SIR GUY and said that even if it did, 'the money should be found.' SIR GUY meanwhile cogitating whether Andamans would suit the DASHING BOY better or Mandalay.

The resolution of DASHING BOY evidently a C.P. concern altogether. For no one caring to speak, CHEKKY CHINTA rose to support. Found this a fitting opportunity of putting in a good word for Inspector-General LANE of C.P. A useful procedure, for to day many a strange road and unknown by Lane leads to the Burra Ghar, and who knows who may need the favour of the patron saint of the jail birds to reduce his measure of the daily grind?

SANDOW III rose to put the *coup de grace* to C.P.'s put up job and began with a humble apology for the seat of strength of the previous day. "It has rather been an unkind fate that, during the first very few days that I have had the honour of holding the appointment of the Salar Aga, the Chief of the Seraglio, otherwise known as the Home Department, it has fallen upon me to oppose proposals of the honourable occupants of the Harem. It is more pleasing to agree than to disagree." But even a Strong Man has his limitations and SANDOW III could not accept each and every proposal. But how could he be churlish to DASHING BOY? He would make amends to him for having rudely opposed the MILD HINDU on the previous day. All the same, prisons must not be made too like paradise. Already to the "habituals" jails were known as *Sisra*, the house of the father-in-law, a place where they receive a certain amount of honour and, what is more than honour, a dashed good looking after. You couldn't indefinitely increase the number of Dartmoor Shepherds in India

even to outwit WINSTON. Here not so difficult for a discharged prisoner to return to society on honourable terms. Imprisonment regarded in the East as a form of *Pryaschit*, the offence being expiated when the sentence has been undergone. "A great number of prisoners return at once without any difficulty to the place in society which they formerly occupied." MUD-HOLKAR learnt now for the first time what had prevented the inclusion of the release of TILAK MAHARAJ in the list of Durbar boons. Concluded his remarks by stating that DASHING BOY's proposal was merely one of increasing total jail expenditure, and with the large demands that there were now needed for the requirements of the free population - also too free and only technically non criminal - Government would hesitate to add any substantial sum to the allotment already made for the comfort of the poor darlings in the jails.

While SANDOW III was speaking, there floated before the Council visions of SIR ALI BABA, K.C.B.'s jails, those large and comfortable retreats where the Civil Surgeon plays with infinite success the part of *Maitre d'Hotel* to some eight or nine hundred murderers, robbers, and inferior delinquents, those quiet refuges for world-weary men and sanctuaries undisturbed by the fears of the weak or the passions of the strong, where all reasonable wants are gratified and nothing is hoped for any more, where the poor burglar burdened with the reproaches of a venal world sorrowfully seeks an asylum, and bringing nothing in his hand, seeks nothing but rest. "Look at this prisoner slumbering peacefully besides his *hukqa* under the suggestive bottle tree . . . You can see that he has been softly nurtured. What a sleek and sturdy fellow he is! He is a covenanted servant here, having passed an examination in gang robbery accompanied by violence and prevarication. He cannot be discharged under a long term of year. Uncovenanted pilferers, in for a week, regard him with respect and envy. And certainly his lot is enviable; he has no cares no anxieties. Famine and the depreciation of silver are nothing to him. Rain or sunshine, he lives in plenty. His days are spent in an innocent round of duties, relieved by sleep and contemplation of *tu ôv*. In the long heats of summer he whiles away his time with carpet making, between the showers of autumn he digs, like our first parents, in the Doctor's garden, and in winter, as there is no billiard-table, he take a turn on the treadmill with his mates . . . Yet sometimes a murmur rises like a summer zephyr even from the soft lip of luxury and ease. Even the hardened criminal, dangled on the knee of a patriarchal Government, will sometimes complain and try to give the Doctor trouble. But the Doctor has a specific--a brief incantation that allays every species of inflammatory discontent. 'Look here, my man! If I hear any more of this infernal nonsense, I'll turn you out of the jail neck and crop'. This is the threat that never fails to produce the desired effect. To be expelled from jail and driven, like Cain, into the rude and wicked world, a wanderer, an outcast--this would indeed be a cruel ban. Before such a presentiment the well-ordered mind of the criminal recoils with horror."

What could DASHING BOY do but withdraw his resolution. It had given him and CHEKKY CHINTA one more opportunity of adorning in public a patriarchal Government, and SANDOW III an

occasion to show his *suaviter in modo* aspect as he had shown the *fortiter in re* side on the day before.

The next item on the programme was the resolution of BHUPEN BABU for the appointment of a Committee to enquire into Police *golmal* and the necessity of amending the law relating to confessions. BHUPEN BABU commenced his speech with the hope that he at least would not place SANDOW III in the confessedly awkward position of having to oppose a resolution "It seeks to confer a positive boon upon humanity in India." Knowing full well that he would one day have to make a fairly large draft of the patience of the police, the wily Solicitor-Politician had built up a good credit at the Bank by mildly exhorting friends and followers at the Faridpur Conference to take care and not paint the police blacker than pitch. So today reminded the banker that if he was going to have a run on the Bank, it was after all what any shrewd banker should have expected. After referring to the pre Police Commission days, and the confessions of police corruption and incompetence extorted from officials, mentioned the "reforms" effected since then "We have now an Imperial Criminal Investigation Department with a Director at its head. We have got Inspectors-General of Police in all Provinces with an adequate staff under them. We have got Deputy Inspectors-General recruited from England." And yet—"Confessions disregarded in Courts of Justice throw a lurid light into those dark corners where unhappy victims are put on the rack." The ladies in the Visitors' Gallery looked nervously at each other and then at the aged Councillors, fearing a fierce fight heating upon their *Kulu Juggals*. But they were reassured when BHUPEN BABU referred to the hooliganism of the police in October 1907 when the Raja Bahadur of *Sular Samachar* fame—"that ill-advised and ill-starred venture, a subsidised newspaper for Bengal"—constituted himself into Police Commissioner, Presidency Magistrate, High Court and all. Then came a reference to "an unparalleled midnight raid" on Mymensingh, which read like a romance but was silly enough to be a fact. Once more a People's Commission sat and recorded evidence, but the report submitted to the Ebscam Government—now on its death bed—sought the contemptuous oblivion which its author, BHUPEN BABU himself, would shun like plague. SIR BAWARIJI, FULLER, whom irony of fate had once more brought out to India, heard all this with evident animation from Visitors' Gallery. Then, again, there was the GUJARAT BANO case in the Punjab which could only be described with any show of decency in a book on Medical Jurisprudence. The Chief Court ordered an inquiry, but the sturdy DAKH snapped his fingers at Ye Men of Lawe and when they said they were not satisfied with this mark of courtesy, the great DAKH politely told them they could go to a place where the coal strike could not affect the supply of fuel. What was the reply of the MASTER of EBSHAM to these disclosures? Nothing but that the police force were "drawn from an Oriental population."

Nearer home, there were the Midnapur, the Howrah Gang and the Barral Dacoity cases, and the Punjab once more supplied an equally sensational case, the one of Rawalpindi. But the statistics of torture cases were uncharable. "They were like small flotsam indicating an immense wreck swallowed by the silent waters of the sea." Why don't people report more torture cases? The answer to this was the Indian proverb Irishised, "If you live in a sea of allegations, do not quarrel with the alligators." It is seldom that the police follow Absalom and commit offences on the housetops of Jerusalem. Then quoted at great length the Statesman—"until the recent announcement regarding the change of Capital, one of the greatest exponents and most capable supporters of existing institutions." Regardless of the fugitive tendencies of the time allotted to each speaker in the Council, BHUPEN BABU spread himself and leisurely read on the leader of the Statesman. But SIR GUY, who had to condense the wisdom of many into a tabloid debate, silently looked "Shears" at BHUPEN. So promised that he was coming to the end of his speech, but on second thoughts added "nearly" to keep the door open.

After this described the many virtues of the C.I.D., chief among them being "generally the creation of unrest." "The *thing* called 'unrest' was declared to be a by-product of the armoury of repression. It was indeed a unique concession to the police that 'unrest' was characterised by BHUPEN BABU as a "thing" and not a fiction. Wanted the policeman to be the friend of the people, and not a dangerous individual, hoping that some day Constable X.3175 would be invited to their houses by the cook to taste a turbulent of soup and escort the affectionate Commissariat on "the night out." Gladdened the heart of SANDOW III by saying that those who accuse the Government "as such" of desiring to shield the iniquities of the police were guilty of the grossest calumny. But this thing of beauty was not a joy for ever. Brought down the temperature below normal by qualifying this criticism of the columnists with the remark that it was difficult to separate the instrument from the hand that wields it and the tree from the fruit. If the machinery is defective the manufacturer cannot escape responsibility. To this was added the parting shot that in ancient India even calamities like famine and pestilence were ascribed to the sins of the rulers.

and the same feeling must be exceptionally strong in the paternal form of Government which prevails to-day and is the pride of the Anglo-Indian official of the *Maia-Bab* School. But before BHUPEN BABU could discuss the law relating to confessions, SIR GUY, inexorable as the dread sisters, cut short the thread of his critical eloquence and fluent sarcasm with the Presidential shears. "I must now ask the hon member to stop." So BHUPEN BABU resumed his seat dolefully after proclaiming that he wanted to read a quotation from a Government publication.

It is said that the *pidda*, the smallest bird known in India, sleeps with its legs lifted up. A cautious bird that, for it fears that the heavens may come down during the night and hurt him and the world. Ornithologists trace an affinity between the *pidda* and MEIANGHOLY MADGE. It was therefore necessary that the first to defend the police of India against the onslaughts of BHUPEN BABU should be MADGE. However, the opening sentence of his speech not a defiance of the police but an assurance given to suffering humanity "Sir, there can be no doubt whatever that the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty and I should not be worthy of my place in this Council if I withhold my sympathy from the victims of such cruelty, whether they were reported from Siberia or from the hamlets of Bengal." Is it true that MADGE has been canonised in Siberia as St. MADGE THE SYMPATHETIC? But to continue "We are dealing," said MADGE, "with conditions in this country in which, at least as Englishmen believe, a higher standard of morality has been applied to a lower." But, MADGE, we should like to know not what Englishmen believe, but what the Russians think. After referring to "those of us who ponder these deep problems," MADGE confessed that "I stand in a sense between the two classes,"—a veritable hyphen between the "Anglo" and the "Indian," the missing link of Indian ethnology—and he thought a great deal of crime would not have been committed if educated and intelligent gentlemen came forward boldly and acted as unpaid policemen. The police cannot be improved "by foreigners passing laws." What if MADGE was the sole legislator? Is he "foreigner" too? And then came that great dictum from MADGE, not of *Truth*, for which the world had been waiting with expectant ear. "No man can be made an angel by Act of Parliament." You see, he had tried an Act but it failed to make MADGE anything other than the MADGE he is. According to him time and energy have been wasted by Indians on political affairs. It should have been directed to the raising of the moral standard of this country to the high level of MADGE's own native land. ("couldn't say exactly what it was, but 'Hyphemia' was nowhere marked on the map") MADGE had the consciousness of laying himself open to severe criticism, "but that is a sort of criticism to which men accustomed to stand alone do not attach the slightest importance." MADGE from the giddy heights of the moral standard of "Hyphemia" could afford to ignore such impenitence.

The FREE LANCE of the Tiwanas has been cultivating modesty in the company of the KHAN BAHADUR, and asked "May I give in my speech?" SIR GUY's knowledge of Council procedure was a little misty this morning and he looked doubtful and sought the assistance of SIR VINCENT. But the CROSS-BENCHER echoed the sentiment of the whole Council and said "No." SIR GUY took courage and said it would be preferable if such gems were displayed before all rather than locked up in the jewel box of SIR VINCENT. Thereupon the FREE LANCE enlightened the Council with the pregnant remark, "As there is some thing wrong somewhere, people begin to differ in their view." Some accused police, some accused Magistrates, some accused witnesses, some accused the lower standard of morality, and some thought it was the want of education. But, in the opinion of FREE LANCE it was the Law that was at fault. "I do not think there is very great necessity for enquiring into the police administration after the Police Commission, but I do feel the necessity of a thorough enquiry into the whole administration." And with the courage of the Tiwanas, he boldly declared "I am ready to vote for it, though even the overthrow of the resolution may be a *hic* gone conclusion."

MUD HOKER was dull and sensible, but the DASHING BOY rescued the good name of the Orange Free State by his irrational brilliance. "Sir, I came to this Council this morning with an open mind, and if there was any bias it was a bias in favour of BHUPEN BABU. If he could have convinced me that the suggested enquiry would be a panacea for all the evils connected with police administration, I should certainly vote for his Resolution." You see, DASHING BOY never takes a headache cure unless it is warranted to cure leprosy, pneumonia, sciatica, necrosis, nasal catarrh, dysentery, scrofula, rheumatism, phthisis, chilblains, hemorrhage, congenital deafness, dumbness and loss of sight, burns, itching, cuts and abrasions of the skin, diphtheria, nose bleeding, gout, general debility, etc., etc., etc., all at once. Under the circumstances, he could not vote for BHUPEN, but all the same grateful to him for an excellent opportunity to praise the "C.I.D. Department," in the Orange Free State where it had broken "the backbone of sedition under the energetic control of SIR CHARLES CLEVELAND," and of

putting in a good word for an ex-Chief Commissioner, ST ANDREW FRASER, who had presided over the Police Commission.

After the description of the Mymensingh police romance, the BRITISH LION was thirsting for revenge on the Bengal tiger, and rising after DASHING BOY added a few more to the tiger's stripes. Ridiculed the People's Commission of two, one of whom, and the *magna pars*, was BHUPEN himself. It was self-appointed, unless its nomination by a well-known Calcutta newspaper may be held to constitute appointment. It recorded during two or two and a half days only an enormous number of depositions, "and a careful calculation made at the time suggested that they were only able to give from two to three minutes to each witness." Related the story of a shopkeeper of Mymensingh who had rearranged his shop after the loot, but who obligingly stage-managed the disorder once more when the People's Commission came on the scene. Concluded by saying that BHUPEN BABU had not exercised his "customary sobriety" in hiccapping out the allegations against the police, but he would not libel BHUPEN's high reputation as lawyer by suggesting that he himself believed that the evidence recorded by him was worth more than the paper upon which it was recorded. That leaves a few ounces of Stephens' blue-black and the wear and tear of the pen still as a dead loss to the People of Bengal.

The CARR OF JUGGERNAUR almost gave the whole show away by declaring that "no one will deny that very grave abuses do exist." But he advised the Council to wait for an official generation for the full results of the Commission's reforms, and if the increase in the Inspectors-General's salaries did not make KULU SINGH and JUMMA KHAN less liable to temptation than before, they could appoint another Commission to report in three years from the date of appointment and add a few hundred more to the salaries of the Inspectors-General. Tried at great length to justify the ways of LAWLESSLY to the benighted Madrassis by reading copious extracts from the latest Gubernatorial Resolution on the police and proved conclusively that although his Government had exchanged Head Constables as station-officers with Sub-Inspectors and reduced the stations to meet the extra cost, they discovered from the spontaneous lamentations of the people that they had kicked out angels in avaries. As for the Constables, their pay was raised from Rs 7 to—Rs. 8. What more do you want? Naturally there was an automatic reduction of one rupee per month per constable in the *balaq amadani*, that cream of the police dairy which drops from above like manna for the deserving policeman.

HOODA has a horror of Commissions, and likes not cash reform. But he rose to point out to MELANCHOLY MAJDE that the low standard of Indian morality did not prevent other departments manned by Indians, such as the judiciary, from being honest and incorruptible.

CHERRY CHITNIS said "Sir, I came with an open mind and a closed mouth, but after what has fallen from BHUPEN I think I should oppose this Resolution." A mere coincidence, you know, that both the ideal citizens of the Orange Free State came with open minds, and after hearing what BHUPEN had to say thought they should oppose the resolution. CHERRY associated himself "with everything that has fallen from my friend, DASHING BOY, as regards the operations of the C. I. D. in my province," but failed to add the obvious truth that he also associated himself with everything that would fall later from SANDOW III.

GHAS-DANA GRAHAM read out the Articles of Association joining him with MAJDE in an Unlimited Assets Company in which the sole dividends were abuse of Educated Indians, and added on his own account that there was a general feeling in his community that in the criminal cases upset by the High Court "the standard of evidence required in Bengal is one which is very nearly unattainable, and which may almost be called quixotic." For a proof, look at the High Courts of other provinces obediently coming to heel whenever the whistle was blown and the dog whip cracked. One would have thought that with a low standard of morality in the land lives of accused persons should not be at the mercy of every passing perjurer. But logic and commerce do not go together and GHAS-DANA GRAHAM had to justify his knighthood by such errancy as this. Lucky that SURLY TREVENDOUS and PAUL GOOSZ were not there to match this lamentation over Indians not taking upon themselves public duty by a jeremiad on the retiring habits of Anglo India—specially at the approach of knight.

The MILD HINDU, in high spirits to day, began by condemning police administration in Native States and still more so in Poona under the Maratha Confederacy. But the MILD HINDU is most strong in reality when he is most mild in appearance, and riddled the C. I. D. most effectively with shots from his Automatic Browning pistol. In view of the Under-Secretary of State's statements, had expected legislation this season. "Very probably the MOSLEM DOWAGER is going to take part in this debate. I see he has been taking notes." But the wily DOWAGER held up the writing pad to the expectant gaze of the

MILD HINDU and showed that he had been making a new wall pattern for Imperial Delhi. Coming to the C. I. D., revealed a scandalous state of affairs in that ideal Province of Craddocks and Clevelands where even that "ideal citizen," CHERRY CHITNIS, "happy in the consciousness of high official appreciation," who had given such an excellent chit to the C. I. D., had not escaped anxiety on account of its operations. Even he had reason to complain that he was made the subject of an adverse confidential report. CHITNIS lost all his cheeriness, for, alas, even virtue was not its own reward and merited C. I. D. reports. Then the MILD HINDU mentioned the case of VITAL THACKERAY whom the C. I. D. had baptised at Dacca and Chittagong as SIR VITAL DAY THAKUR DAS and pestered with their attentions when sightseeing and commercial curiosity led him to the Far East of India. When such righteous and eminent men were favoured by the C. I. D., how could he escape their friendly interest in his doings and undoungs? But he took it as part of the bargain and made no bones about it. If, then, he complained, it was not because he objected to the Department, or its Criminality, but because he was astounded at their want of Intelligence. "I belong," continued the MILD HINDU, "to a society of young men." The Council marked with amusement the youthful spirits of the MILD HINDU and laughter greeted the remark. So he hastened to explain that it was the other members that were young. As for him, alas, his way of life had fallen into the sere, the yellow leaf, and as he sadly confessed this a pair of coal black Bengal eyes in the Visitors' Gallery became moist and a tiny lace handkerchief was used to remove the tell-tale tear. Not desiring to create a storm in the Bay, the MILD HINDU lightly plunged himself into the ridiculous by describing how in SIR JOHN ROUGH-HEW-IT'S dominions a C. I. D. spy worked secretly at finding out what one of the Servants of India was doing by insisting on sitting on the coach box of *treu garri* engaged by the latter for going about, while another with Falstaffian proportions was given a cyclist detective—because there was no motorist detective available at the time, all having been commandeered to bring the *khubbet* of the seditious tigers whom SIR JOHN was hunting in the *terras*. The MILD HINDU was himself reported against, a speech of his having been distorted with the skill of a cartoonist. He objected to such tactics of a class of men who go behind the backs of people and report against them. As he uttered this, the figure of the well-seasoned Inspector HANSON, who was in charge of the Government House, was seen gliding like a portly ghost in the Writing Room behind the MILD HINDU.

The Hon LONGFELLOW had exactly hit off the mean between the popular party that thought policemen to be human fiends and beyond the reach of salvation and the Government that thought it an insult to them to compare them to angels. But the mean of LONGFELLOW overtops the highest appreciation of humbler and less Himalayan humanity. According to him, "the morale of the Police has enormously improved. The corruption which existed only a few years ago was almost non-existent." There was a time, he said, when old women used to bless Sessions Judges by praying to God Almighty to make the Judge a *Darogha*, and the MOSLEM DOWAGER would perhaps oblige him by giving the Council that fascinating lyric of Behar in which a love-sick maiden is entreating the *Darogha* to tell her why he has arrested her lover, no doubt knowing it all the time, like the true Behar maiden, that the real cause of the arrest was—herself. Council wondered whether Hon LONGFELLOW would next ask the Hon CROSS-BREWER to sing that noble refrain—

Sonyyan bhany Kotwal, ab dur kahé ka
(My sweetheart is now the *Kotwal*, so who fears?) That time is gone now, and the ambitions of Behar maidens have risen from the low levels of *Daroghas* and *Kotwals* even to the height of Everest peaks and Councillorships. But for all that, the Governments are not right in exhausting all their lime in whitewashing the almost immaculately white Police *thanas*.

But he had not come to blame the police so much as to bury MELANCHOLY MAJDE and GHAS-DANA GRAHAM. They talk of the morality of Indians and attribute the low morals of the police to the low morals of Indians. LONGFELLOW resented this on behalf of his countrymen. MAJDE had said the same thing at Simla but had not been thrown down the *khud* for all that. "The offence has been repeated and I shall not let it pass this time." And thenceforth he applied to poor doleful MAJDE all the rigours of the law reserved for old offenders. What if the constables were all Indians? Were not a great many Inspectors recruited from the ranks of the Imperial Cousins of whom MAJDE was a shining example?

Later, described the process of manufacture of cases to suit the temperature of the Strong Man who must have a conviction for every offence. Truth may be a minor bye-product of some of these cases, but it was not the finished article put on the judicial market for selling Judge and Jury. "Well, there has been one miscalculation in all this on the part of the police; they have entirely overlooked the pestilential class of people who are called lawyers. The result is that in cross-examination the case is smashed up; and then this despised class get the whole blame. The

officials think that they should be at once banished and deported to Mandalay." After this exposure of police tactics and the counter tactics of law, turned in the direction of the C.I.D., and was referring to the case of the derailment at Neora "almost within sight of the Moslem Dowager's country-house," when the policeman in charge of the Council crossing held up the traffic by raising his hand, and LONGFELLOW was pulled up before he had passed the country house of the Moslem Dowager.

The BOMBAY DUCK was mildly superior and deprecated racial controversies. He was followed by the NAVAR of JACKPIKE who had, he said, come to the Council with the intention, if possible, of supporting BHUPEN'S Resolution. Here was something more than an open mind, but, alas and alack, he too followed the pruine path of loyalty after DASHING BOY and CHERRY CURRIS. The "violent attacks" which BHUPEN had made on the police changed his mind and also his arguments, for he thought the police decent enough and Commissions waste of labour and waste of money. Wonder what he would have thought of the police and Commissions if BHUPEN had not attacked the police! He had come with the intention to support the Resolution and it would have been an education in logic as well as psychology if he would have found arguments to support the appointment of a Commission, which is a waste of labour and a waste of money, to enquire into the abuses of a police that was decent enough in all conscience.

The PANDITI announced that the C.I.D. on which the English prided themselves was not a new invention for the invention of facts, but had existed in the Vedic period in India. Another instance of "Hindu Superiority."

The MOSLEM DOWAGER, although he had made no notes, rose to resent that BHUPEN had ignored his Department and wished to hand over its powers and functions to the Council. He promised BHUPEN his best attention when he introduced a Bill to amend the laws relating to confessions and was sure the Select Committee would give it its most serious consideration,—that is if it reached a Select Committee (COMPOSITOR: Shall I use 72 point bold Cheltenham to display the "if"? Sir?)

The KHAN BAHADUR showed patriotism by resenting attack on Indian morality and loyalty by opposing the Resolution.

AS SANDOW III rose to speak for Government, PRESIDENT CLEVELAND appeared on the scene to answer the call of the audience for the hero of the C.I.D. plot. SANDOW praised BHUPEN for moderation in taking out the sting after every bite, but deserved the final gratitude till he had seen the sting in the tail which Sir Guy had cut short and till he felt sure that that too would be taken out. He made the most of LONGFELLOW's praise of the police, but could not understand how a man whose praise was as high as himself could support the Resolution. Little does SANDOW III know the ups and downs of the Hon. LONGFELLOW's estimates of men and things. He entered into an elaborate psychological study of official and non-official minds when condemning the police and stated that the Police Commission Report was not artistic enough. Had he rather than his predecessor, Sir Andrew Fraser, been commissioned to paint the portrait, he would have introduced more light and shade into a uniformly dark presentation—purely in the interest of Art, you know. Now the Indian policeman was not half bad a fellow. He made a good husband and father and looked after his family. Only SANDOW III forgot that the public was neither his spouse nor daughter, and did not desire to obtain from him conjugal bliss or parental affection, nor indeed merely the looking after his own family. If the policeman was "just an ordinary man" the sooner extraordinary men were recruited for the avowal the better. Following the logic of JESTER SIRFACT, reminded the Council that if once suspicions were entertained of the constable, he owed it to the honour of his Service to endeavour to outwit the Judge and the Jury. It becomes him to be corrupt and false in compliment to their discernment. It is his conscious innocence that is of the greatest prejudice to him. His conduct is like a person in a plethora, absolutely dying from too much health. He must sin in his own defence and part with his conscience to preserve his reputation. The moment you called him a rogue SANDOW was sure the dear angel, who had every virtue except altruism, would feel in honour bound to become a rogue.

When he referred to the harassment of the MUD HINDU, and hinted that appearances even in the case of Servants of India may be deceptive, MUD HINDU rose to explain that he wanted no special concession. He only complained of the clumsiness of the instrument, not of the dangerous operation. To this SANDOW had a ready answer. "You don't object to the theory, but object to the practice," for he could not help it a delicate lady's troublesome tooth had to be extracted with the help of hammer and tongs by a C.I. Dentist used to ease the toothache of a hippopotamus. As for the report against CHERRY CURRIS, expressed great surprise that any venturesome brute should think of laying a rough hand on his little pet. At this pussy purred gratefully and made a Ronan arch of the feline back that had been so gently stroked. Concluded by stating that on behalf of Government the Resolution could

not be accepted. This gave boundless joy to DASHING BOY who cheered loudly and long and almost had to be carried out in a pleasant fit of loyal hysteria.

BHUPEN BABU in reply pitched into GHAS-DANA GRAHAM for characterising the rules of evidence as "exotic" when in reality he had called them "quixotic." Six of one and half a dozen of the other, any way, and GRAHAM would have done better if he had acquired more experience before calling the High Court of Bengal names. But GRAHAMS rush in where Solicitors fear to tread. What is it that turns their Durwans, who are gentlemen in culture and breeding notwithstanding their ignorance, into—er—well, policemen? The same that turns Englishmen into—er—Anglo-Indians, namely, a barbarous environment. Coming to the BRITISH LION, glad to welcome the lost sheep of Israel back to the fold. But had he forgotten in the soft life of the East that he was tackling a rough customer? "It was not two minutes and a half that we gave to each witness, but three days multiplied by two People's Commissioners upon forty-five witnesses." As the MUD HINDU had regaled the Council with comic stories of the C.I.D., BHUPEN had one of his own to relate. A man whose soul is not tuned to music is capable of treason, and a fiddler tested this by fiddling away for very life all the twenty-four hours of the day and night in a house opposite to BHUPEN's window. He didn't seem to care a fiddle for earning a livelihood. The eternal fiddling was given up only when BHUPEN went to England. Wonder whether there Scotland Yard honoured him with a single violinist or a whole orchestra of detectives. Any way, he faced the music boldly, and himself harped on the one subject of the Partition till the fiddles of Government were silenced.

Petty Larceny.

THE concert was over, and the performers, having had a grand reception by a large audience, were recounting some of their former experiences, certain of which were rather high-coloured.

"I was singing a pretty song once," said one. "It was called 'Row, Brothers Row, the Stream Runs Fast,' and when I was half-way through, the audience were bending backwards and forwards, and 'pulling' for all they were worth."

"That's nothing," said another vocalist. "Why, at my last concert I sang 'The Last Post,' and the whole house began to hawk imaginary postage stamps, and rushed out to the first pillar-box so as to be sure not to miss the last collection!"

"AHA!" exclaimed Hurlock Holmes, as he entered the apartment. "There was a mousie in the room!"

"Your power of scent, Hurlock," commented Doctor Dotson, "is simply marvellous!"

"Scent be bothered!" said the great detective. "See the heel marks of a woman's shoe on this chair!"

THE CALLER. "I think your husband always dresses so nice and quietly."

THE WIFE. "Oh, does he indeed? You should hear him when he loses a collar stud!"

IT IS TRUE THAT A SPRUCE APPEARANCE IS ESSENTIAL TO BUSINESS SUCCESS, BUT I FIND IT IS ALSO TRUE THAT BUSINESS SUCCESS IS ATTRIBUTED TO A SPRUCE APPEARANCE.

FIRST VOLUNTEER. "You take the noise of this shrapnel and volley hung very coolly."

SECOND VOLUNTEER. "O, sure! When I'm home, you see, I ride a motor cycle!"

A LADY visitor from up-country was being shown over one of the ships in port the other day by one of the crew. The lady was extremely grateful and told the old salt so, and mentioned how sorry she was to see that the rules of the ship forbade tips being given to the crew. "Bless you, mum" blurted the sailor after some hesitation, "so were apples in the Garden of Eden."

HILDA LESSWAYS went to an inn kept by a scornful and supercilious couple. The train had left her, and left her in company with a gentleman who was neither husband, father, nor brother. The host, timid and puritanical, doubted the propriety of giving her shelter for the night, but the wife was more astute. "She's all right," she announced with conviction, "look at them low heels."

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

REUTER wires from St. Petersburg on the 11th—An official *communiqué* states that the Russian police in Persia has only one aim, the earliest possible termination of disturbances which are so unsavourable to Russian economic interests and threaten to lead to further complications.

A blue book on Persian affairs has been issued. It includes the correspondence between Sir Edward Grey, Sir George Barclay, Sir George Buchanan and others and comprises 333 despatches. Sir Edward Grey on 16th November wrote to Sir George Buchanan that he had told the councillor to the Russian Embassy that he was seriously concerned about Persia. If Russia was satisfied that she had grievances demanding redress, she must, of course, formulate her own demands. If Russia thought that no satisfactory settlement could be reached without the dismissal of Mr Shuster, Sir Edward Grey could urge no objection. He did not wish to suggest the dismissal of Mr Shuster, but mentioned it lest there should be an impression at St Petersburg that Sir Edward Grey was prepossessed in his favour. As a matter of fact, he had given him endless trouble by inconvenient appointments of British subjects.

Sir Edward Grey proceeded to dilate on the possible consequences of the action Russia might take. He deprecated strongly the occupation of Teheran, which was sure to have an effect upon the Mahomedan world and was a most serious thing. He suggested therefore that when Russia had sent troops to Kazvin she should pause and formulate demands. If further pressure proved necessary why should not Russia seize some of the customs or even impound the revenues of Tabriz? The occupation of the capital might react most unfavourably on India, especially if it were thought that Britain was in any way a consenting party.

Sir George Buchanan replied that the Acting Foreign Minister had dismissed the idea of seizure of customs as quite inadequate. He refused to allow Persia further delay after the arrival of troops at Kazvin. Russia would recall the troops on Mr Shuster's dismissal. Sir Edward Grey wrote to Sir George Buchanan on 2nd December: "I spoke most seriously to Count Lengkendorff regarding my anxiety over Persia. I said it was unfortunate in the first instance that the Russian ultimatum was based on the question of the property of Shua-E-Sultaneh, as that question was of comparatively slight importance, and the Russian case did not seem very strong. I also regretted that Russian troops were not withdrawn when Persia complied with the two demands in connection with the property. Mr. Shuster had rejected the British advice and placed Britain in a most embarrassing position. Some arrangements with Persia respecting her foreign advisers was necessary to prevent Britain from being again placed in such a position."

Sir Edward Grey went on to say that he thought it would have been better if Persia had been asked to promise not to appoint foreign advisers without consultation with the British and Russian legations. He regretted that "Russian demand for indemnity British trade had suffered as much as or more than Russian. Indeed Russian trade in the north might even have gained by the stoppage of British trade in the south." He urged that no further far-reaching Russian demands should be made without consultation with Britain. Sir Edward Grey concluded: "At present, we are passing through a most delicate and most difficult time. I am afraid that Government in St. Petersburg has not realised the great issue at stake or what care is needed to prevent our drifting apart."

Russia replying on 5th December intimated that she would not make demands affecting the political future of Persia without consulting Britain. She sincerely desired to set co-operation between the two Governments maintained.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, March 25.

The agitation at Meshed in favour of the return of the ex-Shah has reached such proportions that the Russian Consul-General has been compelled to proclaim martial law, and Russian troops have accordingly taken possession of the town.

The Persian Government has received the balance of the Anglo-Russian advance of £200,000.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN".)

Reuter's Teheran correspondent telegraphs.—Owing to serious street fighting at Meshed between the partisans of the ex-Shah

and the Constitutionalists, the Russian Consul-General has seen fit to proclaim martial law there. There are about 2,000 Russian troops at Meshed.

The account received from St Petersburg is as follows— "According to a telegram from Meshed the Persian troops stationed in the citadel there to day (Monday) made a sortie against the town. Street fighting ensuing, General Kiedko, commanding the Russian troops in the town, was compelled to take steps to restore order."

Reuter's St. Petersburg correspondent says that a telegram from Meshed gives particulars of the circumstances which led to the proclamation of martial law there by the Russian Consul General. The message states that as a force of Government police were returning into the town on Monday, pursued by the adherents of the ex-Shah, who had made a sortie from their sanctuary at the tomb of the Imam Riza, disorders broke out among the populace, who began to pillage houses and attacked several Russians. Matters assumed such a threatening aspect that with the consent of the Persian authorities, who were unable to cope with the situation, the Russian Consul-General proclaimed martial law in the town, and handed over the command to the Commander of the Russian troops. Russian patrols restored order without firing a shot, and the adherents of the ex-Shah withdrew to their refuge, where they remain quiet. It is expected that they will accept the amnesty offered them.

It is added that the inhabitants have expressed their thanks to the Consul-General for the vigorous measures taken by him. The Governor General of Khorasan, of which province Meshed is the capital, and the Commander of the Persian troops have tendered their resignations.

The *Possische Zeitung* comments bitterly on the situation created by the acceptance of the Anglo-Russian terms by the Persian Government. "For the mere sandwich of an advance of £200,000 Persia has now bartered away the last remnant of her paper independence. It was over the head of Persia that Russia and England had concluded the Agreement of 31st August 1907, by which they secured to each other 'spheres of influence.' Persia, whose existence was the subject of the bargain, was not asked for permission, and for five years she refused to sign her death warrant. The Persian Government now uses the same pen with which it signs the loan contract in order to inform the British and the Russians that it will bring its policy into harmony with the principles of the Agreement of 1907. This means that Persia has now even officially ceased to exist as an independent State, and that she has placed herself under a Russo-English protectorate."

The journal in due light of the reservation made by the Persian Government under the preamble of the Agreement, and of the hope expressed by it for an early evacuation of the country by the Russian troops. *Tempi passati*, says the Radical organ, and, besides, "loans and evacuation do not well go hand in hand. The more money is accepted the fainter grows the chance that the foreign troops will leave the country."

The journal continues: "Russia has attained her object. What England has achieved is not clear. Throughout the history of the Persian question since 1907 Russia was the moving force, and England was merely the satellite. In the course of a recent debate in the House of Commons Sir Edward Grey was not even in the position to say decisively 'No' in reply to the question whether the strategical position of India had now become worse than before. Even in this question—an all-important one for the British Empire—he is obliged to place himself at the mercy of Russia, for he distinctly declared that the situation on the Indian frontier depended upon the use which Russia might be pleased to make of her position in Northern Persia."

Reuter's Paris correspondent says that the *Matin* of yesterday announces that in view of the Russian Government's protest Turkey has decided not to send any more troops into Persia.

A Constantinople message says that the first meeting of the Turco-Persian Boundary Commission was held yesterday.

(FROM THE "DAILY NEWS" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Odessa, March 27.

The editor of the *Odesski Listok* has had an interview with Staff-Captain Khabaeff, the special Russian adjutant attached to the ex-Shah, and the official intermediary between the latter and the Government in business and private matters.

The captain said it was perfectly true that Mohammed Ali Shah had been given the option of choosing a domicile either in Russia or England, but so far he had made no definite choice. Captain Khabaeff inclined to the belief that Mohammed Ali would remain in Russia, where, he hinted, it would be easy to keep him under a sort of unobtrusive surveillance.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, March 24.

Salar-ed-Dowleh, the ex-Shah's brother, has rejected the offer of a pension if he will retire, conveyed to him by the British and Russian Consuls at Kermanshah, and has informed them that he claims sovereignty over Western Persia under the suzerainty of the Shah. The British and Russian Governments will probably now make sterner representations and order him to leave the country. It is desired, if possible, to avoid a Russian expedition to Kermanshah. The Turks show willingness to undertake his expulsion, Kermanshah being within easy reach of the Turkish frontier, but the suggestion meets with little favour.

Disorders are reported at Ispahan and Meshed, where the bazaars are closed.

In Teheran the scarcity of bread causes great distress. Five hundred women made a demonstration to day before the Sipahdar's house. Finally they were dispersed by the police, several being wounded, one possibly mortally.

St. Petersburg, March 27.

Salar-ed-Dowleh's intention of founding a vassal State in Western Persia compels the question whether Russia can reasonably be expected to assume the additional burden of forcibly removing the turbulent Prince. Joint Anglo-Russian representations at Constantinople might solve the difficulty if, as rumoured, Salar-ed-Dowleh is encouraged by hopes of Turkish support.

The Persian Situation.

It will be long, we fear, before the situation in Persia can be described as tolerable, even judged by Oriental standards, but the Government of the Shah have at last taken a first step towards practical reform. They have accepted the small loan of £ 200,000 offered to them in equal shares by the British and the Russian Governments, and, of course, they have at the same time assented to the conditions on which the offer was made. If they observe those conditions faithfully and continue to act in the spirit of their present declarations, they will be doing their country the truest service in their power. Persia has passed through a trying period of Constitutional experiment. It has left her with a Treasury as empty as when it began and with her old problems unsolved and in many cases sorely aggravated. Her first task is to thrust down the anarchy which is bursting out in so many different parts of her dominions. The bread riots in the capital and the disorders at Ispahan and Meshed of which we hear to-day are but symptoms of the deep-seated disease which afflicts her. She is suffering as Eastern lands do suffer, when there is no hand to enforce those elementary rights on which all society and all civilization depend. The first remedy, and the only remedy which at this stage of her malady can profit her, is to set up an executive of some kind with a strong hand and with the will to use it. A supply of money, as we have again and again observed, is the condition precedent to the creation of such an executive. Without money the Government cannot pay the public force, and unpaid, or irregularly paid, soldiers and gendarmes are a danger, instead of safeguard, to order. The present loan is of course not intended to finance a force to keep order throughout a vast kingdom. It is a first step which will enable the Government to meet the more pressing demands upon them and perhaps to collect some small part of the revenue. The reference to "the next loan" in the Anglo-Russian Note makes it clear that further advances on a larger scale are contemplated at no distant day. If the Government of Teheran show any capacity for effective rule, their efforts are not likely to be balked in future for want of the necessary financial assistance. The conditions on which the loan is made show the directions in which the capacity will be tested. First amongst them is the demand that the Persian Government shall act in conformity with the principles of the Anglo-Russian Convention. It is superfluous to dwell upon the indispensable necessity of compliance with this condition. Omission or neglect to fulfil it must inevitably lead Persia down the path of ruin. As that is the course from which we are sincerely anxious to save her, we welcome with particular pleasure the very clear and comprehensive language in which the Persian Government pledge themselves to fulfil this provision. Another condition requires them to discuss the organization of a small and effective Army of regulars with the two Legations. The formation of such an Army is so manifestly in their own interests for the collection of revenue that we cannot imagine any indisposition upon their part to further it. It cannot, of course, be undertaken without more money, and we note that the Government express their hope that the two Powers will lend their "concours efficace" for the new loan. The other two conditions are of a temporary kind. The one demands an arrangement with the ex-Shah for his departure and pension, and for an amnesty to his followers, and the other the dismissal of all irregulars from the Army so soon as his ex-Majesty and his brother, Salar-ed-Dowleh, have left Persia. Mohammed Ali has gone some weeks ago, after much desperate bargaining. Probably Salar-ed-Dowleh will in

time listen to reason and also consent to expatriation upon terms. For the moment he appears to have rejected with scorn the proffer of a pension in lieu of the sovereignty which he claims over Western Persia under the suzerainty of his brother. The pose which he has assumed is dramatic and picturesque, but we doubt whether it will have the desired effect of getting him better terms. However he may choose to maintain it, so long as there is anything left to loot in Kermanshah and there is no one to turn him out. He is said to have given his enemies there a sample of Persian administration of the good old kind with tortures and extensive hangings since he has been in possession. He may feel a natural reluctance to relinquish an authority so strenuously exercised. While there is much in Persia which we cannot even hope to see righted for many years to come, there is at least one good piece of recent English work on her coasts which we can regard with satisfaction and with pride. That work is the suppression of the illicit trade in arms between Muscat and Mekran. Nothing could have been better devised or better carried out than the measures which have been taken to suppress it. Admiral Slade, to whom we owe these measures, is now on his way home with the happy consciousness that he has discharged a difficult and a pressing duty with entire success. The trade is dead and it remains for us to see that it is not surreptitiously revived. Its object, we need hardly say, is to furnish the tribes upon the North-West Frontier of India with modern rifles, which are notoriously bought in the first instance for use against us. The rifles come by way of Muscat, where the trade is protected by a treaty between the Sultan of Oman and the French Government which dates back to the Second Empire. The Sultan, who is on excellent terms with us, is anxious to control the trade, since France has hitherto steadfastly refused to relinquish her treaty right to carry it on. With this object he has now decided that all arms imported into his dominions must be stored in a bonded warehouse. They are not to be released from it save upon production of certificates of destination, and no certificates are to be issued for the Mekran coast. We are grateful to the Sultan for his friendly action, but it needs no great knowledge of Oriental officials and of the ways of some European manufacturers and exporters in dealing with such officials, to see that the supervision of the trade at Muscat may fail to be very thorough. We hope, however, for the best.—(*The Times*)

Persia in 1912.

THERE are one or two things which must be remembered by those at home who wish to realise the present situation in Persia, and in stating them as axioms I am not afraid of contradiction, though they make difficult, and even disheartening, the work that lies before us, if we are to carry out our aim successfully. That policy is twofold. Great Britain wishes to safeguard to the full the military and commercial interests of India, and she is at least determined, or should be determined, to have no hand in the extinction of a great Mahomedan sovereignty. Other considerations should, of course, be borne in mind. We have no inducement of any kind to stand in the way of the development of Russian trade and other interests so far as they do not actually militate against the safeguarding of the two chief lines of British policy, and subject, of course, to the same condition, we are, traditionally and temperamentally, sympathetic with the extension to other nations of the prosperity and liberty that we have ourselves enjoyed under our own form of Constitutional government. But it is an error of the first importance to mistake these secondary aims and hopes for the cardinal needs of our Asiatic policy. That policy is now undergoing modifications required by the altered conditions of Central Asia.

In the past we have regarded the maintenance of buffer States between India and other organic Asiatic Powers, as the best possible means of avoiding difficulties with those Powers and thereby the necessity for large military provision along Indian frontiers. The absorption of Tibet by China has deprived us of one useful buffer, the absence of which has at once resulted in an immediate and uneasy activity along the northern and north-eastern borders of India; the chaos in Persia has suddenly warned us of the instability of a second and even more important cushion, interposed this time between Indian interests and the restlessness due to European political expansion.

It is not necessary here to discuss the question whether, as a matter of fact, it is not better to do away with buffer States, and have conterminous limits of Sovereignty. Something, perhaps a good deal, might be said as to the convenience of avoiding the intrigue that inevitably goes on in the interposed State; but there is no sign of any alteration of the general policy of the country in this matter. Indeed, the latest agreement affecting the matter, the Anglo-Russian Convention, is wholly based on the assumption that buffer States should, and must, be maintained between the two Empires. Moreover, our second axiom protects us from

even the possibility of considering the complete partition of Persia as a joint act of the Governments of London and Moscow.

We must consider the present helplessness and confusion in Persia from the point of view that tradition, and probably sound commonsense also make necessary. What have been the causes? What is the present state? and what in our own interests is the best remedy for the dangerous anarchy that exists in that country?

The chief causes—upon which it is not necessary to dilate—see in threefold. The unwarlike nature of the Persians has rendered them a prey to outside interference. Their want of homogeneity has hampered common action. Their dangerous assumption of Western constitutional methods before they were ready for it gave the rein to precisely those defects of character which centuries of an iron but happy-go-lucky autocracy had inevitably engendered. Other reasons might, of course, be suggested, but a short examination of these I have enumerated will be sufficient to account for the present nerveless incapacity of Persia to rise to an emergency which has been thrust upon them by the development of European interests and influence in Western Asia.

That the Persian as a whole have failed to carry on the fighting traditions of their ancestors is, unfortunately, a matter beyond question. Certain tribes, indeed, in the mountainous districts of the south-west and others with a strong Turkish, Kurdish, and Caucasian leaven in the north-west, still exhibit some military capacity, but the former, though true Persians, are almost wholly careless and contemptuous of their political unity with Teheran and the latter are only warlike so far as they are almost avowedly of alien extraction.

Probably the fundamental cause of this effeminacy is that the form of Mahomedanism which is peculiar to the country has never developed the grit and self-devotion that in war characterise the followers of "The Tradition." I put it in this way because I cannot think it proved that the beautiful but nebulous tenets of Bahaisim have so widely influenced all classes in Persia, as is often asserted. Certainly if this be true it would in itself go far to explain the unmilitary predilections of the people, for Bahaisim is scarcely a faith that prompts to battle. More probably, a century of practical immunity from external threats, and a standard of living unusually comfortable by Oriental standards, has had its effect.

Whatever be the reason, the fact remains that the dismemberment or even total extinction of Persia is now more likely to be effected in the field of arms by strangers than by those immediately affected. This in itself is a source of material weakness, and when to it is added that Persians are perfectly well aware of their own indisposition for military exertions, their moral helplessness in the face of an emergency is in a fair way to be explained also.

But a want of material capacity would not be sufficient in itself to account for the present utter failure of a nation that is so amazingly gifted by nature with the arts of diplomacy and intrigue as are the Persians. It is the total want of unity of purpose or co-operation in action that suggests the second cause as a deciding factor in the problem of Persian impotence. It is not only that the nation consists of many different and almost invariably hostile tribes, or that those tribes are composed of sects to which the same adjectives might be applied with equal truth. Greatly as this would militate against joint action, there have been no few symptoms from time to time during the past three or four years that private animosities would not improbably be sunk, at any rate for a time, in the face of a national danger and at the bidding of a trusted and capable leader. There lies the trouble. The danger is present in all seriousness—but there is no leader.

It was written of Persia the other day that in it there is no individual in the whole country sufficiently honest to possess the confidence of any other single person. To this sweeping denunciation few will subscribe, but it is lamentably true that this bitter sentence represents not unfairly the attitude that the Persians seem to take up towards each other even in these days of crisis. Names appear and disappear among the nationalists with suspicious rapidity, and of those who bore a prominent part in the establishment of the Constitution in July, 1909, not one is to-day trusted, and the only figures that still remain upon the stage are those of Samsam-Sultaneh and his brother Sardar Assad, neither of whom can for a moment be regarded as a convinced constitutionalist. The Persians are a people suspicious, divided, leaderless.

There was, then, good material for anarchy in Persia, whenever other circumstances provided the opportunity, and the opportunity came when constitutional government was from outside presented to a people that had never made a sacrifice to win what other nations had spent their blood in torrents to secure. That was, in itself, a doubtful advantage to Persia. Nations are like human beings—that for which a man pays a heavy price he values more than that which he picks up for a trifle. The reality of the boon was obscured from the outset. There were no Ironsides in the Majlis to see to it that the idle and the lukewarm were given no chance of spoiling

what had been bought at a great and human price. Words were from the first a sufficient currency in Teheran, and of words there was no lack. Little by little the Parliament dropped in the estimation of Persia till its authority was openly flouted, and the bad old habits that tyranny had fostered were soon as characteristic of the new Government as of that which it had ousted.

It is probable that the authority of the Majlis was never recognised anywhere except by those whose advantage it was to recognise it. The stouter men of the mountain and the coast continued to ask "Yes, yes, that, no doubt, is what the Majlis says. What does the Shah say?" There was not really enough difficulty about getting the Constitution to advertise its existence when obtained. But among the higher officials the change meant the loss of the one power that they had used and abused for generations. No question was asked under the autocracy, provided order was maintained and the revenue paid. The methods employed were, of course, deplorable in individual cases, but the Persian understood it, and, on the whole, thrived.

But under the new régime order was not maintained, the revenue was not paid and Persia ceased to thrive to such an extent that a reign of terror has at last set in over a large part of the neutral zone. The power of the sword was taken away, and no power of anything else had any effect upon a weak people, all at sea under the unfamiliar sense of a nominal liberty. To the Persian constitutional rights were everything, constitutional duties never existed from the start. The first to recover themselves and see the opportunities offered them were the lawless mountain tribes of the South-West. There was nothing now to restrain them, and the people and prosperity of their territories were at their mercy.

Only a strong—perhaps only a somewhat harsh—hand could hold them in, and of strength there was none in any administration from one end of the country to the other. The head and the limbs were equally powerless. In the space of a few months there had been witnessed in this weak and newly enfranchised country a series of outbreaks, half of which would have suspended the Constitution, even in England. Tabriz was in revolt again, the Russians again hurried troops into Azerbijan and Kavirin, Khorasan even thought of declaring itself independent, Afghans had caused anxiety in Seistan, Bam and Regan had been held to ransom by a Baluchi chief, Bandar Abbas and Laristan were "unsafe" for caravans. Bushire had been "held up" by Tangistanis, the trade routes of Shiraz were the scene of organised pillage, Ispahan was forcibly occupied by the Bakhtiaris, the Kurds crossed the frontier. Add to this assassination at Teheran and Shiraz, the refusal sooner or later of every province in Persia—except, perhaps, Arabistan—to pay revenue, and the reappearance of the ex-Shah and his lieutenants at four separate points in Persian territory, and some idea can be formed of the hopelessness of the task which confronted the new and already distracted Government, of which the Cabinets changed their constitution from month to month, like the pieces of glass in the turning kaleidoscope—FREDERICK LANDON in the *Daily Telegraph*.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND COLLECTIONS IN INDIA

Name of place	Name of person in charge of the fund	THE W.F.R.F.'S PROGRESS						PROGRESS UP TO DATE		REMARKS				
		Amount Collected	Amount Forwarded	To whom for WARDED AND THROUGH WHAT Agency.				Amount collected	Amount Forwarded					
		Rs	A	P	Rs	A	P	Rs	A	P				
Kashmir (Srinagar)	Seth H. A. Harcon	472	12	0	4	0	0	M.O. Charges	15,945	5	13,247	11	R	
Do.	Do	175	6	0	1,932	8	6	The Right Hon. the Syd Amber Ali for the British Red Cres- cent Society by a Demand draft on the National Bank of India London	15,49	9	3	13,943	3	B
Do.	Do				17	9	6	Postage, M.O., etc						
Ran- gpur.	Haji Ahmed Mulla Dawood Sahib.				67,500	0	0	The Ottoman Red Crescent Society Con- stantinople.						
Do.					7,500			Right Hon'ble Syed Amer Ali, London.						
													Eos week ending 1st April	

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 11th.—A fleet of transports, escorted by battleships, have effected landing of troops from Italy, near Zuara, Tripoli, after engaging the enemy by feint of landing men elsewhere.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 12th.—The new point occupied in Tripoli is the Peninsula of Macabex. The troops on the 11th instant occupied Port Bucheloo. There was no resistance.

With reference to the extension of the Italian blockade on the Yemen coast, announced on the 8th instant, it appears that the imperial Government, in consequence of the apprehensions of Muhammadans in India and elsewhere, inquired of the Italian Government, which stated that it was not intended to interfere with pilgrimage.

General Caneva telegraphs that the occupation of Macabex ensures the possession of a station for torpedo boats with a view to the repression of gun running.

The fort of Bukeminesh, not Bucheloo, which was occupied on the 11th instant, commands the Tunisian caravan routes, and is the key to the frontier of Tunis.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 14th.—Though the Ambassadors have not yet taken steps to make any communication to the Porte with regard to the terms on which Turkey will agree to the termination of the war, they have all received the text of an identical communication from their Governments. It is understood that communications will be made separately and not collectively.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 16th.—The Ambassadors to-day presented to the Porte a communication with reference to mediation in the war. The communication states that the Powers having ascertained the Italian conditions now desire to know Turkey's.

Assim Bey, Minister for Foreign Affairs, asked for time to reply, which is practically certain to be in the negative, Turkey refusing to negotiate for peace on the basis of the Italian claims.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE CENTRAL NEWS SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)
Turkish Head-quarters, Tripoli,

Vat' Dschibat, March 27

The Commander of the Turkish forces at Benghazi reports to the General Staff here that he has just achieved a great victory over the Italian Army. The enemy's losses were 27 officers and 3,500 men killed and wounded, and the Italian camp and equipment fell into our hands. The Turkish losses amounted to about 150 officers and men killed and wounded.

This great victory follows close upon another engagement which was fought on the 15th instant, when the Italians sustained a severe defeat, one general and 47 officers and 1,700 men being killed and wounded.

On the 13th the Italian Army fell back, and the Turkish troops captured telephone and telegraph apparatus and other camp equipment.

The Turkish losses on the 12th were only 53 officers, and men wounded.

H. C. STEPPING WRIGHT.

The following statement is issued by the Italian Embassy.—

"No battle has taken place at Benghazi or anywhere in Tripoli or Cyrenaica since the 12th of March, when the Italian troops were completely victorious and took possession of two oases previously occupied by the Turco-Arab forces. The details of this engagement were given in an official telegram published through Reuter's Agency on the 3rd."

Constantinople, March 27

The authorities at Salonika have been notified from Lemnos that the Italian Fleet is steering a course for Chalcedone.

Instructions have been sent to the forts on Cape Karaburnu to be prepared for decisive action.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

Reuter's Rome correspondent states that according to a telegram from Tripoli the railway from Tripoli and the Santa Barbara fort to Ain Zara has been working since 19th March and all

the stores required at Ain Zara are now sent by train. Work will be begun to-day on the new line to Tajura (on the coast east of Tripoli).

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, March 23.

According to reports received from Consular sources, five of the contact mines recently laid down in the Dardanelles are missing, and several others—according to some accounts as many as eight—have exploded. The usual rumours concerning the activity of secret agents are current, but there is reason to believe that the mischief was done by a particularly lively school of porpoises, which is hardly likely to have been pressed into the Italian service. The news has caused considerable anxiety in shipping circles here.

Sofia, March 24.

The Turkish Government recently applied for permission to send through Bulgaria eight aeroplanes intended for the Turkish Army. The Bulgarian Government, in order to preserve strict neutrality in the Turco-Italian War, has refused to grant the request.

Constantinople, March 23.

A leading Turkish newspaper publishes an interview with Assim Bey, Minister for Foreign Affairs, who expresses himself as decidedly optimistic regarding the general situation. The Minister is reported to have declared that Turkey's relations with the Balkan States do not inspire any uneasiness, all pending questions are in a fair way of settlement. Alluding to the attitude of the Powers, the Minister said he was confident of their pacific intentions and of their strict observance of neutrality. Speaking particularly of Russia, Assim Bey said he was convinced that Russia did not mean to modify her policy, and added—

The Powers can hardly recognize the Italian decree of annexation of Tripoli and Cyrenaica. Turkey will enter upon peace *pourparlers* on condition that she is not called upon to recognize a *salt accompli*. All the threatening preparations of Italy cannot compel us to act differently.

With regard to the Russian concentration of troops in the Caucasus, Assim Bey confirmed the statement that the 41st Division at Kizan had been transferred thither owing to the removal of a portion of the Caucasian garrisons to Persian territory. There was, he added, nothing at present to modify Turco-Russian relations with reference to the Turco-Persian frontier delimitation question. Negotiations for setting up a Turco-Persian Commission to deal with it were proceeding at Constantinople, and, if no agreement were reached, the matter would be submitted to arbitration at The Hague. The assurances given by the Russian Government regarding the movements of troops were satisfactory, and the recall of M. Tcharykoff, the Russian Ambassador, implied no change of attitude.—(Center.)

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, March 24.

The young but very vigorous National Party are far from satisfied with the progress of Italian arms in Tripoli. Rightly or wrongly they attribute the slowness of advance to the too cautious policy of the Home Government. An almost universal feeling is abroad that new blood is needed in the Cabinet, and that the only safe policy for Italy is a vigorous forward one.

Candia, March 24.

To-day being election day in Greece, elections were held also at Candia. The Assembly elected 69 Deputies, chosen from all the political parties in the island, to represent Crete in the Greek Chamber. No plan or date was settled for the departure of the Deputies to Greece, but the Deputies were ordered to be present in Athens at the opening of the Greek session.

Athens, March 24.

It is expected that 23 Cretan Deputies will present themselves here, but three times that number were elected to-day in view of possible obstacles to their departure. It seems doubtful, however, whether the Powers will take measures to detain them, which, in any case, would hardly be successful. That the Deputies will succeed in entering the Chamber is, however, very problematical, the Greek Government being firmly resolved not to admit them without the consent of the Powers.

(PRESS ASSOCIATION FOREIGN SPECIAL.)

Constantinople, March 20.

Nearly a month ago the Minister of the Interior, Hadji Adil Bey, started on a tour in Macedonia and Albania at the head of a Commission of Reforms. It was proposed that they should inquire into the desires and grievances of the inhabitants and execute

summary justice wherever possible. The mission appears to have met with a favourable reception in most places, and although it is too early to sum up the results of its labours, the following list of officials and officers punished for abuses or incompetence shows that Hadji Adil Bey has not hesitated to use the extraordinary authority conferred upon him.

In Salonika three officers of gendarmerie were degraded for maltreatment of prisoners. The Governor of the prison of Uskub was dismissed for the same nature of offence. The Mutesarrif of Tashlidja and the Kaimakan of Prepol were dismissed, and the latter will be tried for misdemeanour. The judge of Petchovo and the dragoman of the Court of Novibazar have also been relieved of office, while the judges of Mitrovitsa and Vutschetschi and the Kaimakans of Radovishia and Kratovo will be transferred elsewhere, having given evidence of incompetence in their present positions.—*Manchester Guardian.*

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST")

As far as can be gathered, the past week has not advanced the war between Italy and Turkey or the prospects of peace. No further steps have been taken collectively by the Powers in regard to mediation. The Italian reply to their joint enquiries has not been officially communicated to the Porte, and it has to be inferred that the idea of friendly overtures to the belligerents at this stage has been abandoned. Italy, however, still hesitates to face the facts of the situation, in the belief that she may yet be extricated from her difficulties by the efforts of others. Full recognition has been paid to the conciliatory nature of the terms that the Italian Government is willing to offer Turkey; indeed, the anxiety to do credit to the spirit of friendliness in which that Government is prepared to meet the Porte on every subject save the annexation caused the fact to be overlooked that in so many words Italy, in her reply, asked the Powers to join her in the payment of the purchase price for Tripoli by surrendering the capitulations. In abandoning their efforts at mediation the Powers endorse the advice that has already reached Italy from many quarters, that the soundest preliminary to securing recognition for an accomplished fact is to accomplish the fact. The hot season in North Africa is rapidly approaching, and the difficulties of a campaign, sufficiently arduous while restricted to a narrow strip of territory along the sea-coast in cool weather, will be immeasurably intensified when an advance has to be undertaken into the interior. Moreover, the prolonged delay of the Italians in making a more strenuous effort in Tripoli detracts from the force of their threats to extend the war to the Turkish littoral in Europe or Asia. The Porte may still have to face the consequences of such a step, but it has possibly had time to convince itself that the risks to which the Italians would simultaneously be exposed offer a strong argument against the step being taken in any serious manner. A week's interval has certainly served to dissipate the fear that Russia and Italy were contemplating in the immediate future some joint effort to compel Turkey to embrace the first opportunity of peace. Such foundation as there may have been for the report is to be sought for, if we are not mistaken, in Paris. By a peculiar coincidence, both the Russian and the Italian Ambassadors to the French capital were formerly the Foreign Ministers of their respective countries. The temptation to invest the Embassy with the functions of a Foreign Office appears to have been too strong both for M. Isvolsky and Signor Tilton, but they reckoned, at least in one case, without the Governments that they represented. Although M. Savoff's *rapport* of Russian foreign policy has been postponed, there are grounds for supposing that Russia is not yet prepared to abandon her attitude of neutrality in regard to the Turco-Italian War. The situation on the Persian frontier may cause the Tsar's Government to carry on separate negotiations in Constantinople, but the eagerness of the Porte to promise an immediate removal of irregularities justifies the inference that it is satisfied with the correctness of the Russian attitude in other directions.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Smyrna, March 21

The week has been one of alarms and general uneasiness. In the mind of the natives the idea prevails that the Italians are anxious to conclude peace. The Turks, however, appear more determined than ever to continue resistance. The forts guarding the entrance to the bay are strongly held. Batteries are being thrown up on the hills dominating the approaches to the bay. Troops are daily arriving from the Interior. In all directions one sees troops drilling, and the boom of artillery at target practice is constantly heard.

News from Turkish Sources.

(Specially translated for the Comrade.)

(FROM THE "JEUNE TURC.")

The *Nouvelle Presse* of Vienna uses menacing language towards Italy and says: "While the Powers are exchanging ideas

for making the basis for mediation possible, the bombardment of Smyrna or of Salonica by Italy will put the whole of Europe against her."

Youssuf Cheivan Bey arrived at Constantinople yesterday. He has seen Assim Bey, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Talat Bey, the officiating Minister of the Interior, and given them an official account of the inexhaustible resources of our African Provinces for continuing the war, of the numbers that are constantly swelling the ranks of Ottoman combatants and of the state of arms and ammunition. Youssuf Cheivan Bey has assured the Ministers that the Turco-Arab combatants are preparing a formidable sudden stroke for driving the Italians out altogether.

The other day we referred to the intention of His Excellency Prince Mohamed Ali, the brother of His Highness the Khedive, to form an association for rendering aid to the orphans of the victims of Beirut bombardment. Our Cairo correspondent now announces to us the formation of this Association under the Presidency of His Excellency Prince Mohamed Ali Pasha. The members of the Association are Their Excellencies Mohamed Chourbi Pasha, Mohamed Raza Pasha, Aziz Izat Pasha, Ismail Sahri Pasha, Hasan Madkour Pasha, Ismail Abaza Pasha, Abdur Rahim Sahri Pasha, and several other distinguished men. The Association has already held two meetings at the Savoy Hotel for the discussion of the best possible means for the success of their charitable work.

Major Haider Bey, Commandant of the Gendarmerie post at Taxim, has forwarded to us a letter from General Edham Pasha, Commandant of the Ottoman Forces at Tobruk. Edham Pasha has some very scathing words to say regarding the cowardice of Italians, who dare not show their head out of their fortified positions. He says that he is lost in admiration of the services rendered to the country by Enver Bey and Aziz Bey. The enemy at Tobruk has contented itself by making occasional ascents in aeroplane and dropping down bombs in profusion without any result. It is obstinate in its intention of not putting its foot out of the fortifications of the town. These tactics of the enemy have made Edham Pasha impatient and he has addressed the following letter to the Commandant of the Italian troops.—

Monsieur le General,—In my capacity as the General Commander-in-Chief of Tobruk I have the right to tell you that if you wish to preserve your military honour intact, leave your fortresses and take up the position of a combatant. My brave Arab soldiers are impatient for a fight which they desire every moment. They harass you every day and advance upon your fortifications but I do not want to expose them unprofitably to danger.

If you are bent on the conquest of this country, you should at least come out of your fortresses and fight our soldiers.

While waiting for your arrival, my dear General, we will prepare to receive you suitably and well.

EDHAM,

Commandant-General of Tobruk.

This letter from Edham Pasha has produced no effect and the Italians will not move.

The Italians had purchased sixty thousand tons of English coal for the fleet and a private telegram announces that the delivery of this cannot, owing to the strike, be guaranteed till the end of May.

According to the telegram from the Commandant of Tripoli, communicated to the Agence Ottomane, the Turks attacked Ain Zara in the night. They have captured a lot of construction material, telephone and telegraphic apparatus, shovels, pickaxes, carts and implements. A number of cattle too which were out in the open were killed by our soldiers.

The Agence Ottomane is authorised to publish the following official information regarding a recent battle at Derna, received by the Minister of War from Enver Bey, Commandant of the region of Benghazi.—

On the 3rd March a detachment of 75 men composed of regulars and volunteers was placed in ambush to waylay two battalions of the enemy who were advancing westwards from the position called "Seid Abdullah". An action took place and the Italian battalions suffering numerous casualties immediately began to retreat. The battle meanwhile commenced on a general scale and lasted till sundown. The two battalions, who had been caught in the ambush, were reinforced by the enemy and quickly opened a violent fire. We sent up in that direction all the regulars and volunteers that we could dispose of, but the Italians worked themselves to the west of our wing. The latter thereupon delivered a charge on the enemy's forces who had to leave their trenches and fall backwards. At

20th April.

this moment six battalions of Infantry, one battery of field artillery, two mountain batteries, three howitzer batteries and all the enemy's reserves advanced up against our left, we immediately moved all the forces on our right with the greatest possible rapidity, so much so that almost the whole of our right wing was deployed westwards. We succeeded in putting the Italians to flight and pursued them till the line of their first fortifications. Their losses are considerable. Many things have fallen into our hands and amongst the dead we found Captain Bocanti and Lieutenant Eroton Orlandi belonging to the 5th Battalion of the 35th Division. A Captain and an Under-Lieutenant of the 26th Battalion are also amongst the dead. The troops who took part in to day's action belonged to the 26th and 35th Divisions and to the 2nd, 5th and 6th Regiments.

We captured fifty rifles and their cartridge cases, 36 shrapnel and much ammunition. Our losses are 3 wounded amongst regulars and 21 dead and 40 wounded amongst volunteers.

Enver Bey has sent to the President of the Red Crescent Committee and to the Egyptian people the following letter which is full of patriotic sentiment and breathes cheerful confidence. It gives us very great pleasure to publish this letter —

"In the name of the All Merciful God I salute you and send to you and to all the Egyptians the salutations of all my brother officers and the regular and volunteer soldiers. I confess to my inability to express to you my high appreciation of the eminent services that you have rendered to the Empire, to the Nation and to the Musselman world. The great encouragement which the Moslem lions have received has redoubled their courage in the defence of the national honour and of the soil of their sacred fatherland. Many an evidence of the goodness of the Egyptians has forced itself lately on our attention and how proud the Musselman world and the Ottoman Empire must feel at having in their "pale" the Egyptian people—a people so rich in civic virtues and in their devotion and fidelity to the sworn faith. You must certainly have received news from the theatre of war, and if you still want to have the most correct information, I may tell you that all the combatants and myself are by God's grace in the enjoyment of a perfect state of things and we have by our brilliant victories in all the engagements given that chastisement to the enemy which it richly deserves by reason of this act of brigandage. We wish you long life and good health and to the Egyptian nation we wish the realisation of all its desires and aspirations and we pray to God to accord to it all the felicity and grandeur that it desires and to afford to us some day an opportunity of performing our duty to Egypt and the Egyptians.

"In conclusion we beg of you as well as of all the Egyptians individually to pray to the Almighty that we may always continue victorious and that He may help us to drive the enemy from the soil of our Fatherland.

Your Servant,
ENVER."

Intervention.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, March 22

The meetings between the three Monarchs of the Triple Alliance to-morrow and on Sunday inspire some hope that from them may proceed a co-ordinated attempt to promote a settlement of the Turco-Italian conflict. An authoritative organ of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office, the *Pester Lloyd*, encourages this hope by stating that the war will play an important part in the conversations between the Emperors Francis Joseph and William at Schönbrunn and between King Victor Emmanuel and the German Emperor at Venice, and while finding it hard to believe in a settlement on the basis of the Italian conditions, it concludes —

For the Sultan and for Turkey much, very much, is at stake, and it is at this moment permissible to found earnest hope upon the concluding passage of the Italian proposal, in which Italy declares herself ready to examine any further proposals which the Powers may bring forward "with the object of preserving the self-respect and dignity of Turkey." In the interest of Italy and of European peace, it would appear urgently desirable that the exchange of views between the Emperor William and his two allies should help to pave the way, and perhaps lead to the formulation of these "further proposals."

The hope thus expressed is stated on authority, which should be excellent, to prevail also in the immediate neighbourhood of the German Emperor. It is, however, necessary to add that in very competent diplomatic circles the hope is not entirely shared. The event alone can show whether this less optimistic view is based on prudence or on a more accurate and sober estimate of the circumstances than the German Emperor is in a position to form. The one element which non-Italian statesmen are apt to miscalculate

is the determination of the Italian people not to admit any makeshift settlement. The Emperor William's personal charm and energy constitute, doubtless, an important factor in any negotiation he may undertake, but it should not be forgotten that in firmness of character and in passive if not active vigour of temperament King Victor Emmanuel is no whit inferior to his Imperial Ally. The tenacity with which each Sovereign is capable of maintaining his own standpoint in the other's presence was indeed revealed during their last meeting at Venice.

Vienna, March 26.

The remarkable warmth of the reception given to the German Emperor on his arrival at Venice and the display of enthusiasm for the Triple Alliance during his meeting with King Victor Emmanuel are noted here as interesting symptoms of which the precise significance cannot yet be determined. The sense in which the demonstrations were intended was so clearly defined in advance by the Italian Press that the question automatically arises whether the enthusiasm would retain its value should the German Emperor have found himself unable to accede to Italian desires. Italy, said the Italian Press with striking unanimity, understands the difficult position in which Germany has been placed by the war, and asks only that Germany should observe strict neutrality—that is, that German diplomacy should refrain from opposing efforts like those of Russia to bring the war to an end, and should, likewise, refrain from holding a protecting hand over Turkey now that it has become necessary for Italy to strike a telling blow at the enemy. Italy desires, further, that the Triple Alliance should not be perfunctorily renewed, but it should be so extended as to comprise in future, not only the special problems hitherto contemplated, but the whole policy of the Allied States in and beyond Europe.

Semi-official messages from Venice state that the meeting of the two Monarchs revealed the identity of their views and has both clarified the situation and strengthened the Triple Alliance.

Paris, March 25

French interest in the Venice meeting is concentrated upon its international aspects, and in particular upon its possible bearing on the war between Italy and Turkey. The *Temps* this evening reviews the German efforts after the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austro Hungary and the invasion of Tripoli by Italy to convince Turkey that, although the Triple Alliance was the chief author of her troubles, the Triple Alliance, and especially Germany, remained her best friend. But Germany has found it more and more difficult to maintain the balance between her duties to her allies and her protestations of friendship to Turkey. What will be her attitude if Italy attempts to strike a decisive blow at Turkey? This, it is thought, is likely to be one of the questions which the Emperor William will ask King Victor Emmanuel to help him to answer. If there is any hopeful sign, it is to be found in the fact that all neutral Powers have a common interest in peace.

Berlin, March 27.

Such little comment as appears on the meeting of the Emperor William with the King of Italy at Venice, is rather to the effect that Germany is unlikely to have adopted any definite attitude with regard to the possibilities of peace. Without suggesting with certain German journals that the question of mediation will not have even been mentioned, it may be said that such indications as were discernible on the eve of the Emperor William's departure from Berlin did not point to a more favourable attitude on the part of Germany towards the Italian wishes. The *Cologne Gazette* argues that the Emperor William will have served the cause of peace if he has contributed to the removal of the Italian prejudices concerning the attitude of Germany. It is remarked that Germany always regretted the outbreak of the war, but could not make mediation proposals while the temper of both the belligerents was unready for them, and it is added that the temper of the belligerents is not likely to have altered to an extent sufficient to justify Germany in emerging from her reserve. The journal predicts that Germany will be blamed in any case—if there is no peace, for not having put pressure on Turkey in the interests of her Italian ally, and if there is an extension of Italy's military operations, for having encouraged Italy without due regard for Turkey. All this does not amount to much more than saying that Germany is still involved in the dilemma naturally created by her ambiguous relations with Italy and Turkey respectively.

(FROM A "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, March 27.

The *Nenes Wiener Tagblatt* publishes a communication on the meeting between the German Emperor and the King of Italy which gives expression to the views of the Foreign Office here. The journal writes that the views of the foreign Press which treat the interview as the commencement of a new phase of the Triple Alliance are erroneous, and continues:—

Those who now speak of a "new" phase of the Triple Alliance have entertained the absurd idea that the Triple Alliance was about to collapse, and now when they acknowledge its entire consistency

they speak at the same time of a renewal of the Alliance. As a matter of fact, no change whatever has occurred in the international grouping of the Powers, and such a change was not at all necessary as the Triple Alliance has always remained steadfast and requires no fresh support. The adherents of Irredentism in Italy are also beginning to grasp the deep significance and great importance of the Triple Alliance policy for Italy, but competent circles in Italy were already such firmly convinced adherents of that policy that no increase of their conviction was possible for them, and the meeting in Venice was not required to satisfy them of the real steadfastness of the Alliance. Thus only the uninitiated can expect that a new phase of the Triple Alliance begins from the Venice meeting.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN")

Italian Hopes.

The meeting at Venice between the Kaiser and the King of Italy gives the Italian press the occasion to break out in the same extravagant expectations which were not so long ago entertained by it with regard to the Triple Entente and especially France. The semi-official *Tribuna* tries to be "moderate." It recalls the fact that it was William II who first consoled Italy after the disaster at Adowa, and it rejoices that he should be the first to bring his salutations to Italy "now victorious." It does not wish to conjecture what may have been arranged at the Royal meeting, but it has no doubt that the Triple Alliance will emerge from it stronger than ever.

The *Corriere della Sera*, of Milan, goes much further. In its opinion the Triple Alliance must enlarge its basis in order to acquire a higher and more decisive importance in international politics. It must become the basis of any action by the three States and embrace much more distant contingencies than has been the case hitherto. The journal evidently wishes that the scope of the alliance should be made for all the three Powers so wide as to include every international conflict, and if that should have been the subject of conversation at Venice then the meeting will mark a memorable date in the history of Europe.

The clerical *Gazette d'Italia* confines itself to the discussion of the practical implications contained in the dreams of its contemporaries. "It," it says, "Germany cannot induce Turkey to renounce her useless and perilous resistance she may at least recognise Italy's right to pursue the war so as to beat down Turkey's obstinacy and as Germany is Italy's ally she cannot reasonably demand that Italy should continue to fight with her hands tied against an enemy who is hiding himself behind the backs of his seconders. In other words, the basis of the alliance should be so extended as to make it available not only against France (the original objective) but also against Turkey."

It is scarcely likely that this wish will be fulfilled. As the *Temps* points out, the position of Germany as between her Italian ally and her Turkish friend is such that the Kaiser is obliged to ask King Victor Emmanuel to assist him in solving it — this the more as the German Government had never been informed by Italy of her intention to strike a blow in Tripoli.

No German Help for Italy.

IN AN obviously inspired note the *Kritisches Journal* administers a cold douche to the extravagant expectations to which the Italian Press has been giving utterance in the course of the last few days in connection with the Venice meeting between the German Emperor and the King of Italy. While expressing the hope that the meeting may result in the removal of certain prejudices existing in both countries and in thus consolidating the basis of the Triple Alliance, the Rhenish organ makes the following significant observation —

The Italian Press, however, seems to go much further, and to expect from the meeting something that would have an immediate bearing upon the war. That Germany would be prepared to facilitate its termination needs no assurance. Germany has deplored the war from its beginning, and would certainly have come forward with mediation proposals long ago had the mood of the two combatants been such as to render an effort of this kind more or less assured of success. Such, however, has not been the case hitherto, and it is scarcely likely that the situation has undergone a sufficient improvement during the meeting at Venice to enable Germany to abandon her policy of expectation. Our doubts are equally strong when a portion of the Italian Press utters the hope that the meeting may prove the starting point of an entirely new policy to be initiated immediately!

This is a sufficiently clear reply to the visions and wishes of the Italian press, which were quoted in yesterday's issue. It is, therefore, scarcely surprising to find the Rome correspondent of the *Temps* assuring its readers, on what is evidently good authority, that "the Kaiser has in the course of his conversation with King Victor Emmanuel by no means offered himself as an arbiter or mediator in the Italo-Turkish war, but confined himself

to urging with extreme reserve counsels of moderation so far as the terms of peace were concerned."

M. Jean Herbette, writing in the *Siecle*, goes even further, and claims to know from "well-informed" sources a number of details concerning the interview at Venice which cannot but prove unpalatable to the superexcited Italian Press. He says that so far from offering any new formula of peace, "Kaiser William went to Venice with the intention of showing the King of Italy how useless it would be to attempt an attack upon the Dardanelles. Even if this operation should completely succeed," continues M. Herbette, "and if the Italian fleet should appear before Constantinople, Germany and Austria would no more be disposed than England and France to bring pressure upon Turkey with a view to compelling her to cede Tripoli. As for an intervention by Russia, it is no use thinking of it. Germany has dissuaded her from undertaking such a step not less energetically than France and England, and the right about face which Russian diplomacy executed on the receipt of these counsels was the occasion of a rather painful exchange of views between St. Petersburg and Rome."

With special reference to the opening of the Dardanelles, M. Herbette has reason to believe that the Kaiser has pointed out to his ally that even after forcing its entrance into the Sea of Marmora the Italian navy, weakened by the struggle, without being able to find coal or ammunition or provisions, would find its position so exposed to risks that it would have to attempt the forcing of the Dardanelles for a second time in order to escape from the trap.

French Warnings.

IT IS now abundantly clear that all the recent alarms and excursions of Russian diplomacy, now about to bring pressure upon the Porte to make peace with Italy on the latter's terms, and now mobilising troops in the Caucasus and, it is said, threatening a naval descent upon the Bosphorus, have had for their sole purpose to render Turkey's attitude more pliable on the question of the occupation of the Crimea district. Both the *Nouvelles Presse* and the *Temps* publish statements on "high authority," the former from Rome and the latter from Constantinople to the effect that there is no secret agreement between Russia and Italy either on the subject of the Dardanelles or indeed, any other subject connected with the Balkans, and that Russia entertains no aggressive designs against Turkey. On the other hand, the *Journal des Debats* shrewdly suspects that the Russo-Turkish differences on the Persian frontier in Crimea "may not have been alien to M. Tcharykoff's recall. It is not impossible," it says, "that the reproach levelled against this Ambassador, the friend of Turkey, was that he had failed, notwithstanding the numerous tokens of friendship, in obtaining satisfaction on the subject of the old affair."

However it may be there is reason to believe that abandoned by Russian diplomacy, the Italian Government is once more seriously contemplating the possibility of delivering an attack upon the Dardanelles. It is indeed considered by many as probable that unless the Kaiser succeeded in dissuading the Italian Government from this desperate course at his meeting with King Victor Emmanuel at Venice yesterday, the Italians will at last deliver the long threatened blow. It is another question whether the attempt will be crowned with success, or will command the assent or the acquiescence of Europe. In this respect a renewed warning issued by the *Journal des Debats* (which is as much in touch with the head of the present French Government as its rival the *Temps* was with M. Tcharykoff) deserves every attention. After repudiating every obligation on the part of France to assist Italy in her present task and emphasising the homely truth that France cannot by any means disinter herself in the fate of Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire, the journal says,

Italian influence could have been installed in Tripoli without the declaration of war upon Turkey, without the bombardments on the coasts of Albania and Syria. Italy, however, wanted to do things on a large scale, she chose to burn all the bridges behind her and to proclaim the annexation of Libya. She brushed aside with disdain the less sensational and more prudent methods. This involved a considerable risk. But France no more than Great Britain is pledged to cover or to share those risks. It is therefore, purely in a spirit of friendship that we have expressed hitherto our doubts as to the wisdom and appropriateness of the decisive measures undertaken by our neighbours. It is once more in the same spirit that we ask them seriously to reflect before they launch out into such an adventure as that of the forcing of the Dardanelles, which may cost the Italian navy very dear, and set the Balkans on fire. A success in the Straits will by no means ensure the capitulation of Turkey, while failure may bring immense consequences in its train.

Such utterances on the part of an authoritative organ of French diplomatic opinion like the *Debats* make one scarcely wonder if organs of lesser official standing, but perhaps on that account more closely in touch with the popular currents of political thought in France, speak in this connection of an entente with Germany. A journal like the *Siecle* cannot by any means

be classed among organs friendly to Germany; yet M. Adrien Bertrand, writing in it on the Italo-Turkish situation, declares his opinion that if Italy, after the failure of the last diplomatic *démarche*, has not yet carried into effect her threat of attacking the Dardanelles "the happy delay may have been due to an entente between France and Germany." Germany, he continues, is interested in the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Balkans, so is France, and thus "the dinner given to the Kaiser by the French Embassy was marked by an exchange of views between M. Cambon and William II., resulting in an understanding for the preservation of the *status quo* in the Near East." M. Bertrand further asserts that both Great Britain and France have made energetic representations in St Petersburg against any attempt at pressure at Constantinople, while Germany has specially addressed herself to Italy urging her not to undertake any fresh bombardments until at least the meeting at Venice. The writer expresses the hope that the Kaiser may prevail upon the Italian Sovereign to desist from any desperate means, and to seek to find a basis for peace on totally different conditions from those presented by the Consulta last week.

Mediation in the War

March 23

The latest attempt to mediate between Italy and Turkey has apparently failed and this stagnant war will continue, there are rumours, as there have often been before, that Italy will now do something "decisive," but no one knows what truth, if any, there is in them. The suggested mediation came from Russia, and the Powers asked Italy to outline her terms with the idea of finding out whether Turkey would be willing to discuss them. Unfortunately, Italy has already made one big mistake. She annexed Tripoli immediately after occupying a few coast towns and her Parliament recently confirmed the annexation, although she had obviously not made herself mistress of the province (all but a small fraction of which is still held by the Turco-Arab forces) and is admittedly unable to advance from her coastal bases into the interior with any prospect of success. Whereas, therefore, had she not formally annexed Tripoli, she might have been able to secure the substance of her wishes by giving Turkey monetary compensation, leaving her, perhaps, some vague form of suzerainty and making peace with the Arabs, she found herself faced by the firm and natural resolution on the part of Turkey not to recognise as an accomplished fact what everybody knows is not, in fact, accomplished. In the recent negotiations with the Powers the Italian Government appears to have recognised the difficulty which it had created for itself. It did not ask that Turkey should recognise Italian sovereignty in Tripoli, it asked that the other Powers should take this step, and that Turkey, by agreeing to abandon hostilities, should implicitly admit that the transference of Tripoli to Italy is an accomplished fact. Turkey, of course, has declined to do any such thing, nor will the Powers recognise Italian sovereignty. At the beginning of the war they declared their intention to preserve an absolute neutrality, and formally to declare Italy sovereign in Tripoli in the face of the continued opposition of Turkey and the inability of Italy to make good her claim would be inconsistent with the spirit of neutrality. The position thus remains precisely what it was, and Italy is faced with the alternatives of prolonging a barren but exhausting war on lines that have neither produced nor seem likely to produce success and of attacking Turkey at some point where she is believed to be more vulnerable, with the possibility of stirring up international trouble which may have disagreeable results for Italy herself.

Intervention in the War.

March 28.

The rumours of intervention in the war are revived, and this time it is at Constantinople that inquiries are being made. When Italy's views were sounded, her reply was that the Powers should first recognise the annexation, and it is conceivable that they are now asking Turkey on what terms she would consent. It is not easy to imagine them. The war is costing Turkey very little, and all that she is fighting for is to keep up her reputation as the protectress of the Arabs against Christian aggression. If only Italy had not annexed the country, she might have been bought off. She might have maintained shadowy rights over the country, as over Egypt and over Tunis, while leaving Italy to take her place as the real governing Power. As it is, she cannot take money as the price of peace without incurring the disgrace of betraying the Arabs. The first condition of any settlement, then, would seem to be for Turkey to be able to offer some sort of terms for the Arabs, which would save her own credit. Nothing is more certain than that Italy will not establish actual sovereignty over the whole country which she has annexed for ten, twenty, or even thirty years. At no point has her army penetrated more than twenty miles into the interior from the coast, and no position in its permanent occupation is more than seven or eight miles inland. If Italy would undertake not to try to extend her occupation into the interior for a number of years it would be to her own advantage, and it might be capable of being represented as a concession won by Turkey for the tribes of the

interior. If, in addition, Italy gave undertakings about her future policy in the country, especially as to religious freedom, the temptation to Turkey might be considerable. But except on some such terms, we cannot imagine Turkey making peace in a war which is costing her comparatively so little and Italy so much.

The Prospects of the War.

The Salonica correspondent of the *Kölner Zeitung* reports an interesting lecture which was delivered last week in that city by Omer Nadj Bey, of the Central Young Turkish Committee, who has just returned from Tripoli. The lecturer was full of enthusiasm for the Turco-Arab forces, and did not conceal his contempt for the Italian enemy, whom he charged with cowardice. According to him, the Italians stood an excellent chance at the beginning of the war if only they had pushed vigorously forward after occupying the coast. The Turkish troops were at that time weak, war material was scanty, and the Arabs were neither devoted to the Turks nor sufficiently trained and organised to offer strong resistance. The hesitation of the Italians was a fatal tactical blunder, and there can now no longer be any question of crushing the well-trained and tolerably well-armed Arabs, who are capable of placing in the field a million and a half of warriors. Even women and children are taking part in the war, and with the approaching hot weather, which will prove to them more devastating than the Turco-Arab bullets, the Italians will be more completely than ever thrown back on their trenches, and the war may last indefinitely.

There is only too much reason to believe that this description of the state of affairs at the front is substantially correct. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, that the Porte should think so little of making peace. It is expected that in the course of the next few days the Ambassadors of the Great Powers at Constantinople will undertake a *démarche* similar to that of their colleagues at Rome, not, of course, with a view to communicating the peace terms formulated by Italy--these are regarded as beyond anything that friendly and neutral Powers could broach to the Porte--but with a view to ascertaining the Turkish terms of peace. The result, however, that may be expected from this step is a foregone conclusion--the Porte, as the Constantinople correspondent of the *Sicile* points out, will reply by reiterating her refusal to acknowledge the Italian sovereignty over the two African provinces, either as a legal or as an "accomplished" fact, and the Ambassadors will withdraw with the easy conscience of persons who have done their duty.

It is now well nigh the universal opinion that the meeting between the Kaiser and the King of Italy at Venice has not changed the situation in the slightest. The *Journal des Débats* thinks it "improbable that the Kaiser, yielding to the wishes of the Italian press, should have promised King Victor Emmanuel to bring pressure upon Turkey to submit, or that he should have encouraged a decisive Italian action in the Dardanelles. It is more probable," the journal continues, "that the Kaiser drew the attention of his ally to the dangers of such an aspiration, which might turn out badly, or at least cost the Italian navy a considerable number of ships." In truth everything suggests that William II. effectively urged counsels of moderation, and only promised his diplomatic support in case Italy should offer reasonable terms. In this respect the Berlin Cabinet is in accord with the other Cabinets, including that of St. Petersburg, which was regarded at one moment as being favourably disposed towards more active intervention."

Attention, however, may be drawn to a telegram in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* from its Venice correspondent denying altogether that the Venice meeting had any political significance. "Intentionally," he says, "no toasts were drunk, and the Marquis di San Giuliano was absent, whereas in former years the Venice meetings were always attended by Signor Tittoni. The Governments were anxious to avoid all suggestion that the meeting had any bearing on the solution of current problems or on future combinations. Those Italian papers which attached great expectations to the meeting simply did not reflect the views of the Italian Government. The Consulta has never approached Germany with a request to bring pressure upon Turkey. In fact, it is reported from the nearest entourage of the two monarchs that even in private there was much less politics discussed than the public outside assumes."

The telegram bears evident marks of official inspiration, and need not therefore be taken literally. Still it is significant that the official mind should think it necessary to assure the Italian press that its expectations were baseless.

The Outlook for Peace.

The March number of the *Revue Française* contains an article entitled "The Italian-Turkish War and Europe," from the pen of M. H. Marchand, which in the light of quite recent events is of special interest.

The Turks, he says, are on velvet (*jouent sur les velours*), they contemplate the approach of the spring with an equanimity far from obtaining among the Powers of Europe, and count upon the

patriotism of the Albanians and Arabs to forget internal grievances in the face of external danger. They think also that a violent solution of the Eastern question is too full of dangers to be undertaken by the Powers most deeply interested. On the other hand the Italians find themselves saddled with a vast expenditure which they cannot afford, and are yet making very little headway in their occupation of Tripoli. He points out that difficulties which they have been unable to overcome during the cold weather will be immeasurably greater during the hot season now fast approaching and considers that their failure reflects no discredit on the Italian troops.

England waited fifteen years before avenging Hicks Pasha and General Gordon, and has apparently evacuated for all time the back regions of Somaliland. France herself reduced to subjection the mountaineers of Kabylie only after an occupation of Algiers of twenty-seven years, while for nearly three years their operations were confined to the coast. Italy, then, must expect the war to last for many years before the flag of the House of Savoy is seen to fly over the *terres légères* of Tripoli.

All Italy's hopes have been falsified and she now finds herself practically as far from her objective as ever, after suffering very serious losses in both men and money. Turkey has only five thousand fighting men on the scene of the fighting, which cost her little to maintain, while all her best troops, the Anatolian regiments and the Albanians, are ready at a moment's notice to offer a very vigorous resistance to any aggression on the part of neighbouring powers. Of the latter, Bulgaria is the most formidable, Montenegro perhaps the most dangerous. But Bulgaria, in spite of her fine army and the bait offered her by the Macedonian bands, is unlikely to enter upon a war singlehanded with Turkey. Montenegro is a danger spot not so much in herself as in her relations with Russia, as well as Italy. It is well to remember that King Nikola is a father-in-law of two Russian Grand Dukes as well as of the Kings of Italy and Servia. The courage of Queen Elena at the time of the recent attempt to assassinate her husband as well as her devotion at the time of the earthquakes at Messina, have, no doubt, served to popularise the Montenegrin connection among the people of Italy, and also, no doubt, to interest the "gentlemen of the Black Mountain" in the adopted country of their King's daughter. In addition to this, King Nikola is a personal friend of the Czar, while the Serbs all over the Balkans look to Russia almost in the light of a suzerain, though not quite in the case of Montenegro. A case in point, may be mentioned the incident of the Serbs from Vraka coming in to celebrate the Constitution in Skutari, who formed up as if it were natural before the Russian Consulate.

At the end of his article, M. Marstrand calls attention to a rumour that Russia had proposed that Turkey should declare Tripoli independent and withdraw her forces. Thus Turkey's face would be saved, and the Tripolitans—which would mean the Arabs—could make their own terms. The idea is clever, but could not impose upon the young Turks, who would not dare to adopt such a policy of surrender. But the mention of the rumour synchronises with the change of Russian Ministers in Constantinople, and as the late Ambassador was credited with an over-anxiety to propitiate the Porte, it is possible that the change affords some explanation of the rumour. Again, Italy has approached the Powers once more with the terms upon which she is ready to make peace, inspired, doubtless, with a new hope of pressure being applied. But the young Turks dare not accept the terms even under the maximum amount of pressure. They would probably prefer to die fighting except for one thing. The Albanians care nothing for Tripoli, and are profoundly discontented. They are on the verge of, if not actually in, rebellion. Now, Turkey in Europe without the Albanians might almost as well not be there. On the last occasion of their revolt they were given shelter by Montenegro, and indirectly helped by Russia and Austria, according to Dr. Brailsford. It is quite possible that, if astutely worked, a rebellion of the Albanians might be made the means of corralling the Turks, and an argument that they would be powerless to resist. With the Russian fleet on one side of the Dardanelles, the Italian on the other and Albania in revolt, helped in secret only by Russia and Montenegro, what could the poor Turk do? He could only yield to force *majeure*, and by so doing save the peace of Europe for a time. (*The Near East*)

The Egyptian Assembly.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Cairo, March 25.

THE Session of the General Assembly, which, according to the Organic Law, must be convoked at least once in two years, was opened this morning by the Khedive. The last occasion on which the Assembly met was in the spring of 1910, when it was convoked for the special purpose of considering the proposal for the prolongation of the Suez Canal Convention, which was rejected. This time the Assembly meets in the ordinary course of events. Business

will therefore be confined to receiving the reply of the Government to the wishes expressed last Session and to formulating further motions.

In his Speech the Khedive alluded to the various measures undertaken and to be undertaken for the amelioration of the country. Among the former were the extension of education, improved irrigation, including the work of raising the Aswan Dam, which is nearing completion, and the drainage of Lower Egypt. In referring to the creation of a Department of Agriculture, His Highness stated that the solicitude of the Government was directed above all to the improvement of cotton cultivation and to the protection of the harvest against diseases affecting the cotton plant. At the same time, in order to protect the interests of small cultivators, a project was about to be put into execution whereby the current prices of cotton would be posted up in the villages and measures would be taken to ensure that cotton was correctly weighed. Allusion was also made to the extension to rural districts of the Postal Savings Bank which will come into operation next month. Finally, the Khedive announced that, as in the Legislative Council, members of the General Assembly would henceforth be granted the right to question Ministers, the best means for improving the representative system was also being considered, but in this question, as in all questions concerning the constitutional laws of the country, much prudence and circumspection were required.

Among the replies given by the Government to the motions put forward last Session was one concerning the Press Law. During the last few months four or five newspapers have been suspended, and voices are not wanting which demand that the law, which was revived by Sir Eldon Gorst, shall be abolished. The reply of the Government was in effect that so soon as the reasons which led to this step—the necessity for safeguarding public order—have disappeared the law will necessarily fall into disuse.

Count Aehrenthal.

THE death of Count Aehrenthal removes a figure from the European diplomatic world in whose life there was illustrated, more than once, the lying and fraudulent character of so many of the transactions on which the diplomatic "game" turns. The most notable of these transactions was the annexation of Bosnia Hercegovina in October 1908. The annexation had been decided on in Austria in the middle of August. Count Aehrenthal, who was fond of underground diplomacy, concerted with Bulgaria that she should proclaim her independence almost simultaneously with the Austrian coup. At the beginning of October the Austrian Foreign Minister caused the Emperor Francis Joseph to address autograph letters to the various European Courts. The Austrian Ambassadors were instructed not to deliver these letters until October 5th, and they were aware before leaving Vienna that the proclamation of Bulgarian independence would accompany the annexation. One of the ambassadors, however, Count Rudolf Khevenhüller-Marsch, for some reason, disregarded his instructions and delivered the Emperor's letter to President Fallières on 3rd October. In reply to an inquiry from the President as to Bulgarian independence, the Count admitted that everything was ready, adding "La Bulgarie nous devancera d'un jour." This news was instantly communicated by the French Government to London, and on the same day, October 3rd, the British Ambassador was instructed to inquire officially of Baron von Aehrenthal at Budapest whether the Austro-Hungarian Government had any knowledge of the impending declaration of Bulgarian independence. Baron Aehrenthal replied that he had no such knowledge, did not consider the proclamation to be imminent, and added that there was no mention of it in Austrian reports from Sofia. This official denial reached London on October 3rd. The proclamation of Bulgarian independence two days later formed an incidental comment on Count Aehrenthal's honour and truthfulness. Perhaps one might reply that such conduct is an essential and inseparable part of the diplomatic game where the very triumph of ingenious deceit is to tell the whole truth in the perfect knowledge that you will not be believed. The late Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister fell short of that deception.—(*Egypt*)

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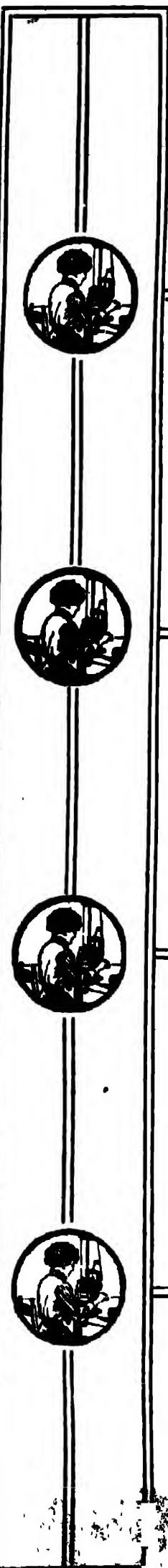
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Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 17. Annas 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, April 27, 1912.

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it was a machinery Bill to carry out a policy acclaimed by a vast majority of all classes and races concerned while its out-and-out opponents were now in a position of splendid isolation. He did not propose to do more than explain the provisions. It had been contended, he said, that Government ought to have proceeded by way of a Bill. He replied that no Government ought to ask the House for powers already granted, for every Act recited in the preamble was ample parliamentary authority. The method of carrying out the changes was strictly constitutional. It was the only method that could have been adopted. The Statutes in question were only obsolete in that they were not familiar to the House. They were perfectly well known to those administering the Government of India. He hoped it would be possible speedily to consolidate the various Council and Government of India Acts passed since 1793.

Mr Montagu then proceeded to explain the clauses seriatim. Although he said the Bill only mentioned an Executive Council for Behar and Orissa, the province would also have a Legislative Council, but it was unnecessary to include the provision in the Bill. If Government were granted the necessary powers Legislative Councils would be given to Assam and the Central Provinces immediately. The Bill merely consisted of slight alterations in machinery enabling a policy to be carried out which met with general acceptance and which, he believed, the House would agree contained elements of lasting advantage and the germ of an improved Government of India.

Mr Bonar Law denied that the changes met with general acceptance. His information was that whereas the changes were first received with enthusiasm they were now subject to criticism in India. The Opposition, however, would not oppose the Bill for obvious reasons. In the first place they would be sorry to deal with anything affecting the Government of India in any way which might be regarded as bringing India into the arena of party politics. If ever Indian administration became a party question it would be impossible for our rule in India to continue. The second reason was the manner in which the changes had been carried out which he still believed to be unconstitutional. He recognised the impossibility of reversing what had been done. He was not going to criticise the Bill but he did not desire to hamper his friends.

Sir John Rees said that nothing was further from the fact than the assertion that the changes were welcomed in India. They were a needless concession to a dead agitation. Following the extinction of the opium revenue, they made a great and grievous change in the position of the Indian taxpayer.

Sir John Jardine said that the changes had already brought much greater contentment.

Captain Murray said that commercial opinion in Bombay and Calcutta was not averse to the changes.

Sir Gilbert Parker thought that by an act which could not be reversed and the seriousness of which was not realised, Government had created a dangerous agitation, which would only revive the difficulties of the past.

Colonel Yate urged the protection of the new capital with modern defences.

Mr Montagu, replying to the criticisms, said that as regarded defence, the position of Delhi, as the centre of the railway system, was a very good one. Regarding the Muhammadans of Eastern

The Week.

The India Bill.

The Government of India Bill follows Lord Crewe's forecast in the House of Lords on March 26th. By an amendment of the Schedule of the Councils Act of 1909, it provides for a maximum of fifty members for the Presidency of Bengal and Behar Legislatures. Section 4 renews the power of the Governor-General to redistribute territories and extends this power to territories under his immediate authority and management as well as to those of the Presidencies and Lieutenant Governorships. The ex-officio membership of a Presidency Legislature or the Advocate-General or the officer acting in that capacity is not to be applicable to Bengal.

In the House of Commons on the 18th, Mr. Montagu presented the India Bill, which is officially described as a Bill to make such amendments in the laws relating to the Government of India as are consequential on the appointment of a separate Governor of Fort William in Bengal and other administrative changes in the local Governments of India. The second reading will take place on the 24th instant.

Owing to a verbal error by which the Proclamation cited in the preamble to the Government of India Bill is referred to in section 4 as "the said recited Declaration or Proclamation," a fresh Bill has been substituted. It now reads, "the said recited Proclamation."

In the House of Commons Mr. Montagu moved the second reading of the Government of India Bill on the 22nd. He said

Bengal, it was a mistake to talk of the Muhammadans of India as though they were a homogeneous nationality. Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal and Hindus had little or no relation with those outside Bengal. Their position was carefully safeguarded. Mr Montagu pointed out that on three Executive Councils already appointed, the Indian member was a Muhammadan. He emphasised the intention of the Government of India that the Governor of Bengal should pass a substantial part of the year at Dacca. That was a welcome feature to the Muhammadans and one to which they were perfectly entitled.

Further than that the Muhammadans had no right. It had never been the policy of the British Government to construct a province for the benefit of one race and religion. The Government always tried to hold the balance between different races impartially. If it could be shown that the policy of the partition in 1905 was intended to establish a Muhammadan province, that would have been a departure from the best policy for which Lord Curzon would be held guilty. It would have been a worse blunder of policy than any of which his worst critics accused him. But Lord Curzon would be the first to admit that there was no such policy.

The new policy, Mr Montagu continued, had been described as a reversal of the old. He did not mean any disrespect to one of the greatest Viceroys India had ever had when he said that Lord Curzon had in this matter no policy of any kind. He was an administrator, a great administrator. He produced efficiency which was one of the cherished possessions of the Government of India. He was concerned with an unwieldy province and moved nationalities about.

Here Mr Malcolm objected that Mr Montagu was entering upon controversial matter to which the Opposition would not be allowed to reply.

Mr Montagu, who was only speaking a second time by leave of the House, deferred to the objection merely observing that if there had been a direct reversal of policy much of the criticism of the Bill would be justified.

As regarded constitutionality of procedure, he said there were some rights, which the House of Commons in the opinion of the majority of its members rightly never claimed to exercise. The House never claimed to criticise in detail the administration of India. He instanced the Partition of 1905. Such changes affecting so many interests and fraught with great Imperial concern had always been dealt with by administrative action, the Commons having the opportunity to express its opinion afterwards.

Mr Montagu said that in speaking of concession to agitation now dead, Sir J D Rees was totally uninformed. There were two kinds of agitation in India. One was the expression of a genuine grievance based on the belief that the Partition of Bengal was an outrage against nationality and a genuine desire for redress. There were also agitators often of anti-British purpose who took advantage of the unrest and were a parasitic growth on unrest. The latter was the illegitimate agitation. He was glad to say that it was dead because it had been wisely handled and severely repressed under Lord Morley's administration.

But the real and bitter resentment against the line which Lord Curzon drew right across Bengali-speaking nations and the grievance against unfair and disproportionate representation remained as deep on Durbar day as ever. That kind of agitation was at the root of most that was threateningly wrong in India. It was the wisest statesmanship to investigate the reasonableness of the grievance and remove it and settle a national wrong, so none could say that they were responding to illegitimate clamour that was dead. They had redressed a grievance which as long as it lasted would have remained as great as on the day it was caused.

The cost of the new Government of Behar and Orissa would be £300,000. The estimate for Delhi remained as originally four millions. It must be remembered that new buildings would have been necessary in Calcutta had the Government remained there. When the revised estimate was available it would be submitted to the House. But he assumed that it would be nearer four millions than eight millions.

Mr Bonar Law, Mr Montagu said, and others had referred to the change of policy as the result of the Bill and suggested that there was a discrepancy between the speeches of Lord Crewe and himself and the words of Lord Hardinge's despatch. The words of paragraph III of the Despatch were definite and unmistakeable. If any microscopic difference might or could be detected, it was due to the difference between the Despatch, the other place and a platform in Mr. Montagu's own constituency.

There would be no immediate step and no resulting step as a result of the changes which the House was asked to approve. But surely where every section of the people of India had a policy, where their preachers and teachers were all over the country advocating this and advocating that, when certain small sections of the busiest among them were advocating a policy hostile to British rule, it would not be out of place for Lord Hardinge as he had done in that Despatch to show that there was a direction in which British occupation was tending.

In conclusion Mr. Montagu reiterated that Government's policy had been welcomed by the overwhelming bulk of the people of India and by all races and creeds. It would open a new era of contentment and progress. There were already signs of great hope, of increasing peace, increasing prosperity and increasing consent of the governed to be governed by a Government which had shown sympathy with their legitimate aspirations. The Bill was then read a second time.

In the Committee stage of the Government of India Bill on the 24th, Sir John Rees dwelt on the additional expense entailed by the establishment of a Governorship and Council for Bengal. Sir J. Rees proceeded to comment upon the Viceroy giving as a recommendation for the change that it would have a good effect upon English public opinion, but Mr Maclean, Deputy Chairman ruled this out of order.

Lord Ronaldshay said that though the Governor of Bengal had been appointed by proclamation, the Bill was necessary to give the Governor his full powers. He asked what would be the Governor's position if the Bill did not pass?

Mr. Montagu replied that without the Bill, the Governor would be unable to exercise the same functions as the Governors of Bombay and Madras. He would be able to work with his Executive but it would be extremely difficult to meet the Legislative Council, and legislation would be at a standstill, until steps were taken to remove the deadlock. Every administrative act could, of course, be performed as the Clause only referred to the Governor's relations with Council. Clause one was then passed. The discussion of clause two was adjourned.

China.

REUTER learns that it is unlikely that there will be any opposition to the conditions of Russia and Japan in connection with the loan to be issued to China by the "four nation" Syndicate. Negotiations between the various interests are now in progress but until the Anglo-Belgian loan question is settled there will be no further advances on account of the projected big loan though sixty millions sterling is mentioned as the eventual amount. The loan figure has not yet been fixed but depends on China's requirements and financial position. The question of official control and application of proceeds is also unsettled.

Reuter wires from Pekin on the 17th—According to Chinese reports the Russians have obtained numerous concessions principally with regard to mining from Mongolians.

Reuter understands that according to a telegram from Pekin the six nations' loan is at a dead-lock. The latest development is that the Ministers of four nations have presented a Note to China, answering the latest Chinese reply, and stating that the Powers do not feel justified in advising the banks to resume negotiations, pending effective action by China to secure respect for the pledges to international banks, adding that there is no room for a misunderstanding on the subject of the Anglo-Belgian loan, as China suggested. The affair is a breach of undertakings between China and the banks.

Reuters wires from Pekin on the 23rd.—A manifesto has been issued ordering the abolition of the Board of Colonies on the ground that Mongolia, Tibet and Turkestan have become part of the Republic and are no longer Colonies.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 24th.—Tang-Shao-Yi has submitted to the Ministers of "the four nations" a statement explaining the position with regard to the Belgian loan, but the Ministers have renewed their protest and demand cancellation of the loan, to which demand Tang-Shao-Yi is apparently prepared to agree.

A message to the *Times* from St. Petersburg says that the intention of China to send delegates to Mongolia to treat with regard to the recognition of Chinese sovereignty is viewed with favour in official circles. Russia still adheres to the idea that Mongolia should be an autonomous province under Chinese suzerainty. It is believed that China will ultimately accept this formula.

Russian money is finding its way into the Mongolian treasury in return for mining and other concessions.

Home Rule Bill.

THE Mansion House in Dublin was crammed on the 23rd when the National Convention met. On the motion of Mr. Redmond seconded by the Lord Mayor of Cork the Home Rule Bill was approved amid a scene of enthusiasm lasting several minutes.

Regarding the Bill, Mr. Redmond characterised it as the greatest and most satisfactory ever offered to Ireland and they would be a nation of fools if they did not accept it. He considered that the financial side was much better than in the previous Bills. He favoured a nominated Senate. In view of the experience of the Colonies, he wanted a Senate crowded with men who had hitherto been unsympathetic to Nationalists, men with a great stake in the country representative of literature and art.

TETE À TETE



ENVER BEY'S is not a name that can leave any Mussalman unaffected when his death is reported. There has been much perturbation in every Moslem household since the 24th instant when Reuter's

wire from Rome was published, stating that the gallant leader of the Turks at Benghazi had died on the morning of the 22nd at Marut from a wound received in the recent fighting. But there was little inclination to believe this tragic news because all had realized that it had only come from Rome, and the subsequent telegram from Cairo confirmed the disbelief of Indian Mussalmans. Reuter's correspondent at Cairo said that "nothing is known there to corroborate the Italian report of the death of Enver Bey," and this should have settled it. For the manufacturers of news at Rome are practised artisans, and they take good care to leave some safe corner for beating a retreat at the advent of truth. They did not say they had received this news from the Italian Commander at Bengharia or Tripoli. They only asserted that "a telegram from Cairo received here states" etc., etc. But Reuter's correspondent

at Cairo could find nothing to corroborate this truth of Italian manufacture, and it was fairly safe to call It-a-lie, as one is irresistibly led to pun. But we have not been content to wait for Reuter to correct or confirm the news wired from Rome. Immediately on reading Reuter's telegram on the 24th, we cabled to the War Minister, Constantinople, and wired to the Consul-General at Bombay H. E. Jafer Bey, the Ottoman Consul-General at Bombay, wired back that the news of Enver Bey's death had not been confirmed. This telegram was received by us in Calcutta at 12-18 on the 25th, and fully strengthened our belief that after annexing Tripoli in the Chamber and the Senate, and winning victories in the closets of Commanders and Cabinet Ministers, the Italians had taken to killing Turkish heroes in editorial sanctums. But what has been annexed has yet to be conquered, and the accomplished fact has yet to be accomplished. Similarly, Turkish Commanders that daily riddle them with bullets and nightly plague them with nightmares have yet to be killed on the field of battle. The Kaiser has already shown his keen appreciation of Italian prowess by telling Signor Giurini, a member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, during his recent visit to Venice "If I had people so intelligent as the Italians, I would conquer half of Europe." What a pity indeed that the stolid and slow-moving Germans kill their hare before they cook it! To the white lies and black lies, the war has now added Tripoli, Italy, and the Triple Allies. As for Enver Bey, the facsimile, which we publish below, of the cable of Field Marshal Mahmoud Shevket Pasha, which we received this morning as we were going to press, will tell its own tale. Long live Ghazi Enver Bey, and may he have honour and victory, like the two victories achieved by him on the 10th and 12th March, though denied by Italy. But if it pleases God at any time to take him away from us, we know he would not himself choose a better death than fighting sword in hand for his country and his creed, his Sultan and his God. Were he to die there, how many of us would not envy him such a death in preference to all we have here! As Ghalib says,

موت اولکی ہے حوبس مرکے دمن دن موت
زیست اولکی ہے حروادس کوچہ سے کھاں آئے

(There is death who died and were buried there, and there is life who returned wounded from that neighbourhood.)

Facsimile of Field Marshal Mahmoud Shevket Pasha's Cablegram.

6.

INDIAN TELEGRAPH

NOTICE

This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.

Charges to pay

Rs As



Service instructions.

Words.

Blended in at (Office of Origin).	Date.	By (Name & Initials).	
Steamboat 2520			
TO		Law	
		Read by	5 40

The Comrade Calcutta-

Enverley Healthful

= Mahmood
Chevket

27th April.

READERS of *Paradise Lost* have noted the artistic development of Satan's character, declining gradually from a lost angel to the despicable and disgusting creature assuming strange shapes to compass the destruction of Man. It would appear that Italy, not content with being a first-class European Power, and goaded by the ambition of her King who would be an Emperor, like the other two rulers of the Alliance Powers, attempted a task far beyond her strength and, failing in that, rapidly sinking into ragged misery. The first stage was one of boasting on a titanic scale and a bandit's raid on an unprotected portion of the Ottoman Empire. In the first flush of the landing of troops in Tripoli all sorts of heroic resolves of restricting the field of operations were made, but when nothing could be done in Tripoli after the occupation of a few coast towns, except the advance on Ainsara so loudly proclaimed as the presage of a general advance, the bandit took to piracy in the Red Sea, to the bombardment of unprotected ports and to harassing neutral shipping. Tired of that and told by France to mend her manners, Italy and her untiring but tiresome supporters began to proclaim still more loudly of her intention "to strike a telling blow at the enemy." General Caneva had frankly told his Government that victory in Tripoli was hopeless. At last Ainsara too had to be evacuated, and things reverted after nearly six months of "a sort of war" to what the Drill Sergeant would call, "As you were." Then all the "self-denying" pledges not to extend the field of operations were brushed aside, and last week the long unending forcing of the Dardanelles commenced.

Now, it is necessary to understand the exact situation of the Dardanelles before one can form any idea about the desperate nature of the Italian attempt. The strait of Dardanelles, in ancient times called the Hellespont, famous from the story of Hero and Leander and from Lord Byron's successful attempt (repeated by others) to rival the ancient swimmer, unites the sea of Marmora with the Aegean and extends for a distance of about 47 miles. It has an average breadth of 3 or 4 miles, but at its narrowest part is barely a mile across. The superiority of the Italian fleet is, therefore, of little avail here, for the land defences of the peninsula of Gallipoli on the north west, and of the mainland of Asia Minor on the south east make it possible for Turkey to engage even a larger fleet than Italy has, without calling out the Ottoman fleet stationed at尼加拉。At the Aegean extremity stand the castles of Sultaniye and Kunda. In Asia, the two castles of the Dardanelles *par excellence* are Chankuk Kalasi, Sultanah Kalisa or the Old Castle of Anatolia, and Kilid-i-Bahr or the Old Castle of Rumelia. Such is the strength of these positions that when in 1878 the British Mediterranean fleet was ordered to Constantinople to upset the Russian domination over Turkey as arranged in the Treaty of San Stefano, and it was not certain whether the Turks would resist or favour this advance, the late Admiral Phipps Hornby, who was in command, afterwards described "the breathless suspense amid which the Fleet passed through the straits in the darkness, not knowing at what moment they might be greeted with a hail of shot and shell." Since then the dangers of the strait have increased rather than decreased, and the positions are now fortified with that efficiency which is characteristic of Mahmoud Shevket Pasha and his Young Turk lieutenants. They know the strategic value of the strait, and they have been ready any time during the war to give the Italian fleet a warm reception. As the *Statesman* remarked, "the Dardanelles are believed to be practically impassable nowadays. They constitute the one point on which Turkish efficiency is concentrated, and the action of the Italian fleet, in thus attempting an enterprise of so desperate a character, seems to suggest that the Government in Rome feels that the mischievous result of their operations in Tripoli necessitates some attempt at effective action elsewhere." Yet what has been the result? Our contemporary writes: "It is doubtful whether the Italian Commander had fully estimated the danger of his enterprise, which has apparently even in spite of his early retreat, resulted in the loss or practical disablement of at least one of his ships." If Italy tried her hand at forcing the Dardanelles, she has clearly burnt her fingers. But having failed in this perilous enterprise, as she was bound to do, she must invent some objective in order to explain away the defeat, and the inventive genius of Italy has discovered this time not one objective, but two. Only, these expert hars have forgotten that the two reasons which they assign to this rash attempt are mutually destructive. The first is that "the fleet merely hoped to induce the Turkish fleet to come out and fight." This reasoning the *Statesman* rightly calls "highly diverting." It writes: "Considering that the warships which Turkey possesses are vastly inferior both in quality and number to the Italian fleet and that they were protected by forts and mines, the idea that they would rush out to destruction would hardly appeal even to an Italian cabinboy." But even without arguing in this way it can be shown that this idea never occurred to the Italian Admiral of the fleet. For the papers in Rome assign a wholly different and much more natural reason to this attempt. "The Italian papers suggest that it was intended to force the Turks to close the Dardanelles." This was done, and naturally Lloyds and the Baltic Exchange were extremely uneasy. Reuter wired on the 20th instant that

all chartering for the Black Sea was at a standstill, and that there were 150 steamers on the other side of the Bosphorus. Three days later, it was reported that the London and Baltic ship-owners were discussing the cancelling of contracts, which would have been a serious matter for the Russian wheat exporters. On an average some 14,000 merchant vessels pass the straits, and the aggregate tonnage in 1908 exceeded 13 million tons. Of this British tonnage amounted to 5½ million tons, and one can well understand the seriousness of closing the Dardanelles to British shipping to which Mr Acland referred in reply to a question in the Commons. But Russia is in no better position, for were it not for the strait of the Bosphorus which unites the Black Sea with the Sea of Marmora and connects it, through the Dardanelles, with the Aegean, and thence with the Mediterranean, the Black Sea would be a mere lake. Russian shipping amounts to over a million tons, and is nearly double the tonnage of Italy, France and Germany singly. Russia has therefore been more importunate than Great Britain, and knowing very well that Russia would jump at any opportunity for quarrelling with her, Turkey had contemplated the re-opening of the Dardanelles even before a Russian protest had been formulated, although it was impossible for her to ignore the danger to herself. That showed that Turkey was, as Mr Acland admitted, fully alive to the importance of the matter. But the Commander of the forts has rightly refused to undertake the responsibility of re-opening the Dardanelles in view of the continued presence of the Italians in the Archipelago, and the Cabinet has taken counsel together but has not yet come to any conclusion.

IN THE case of Great Britain and Russia the closing of the Dardanelles is after all merely a question of some commercial loss. But to Turkey it may mean life or death. Yet she knows that it is not only Italy that she is fighting but that every

hand is anxious to be at her throat and the Russian hand is most anxious to be there, though Mr Leo Maxse of the *National Review* assures an unbelieving world on that most reliable piece of evidence, his own unsupported testimony, that "few Powers are more obviously interested in keeping the peace than Russia." In Persia, Turkey has for the past few years kept Russia on tenter-hooks on account of her army in Urmia, which commands the route to Tabriz, and can prevent an advance on Teheran when Russia shows unimpeachable her intention to annex Persia. But the question of the straits is even more important, and Russia has been most uneasy about it since in the Russo-Japanese War she realized the difficulty of concentrating her naval strength quickly at the seat of war. Her diplomacy has since then been directed towards opening the straits to her men o' war. In 1833, by the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, which she forced on Turkey, she required Turkey under a secret clause in certain contingencies to close the Dardanelles to the warships of all nations in Russia's hour of need, which meant in effect the closing of the straits against the invader from the Mediterranean when Russia was threatened. But the Powers were averse to this, and on the 13th July, 1841, by the Protocol following the Convention of London, the straits of Dardanelles and Bosphorus became closed to all foreign warships. In 1856, after the Crimean War, the Treaty of Paris was signed, the principle of that Protocol was confirmed, and, by Article XI of that Treaty, the Black Sea was neutralized, its waters and its ports, thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation, were "formally and in perpetuity interdicted to the flag of war," and, consequently, by Article XIII, "the maintenance or establishment upon its coast of military maritime arsenals becomes alike unnecessary and purposeless, in consequence His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan engage not to establish or to maintain upon that coast any military maritime arsenal." In the Convention annexed to that Treaty, the Sultan declared his firm resolve "to maintain for the future the principle invariably established as the ancient rule of his Empire," prohibiting the passage of foreign warships through the straits, and Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and the "King of Sardinia," on the other part, engaged themselves "to respect the determination of the Sultan and to conform themselves to the principles above declared." But Bismarck had received assistance from Russia in defending the Prussian Cabinet against the jealousy and enmity of Austria and France, and in return for these services Bismarck helped Russia to recover a portion of what she had lost by the Crimean War. For, thanks to his connivance and diplomatic support, she was able in 1871 to denounce with impunity the clauses of the Treaty of Paris which limited Russian armament in the Black Sea. As the Plenipotentiary of Austria said in the Conference at London, it had ostensibly been called "to give a fresh pledge for the faith of Treaties," but it was clear from the Earl of Granville's speech on the very first day of the Conference that it was entered upon with foregone conclusions and made freedom of discussion impossible. The Russian Plenipotentiary pointed out "how much the present situation of Europe differs from that which existed at the time of the Congress of Paris," and that in view

of this "it would be an act of prudent and wise policy to submit the stipulations of 1856, relative to the navigation of the Black Sea, to a revision guided by an unanimous sentiment of equity and concord." The stipulations, he declared, were "no longer in harmony with the relations of good neighbourhood which exist at this moment between the two Riverain Powers." The Plenipotentiary of North Germany showed only too clearly that the talk of "a spirit of conciliation, of equity and of peace" was insincere, and that he came with instructions to support Russia, though he proclaimed his own Government's "entire impartiality and perfect freedom of judgment." The sequel proved that Bismarck and Russia could do what they liked. But even then the principle of the closing of the straits was maintained, though Russia was enabled to rebuild Sevastopol and construct a Black Sea fleet. The "relations of good neighbourhood" were disturbed six years later when the Russo-Turkish War commenced. At its conclusion the Treaty of Berlin upset the arrangements decided upon in the Treaty of San Stefano, but by Article LXIII., which is of a general character, the provisions of the Treaty of Paris of 1856 about the Black Sea and the straits, as modified by the Treaty of London of 1871, were confirmed and maintained. But Russia has no respect for all these Treaties and pledges, and would use any pretext that comes her way to provoke a quarrel with Turkey and force her to open the straits to her Black Sea fleet. That is the natural consequence of the Conference of 1871 which made the construction of the Black Sea fleet possible, and Russian diplomacy has always been directed to that end. Very probably the Italian provocation to Turkey to close the Dardanelles to merchant shipping also for the present was a move planned by Russia herself, for Russian "friendly note," are the stormy petrels of her diplomacy, and one has just been addressed to Turkey. But if it was not, Italy stands confessed that her only weapon to-day is the creation of chagrin and worry to the neutrals so that they may bring pressure to bear upon Turkey. Is this war or what? A tiny Turkish gunboat is sunk, a yacht belonging to the Khedive is seized, the cables between Asia Minor and the Turkish Archipelago are cut, and the Italian fleet of 39 ships returns to Italy "having accomplished its object." If this is war it is not different to the despotic shifts to which Satan is put in the last books of *Paradise Lost*, and though there was never anything angelic about this war, its present condition does not even show the least trace of the grim determination of the Devil as he fell from heaven. Even the disgrace of Adowa cannot compare with the ragged and prolonged misery of the last six months, and when the war is over levers of righteousness even in international politics would have the satisfaction of seeing the most unrighteous aggressor getting her deserts by sinking in a few years into a third-rate Power. Nemesis is not far behind now and will soon overtake Italy, in spite of Mr. Leo Mayse who asserts that "Italy has triumphed in the 'stricken field'."

ALTHOUGH Mr. H. V. Cobb, C.I.E., the Resident of Baroda, was to have gone on a promotion, as it was first thought, to Indore, and as it was definitely arranged later, to Ajmer, as the Agent to the Governor-General, the people of Baroda would have been the last to grudge him this recognition of his over-subtle sense of smell where sedition was concerned. But we are glad to hear that ill health has snatched the reward of such strenuous sedition-mongering from him, and even Baroda would sympathise with him in his illness which necessitates a return to England. We believe Colonel Impey goes to Baroda in his place, and we hope he will not prove the "strong man" among "Politicals" that it was Mr. Cobb's great ambition to appear to be. Baroda has suffered long enough of such horrors and needs some rest. In the meantime we would request Mr. Cobb to read what Viscount Hardinge, the brother of H.E. the Viceroy, said about the Durbar incident while delivering a lantern lecture at the Town Hall at Tunbridge Wells on 29th March, "in connection with the Junior Conservative Association." Making special mention of the incident at the Durbar which is connected with the name of H.H. the Gaekwar, Lord Hardinge is reported to have said that he happened to be within twenty yards and had no hesitation in saying that the whole thing had been grossly exaggerated. He had seen many English officers and ladies at Court do very similar things—English officers going by the King without bowing and ladies running past the King and Queen simply through nervousness. He asked that if the Gaekwar of Baroda did not make a low enough bow, why should they not attribute the same nervousness to him as to loyal British officers? That is the mature and deliberate opinion of the Viceroy's brother, who has the additional importance in this connection of having been on the staff of His Majesty the King-Emperor, being his Aide-de-Camp. Add to his opinion the fact that English officers and English ladies who are somewhat *gauche* on such occasions have not the same excuse for their nervousness as the Gaekwar had, such as communications received just before their departure to the Court about blackmailing Russians, and a *censor morum* of the rank and type of Mr. Cobb. But we do not wish to revive a controversy that was

hardly less silly than mischievous, and after this testimony from Colonel Viscount Hardinge, C.B., A.D.C., and the arrival of Colonel Impey at Baroda, we are sure all Cobb-webs would be brushed away, and Baroda would once more be the home of peace and progress.

The British Foreign Office has within a short space of time issued two Blue-books relating to affairs in Persia.

The Blue-books on Persia

The first covers the period from the beginning of 1911 to September, and the second brings up the narrative to the end of the difficulties caused by the Russian demands for indemnity and the dismissal of Mr. Shuster. Though there is nothing new in regard to the leading episodes of the Persian history covering the period, the papers nevertheless reveal more fully the attitude of Sir Edward Grey as he dealt with the successive phases of the crisis. The trouble began with what is now generally known as the Stokes affair. Mr. Shuster wanted to appoint Major Stokes to an important command of the Treasury gendarmerie. Sir Edward Grey at first could see nothing wrong in the appointment, but as soon as the Russian objection was launched he changed his mind and definitely set his countenance against the proposal of Mr. Shuster. This was the initial success scored by Russian diplomacy, which continued to grow bolder and more exacting each time Sir Edward Grey showed signs of irresolution. The irony of it all was that Sir Edward Grey was conscious all along of his being forced to make needless and undue concessions to unjustifiable Russian demands. There is a pathetic paragraph in his despatch dated 16th August, 1911, sent to the British Ambassador at St Petersburg. Sir Edward Grey wrote—"I think that Russian opinion and Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs are unduly sensitive about Stokes's appointment. I am disappointed to find that he appears to realise so little that I have admitted the Russian objection and done all in my power to prevent the appointment owing to the great weight I attach to maintaining the good understanding and the co-operation between the two countries. M. Neratoff should explain to the public that it is solely due to our action that the appointment has not been made, and thus do in the present case what I have done in this country in keeping public opinion patient over the continued presence of Russian troops in Northern Persia and the action of Colonel Lashkoff in past years. I have had to defend these matters several times, and if I had been as exacting over them as Russia is now the good understanding between Great Britain and Russia would have come to an end long ago." The Muscovite had had his way, the British Minister had obligingly kept public opinion "patient," and yet he has had to complain of lack of appreciation, not to say gratitude, for all he had done! The Blue book dealing with the escapade of Mohamed Ali throws no light on the question of Russian complicity in the *coup*. Russia was formally responsible for his safe custody. The Russian denial of all knowledge about Mohamed Ali's movements must be taken for what it is worth. It may be clever diplomacy to throw the blame on Russian agents in whitewashing the central authorities, but it hardly disposes of the grave moral and political drawbacks that seriously discount the value of Russian co-operation and friendship. Sir Edward Grey pretends to believe that Russian policy is guided by the Tsar, whereas, it is the policy of the Grand Dukes and Chauvinistic Russians abroad who do not share the Tsar's pacifism. The ex-Shah's free and unrestricted entry into Persia and his bid for the throne illustrate the actual state of Russo-British relations. The observance of neutrality about Mohamed Ali's adventure was scarcely creditable to the signatories to the Protocol of 1909. But in it lay exactly the opportunity that Russia had been consistently working for, while Sir Edward Grey held back, not knowing what to do, or not having courage to do it. In regard to the later stages of the trouble, we fully appreciate and admire the firmness shown by Sir Edward Grey towards the end when even he felt that the Russian demands and the methods of enforcing them were growing intolerable. He protested against the Russian troops entering Teheran, considered the importance attached by Russia to the incident regarding the Shua-in-Sultaneh's property to be excessive, and deprecated the demand for an indemnity. He reminded the Russian Government that there was danger of the two Governments drifting apart if the gravity of the issues at stake was not realised. This representation had the desired effect and Russia gave a definite undertaking to make no further demand regarding the political future of Persia without consulting Great Britain. We wish the same strength and directness of purpose had characterised Sir Edward Grey's earlier policy. He, however, allowed himself to be led step by step into the labyrinth of Russian diplomacy with the result that he could not save Persia from being mercilessly dragooned and bullied and shorn of some of her most important sovereign rights. The *Times of India*, like so many others, thinks that the Anglo-Russian Agreement has saved Persia, because it enabled England to exercise pressure in a friendly manner. "If there had been no such instrument," says our contemporary, "then Great Britain could have presented her representations only in the form of ultimatums . . ." Had there been no such Agreement and

no simple Sir Edward Grey, Russia would have thought twice before making any aggressive move in Persia. As for ultimatums, Great Britain was ready to go to war with Germany for nothing—unless we say, in an unrighteous cause. No doubt the difficulties were enormous, but then it is the function of trained diplomacy to smooth away the difficulties for the development of a definite and courageous policy. If it is in the interests of Great Britain to keep Russia out of the practical occupation of Persia, it would be sheer lunacy to suppose that the object would be attained by humouring Russian susceptibilities. And we are glad that the *Times of India* also recognises that the real mischief lay in the irresolute and halting early steps which Sir Edward Grey had taken. It must be gratifying to the Indian Moslems to know that their feelings on the subject of Persia have entered into the considerations of the British Government in forming their Persian policy. The *Times of India* says that "their national interest in a neighbouring Islamic State has on occasions warped their judgment", and that "we trust they will now recognise that . . . Great Britain has been careful of the feelings of the Muhammadans of this country . . ." If the Mussalmans have erred in this estimate of the character of the Anglo-Russian Convention or the strength of British policy they have erred in good company. As regards the self-denying ordinance that has prevented Great Britain from more active interference in Persian affairs, we learn on the authority of "Asiaticus" in his article in the April number of the *National Review* that "any intervention on a larger scale would involve India in a widespread entanglement for an indefinite length of time. Such intervention would be both costly and dangerous." "Asiaticus" is no other than Mr Lovat Fraser, the former editor of the *Times of India*. It becomes difficult, then, to say who is right, the *Times of India* or its former editor, and whether Moslem feelings have for once assisted in the formation of Imperial policy, or Moslem gratitude is demanded as an "unearned increment" of a narrow and insincere Imperialism. But we are sure the Mussalmans are not so base as to withhold gratitude where gratitude is due.

By the appointment of Sir William Nicholson's Committee "to consider military policy administration and expenditure in India," a serious flutter has been caused in the military circles. But

the nervousness with which some of the military critics are looking forward to the work of the Committee is more serious still. It is rather amusing to observe the anxiety and suspicion with which all possible results of the inquiry are being discussed even before the Committee has entered on its labours. Every effort is being made by the Tory Press of England to impress Sir William Nicholson and his colleagues with the absolute necessity of leaving things where they are, if they cannot recommend a further increase in military expenditure. Mr. Lovat Fraser's recent article in the *Full Mail Gazette* is an apt case in point. After a hurried analysis of the system of Army administration, he comes to the conclusion that it would be deplorable if any attempt is made to interfere with the system organised by Lord Kitchener, that the Commander-in-Chief should be retained, that the number of British officers, however excessive, should not be reduced, that in trying to formulate proposals for the removal of minor defects, if any, nothing should be done to reduce the strength of the Army or curtail the existing expenditure. After these restrictions we do not see if any scope is left for the Committee's inquiries, and we think it would be better, both for the convenience of Sir William Nicholson and the satisfaction of the worshippers of Lord Kitchener, if Mr. Lovat Fraser's article is adopted as the Committee's formal report on the military administration of India. Lord Kitchener may have been a great military administrator, but his reforms, carried out at immense cost, are not to be taken as the last word in military organisation, nor are the Government of India debarred from conducting inquiries with a view to economy simply because it would be putting Lord Kitchener's system on trial. Those who have made a fetish of Lord Kitchener—and we hasten to point out that Mr. Lovat Fraser as the editor of the *Times of India* was a bitter opponent of K. during the latter's controversy with Mr. Fraser's hero, Lord Curzon—seem to forget that the chief object of their solicitude should be military efficiency and not military expenditure. There are many who still believe that Lord Kitchener's reforms were expensive without being efficient. If the Nicholson Committee would find it possible to devise economies without impairing efficiency it would amply justify its appointment. We are, however, afraid that the standard of efficiency is very elastic and some alarmists in England see in bloated armaments and mounting millions the only guarantee of safety. We trust that the Committee will not merely mark time and register the decrees of the enemies of retrenchment, and that it would consider the claims of Indians for Commissions in the Army which are now strongly supported by that true friend of India, Lord Minto.

The Comrade.

Compulsory Education Debate.

VI.

We HAVE dealt with all the general objections, both official and non-official, and now come to the Muhammadan objections. Far from desiring to minimise the objections raised by the Mussalmans against the absence of certain very necessary safeguards, we believe they have a genuine grievance against Mr. Gokhale that in drawing up the Bill sufficient attention was not paid to Moslem interests. Incidentally, the absence of such safeguards shows that even so shrewd and sagacious a publicist as the Hon. Mr. Gokhale—whom it is itself an honour for every community of India to honour—is apt to overlook the Moslem point of view on account of being out of touch with the Mussalmans and their centres of social, intellectual and political activity. Much as publicists may try to be just to all communities, they are only too often betrayed by their ignorance of the views and aspirations of some communities into unconscious injustice. No one can advocate a cause without having mastered the brief, and we are still far from the days when, if ever, it will be possible to have "Members for India" in our Councils. It would have been better if Mr. Gokhale had consulted a few leading Mussalmans before drawing up his Bill, and preferably not those who generally follow his lead in politics even at the risk of going contrary to the wishes of their own community. It certainly hurt the *amour propre* of the Mussalmans that a Bill of this character was drafted and launched into the Council without paying any heed to the wishes of 70 million people, or taking the least care to court their good-will. But in spite of that, it was the Moslem community which first offered Mr. Gokhale its support, and that in no uncertain terms, while forward Bengal still walked in its tent and took no pains to hide its chagrin. What is more significant, the Mussalmans were by no means easy in their minds about certain matters to which we have more than once referred in these columns. But the sins of the details were not visited on the main principles of the Bill, and they supported the latter throughout while freely criticising the former.

Had the Hon. Mr. Shafi followed the same course he would have done a distinct service to his community and also to the country at large. But, for reasons behind which we have no desire to go, he was personally opposed to compulsion, and he made persistent efforts throughout the year to carry the community with him in that opposition. In this he failed, for thanks to the efforts of its leading men, including the Hon. Mr. Shafi himself, the community had by now acquired a taste for education, and recognising its own backwardness, it was not prepared to place the freedom of the individual above the good of the community. What Mr. Shafi should then have done was to come to the Council, present the case against compulsion as forcibly as he could—that is, if he still was of the same opinion—but at the same time confess—if he referred to the community at all—that in this matter he had failed to make his own convictions the beliefs of his co-religionists as well. As a matter of fact he represents a mixed constituency, namely, the Legislative Council of the Punjab, and he was not bound to refer to the convictions of his co-religionists at all. But if he did so, it was his duty to make it clear that in this matter his own views were at variance with theirs. But Mr. Shafi is nothing if not a "leader," and it was perhaps difficult for him to come to the Council as a shepherd without his sheep. He also brought into the Council chamber the atmosphere of the Court room, and tried to prove too much. In this he failed again, and while we are sorry for the rough handling he received at the hands of the Hon. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, we cannot say that he did not in the least deserve it. He referred to the "guarded and cautious resolution" of the Moslem League; but we do not know if any other supporters of the principles of Mr. Gokhale's Bill were at all less guarded and cautious in the matter of details than the Moslem League; and in saying that "at the bottom of these conditions there lurks a conviction in the minds of the exponents of these views that a resort to compulsion under existing circumstances is premature and impracticable," Mr. Shafi was not correctly representing the innermost convictions of the overwhelming Moslem majority that supported the principles of the Bill.

But in all this the wish may have been father to the thought, and all that we can say is that Mr. Shafi deceived himself as well as the Council. When, however, we come to the statement that only "34 out of 61 members who attended the Anniversary" supported the League's resolution, and that the letter of the late Secretary of the All-India Moslem League on the subject of the Bill was "adopted by a majority at an adjourned meeting in which 7 members were present," we confess we find it difficult to characterize the tactics of Mr. Shafi as different from those of a pertifogging *mukhtar*. We have, in fact, some difficulty in believing that the *suggerito falsi* was altogether unconscious. Mr. Shafi was careful

enough to explain, while Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque was speaking, that the letter of the Secretary of the League was drafted at an adjourned meeting of its Council; but a shrewd lawyer like him could not fail to see that the reference to the adjourned meeting, however strictly accurate, was likely to be misunderstood, and we know that it was useful for his purpose that it should be so misunderstood. Similarly, although 61 members attended the last session of the League and 34 voted for the resolution, unless further data are supplied one is apt to think that the remaining 27 either voted against the resolution or altogether abstained from voting. If Mr. Shafi had no desire to mislead, and was in fact anxious that no misunderstanding should take place, why did he refer to the numbers at the adjourned meeting of the League's Council and not to those on the first day, and why did he mention the numbers attending the last Session of the League and not those that opposed the resolution? Now, as a matter of fact, the meeting of the League's Council was attended by perhaps the largest number on record, for members had come to Lucknow in the middle of last August from every part of India to take part in an important meeting of the Moslem University Constitution Committee, and a very large majority of those present differed from Mr. Shafi. Although he himself was absent, he had sent no less than three different communications by post and wire, and the reading out of these took such a long time that the members who were present could not have the letter to the Government drafted that day, and, as Mosfussil members were returning to their respective Provinces, they had barely sufficient time to register their votes on the principles of the Bill. A unique opportunity had presented itself to the Mosfussil members to discuss these, and the reason that although so many had attended and registered their votes in favour of them, only 7 members—probably all local—could be present on the following day to adopt the draft of the Secretary's letter, was that an absent member—and that no other than the Hon. Mr. Shafi himself—practically monopolised the discussion with his various warnings. As for the discussion in the League itself, although 34 voted for the resolution, its opponents numbered no more than the "Citizens of Great Britain" who hailed from the sartorial establishments of Tooley Street, and one of the trio was the Hon. Maulvi Rafiuddin, who had accepted only three months before the similar resolution of the Muhammadan Educational Conference at Delhi.

While on this subject, we should like to say that it is not only the Secretary of the Punjab League that has thus tried to belittle the deliberate opinion of the Mussalmans as expressed in a resolution of their accredited political body, the All-India Moslem League. The Hon. Nawab Abdul Majid is the President of the United Provinces League, and although he quoted with approval the adverse opinion of that association on a subject that was far from provincial, he condemned the clear majority of the All-India League as "people who have never freely mixed with the common people, and who 'do not know their feelings and . . . are not in a position to give their opinion on the probable effect which will be produced on the mass of the people if compulsion is resorted to.' Now, both these eminent gentlemen are "leaders" of the Mussalmans, and whenever communal honours have to be distributed the community never forgets to include them in the largess. But how do they treat the community? They have ample use for it when it is sensible enough to agree with them, but it is evidently an incumbrance when it is perverse enough to think for itself and differ. In effect, there is little to choose between the Conservatives and the Radicals among the Mussalmans, for both treat the community as a corpse in the hands of the undertaker. There are unmistakeable signs that the community has begun to resent this treatment, and there is some danger that dictatorship such as this would lead to communal nihilism and the negation of all order and authority. This must be avoided at all cost, and we appeal both to the idols and to the idol-breakers to prevent too hasty an iconoclasm.

As regards the Moslem objections, we think that while the Hon. Nawab Abdul Majid has stated them fairly well, the Hon. Mr. Shafi has confessedly heaped up all possible and impossible objections together and has made out the Mussalmans to be hopelessly pig-headed in their unreasonableness. The objections which relate to the Bill itself, and not to the present system of education generally, are, we believe, three. In the first place, there was no safeguard in the Bill that Musselman boys would not be compelled to use some language other than their mother-tongue as the medium of instruction, and apprehensions prevailed that Urdu would be ousted out from elementary schools not only elsewhere, but in Upper India itself. In the second place, as the Bill made no provision for religious instruction, it was apprehended that such instruction would disappear altogether, and that a Moslem boy would grow up in utter ignorance of his religion. In the third place, there was no assurance that the Committees in charge of compulsory education in local areas would have thereto adequate Moslem representation.

The Hon. Mr. Malaviya did not rightly enter into the Urdu-Hindi controversy while discussing Mr. Gokhale's Bill, but his silence is not always reassuring, and even if it were, statements such as this, that according to "so great a scholar as Sir William Hunter, Hindi stands at the head of all the vernaculars of India," are sure to create fresh apprehensions. Mr. Gokhale, however, met the language difficulty by showing his willingness to insert in the Bill that "where 25 children speaking a particular language attend a school, provision should be made for teaching those children in that language, further, where the number is less than that, it should be left to the community itself to say whether the children should come under the compulsion of the Bill or not." We hope he would also add that even if a language is not the mother-tongue of 25 pupils, if they wish to learn it as a second language, provision should be made in the school for teaching that language as such in case 10 pupils apply for it. This is necessary for Bombs, Khojas, Memons, Bengali and Sindhi Mussalmans, and others who habitually speak and write in another vernacular, yet wish to know Urdu, because much Moslem religious literature has been translated into that language, and because it is the standard medium of communication between Mussalmans of different Provinces.

As for religious education, all communities should be free to make provisions for religious instruction even at the cost of the State. Finally, the Committees in charge of elementary education in local areas should always have on them an effective and adequate representation of the Mussalmans. To these two suggestions Mr. Gokhale has said nothing, but we trust that when a new Bill is introduced next year, definite provisions would be made in it for re-assuring the Mussalmans. They have not yet developed an indifference in the matter of faith, and no system of instruction which neglects religion would meet with their approval. As regards Moslem representation, we repeat what we have often said, that it does not argue political sagacity to insist on a numerical basis of representation and thereby always send the Mussalmans in to the opposition camp. True political wisdom lies in removing their apprehensions by giving them effective and real representation, and thus securing the co-operation of the community in all measures designed for the progress and welfare of the whole country. In the matter of Compulsory Primary Education, the Mussalmans have clearly shown that they are ready to work shoulder to shoulder with the Hindus, and although the Mussalmans are now adequately represented in the Imperial Council, where would have been the harm if there were some more Moslem supporters of the Bill in the Council in the place of Sir G. R. Chitnavis, the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan and Mr. Dadabhoy? What matters is the confidence, good will, and co-operation of the different communities, and not a nice proportion of their representation. So long as Hindus insist on the latter, there is reason to fear that whatever Moslem representation there may be in the Councils would largely be diffident in co-operating with the Hindus, for the extremist who plays to the gallery is more likely to find favour with the electors than the moderate Mussalman, who regards Moslem representation not as an end in itself, but as a means to the great end of co-operation with all classes and communities for the good of our Motherland.

The Government of India Bill.

THOUGH none could have reasonably expected that the House of Commons debate on the Government of India Bill would be anything more than a formal rehearsal of well-known opinions dressed up in the approved official style, we imagine very few were prepared for the heroic and unruffled dogmatism with which Mr. Montagu, the Under-Secretary of State for India, discoursed on the Durbar changes and the policy that inspired them. Mr. Montagu, is nothing if not sententious, he suffers from that sort of literary temperament which leads one to strenuously think aloud, though the thought becomes in the process a series of tremendous judgments. His speeches on Indian affairs are masterpieces in the art of bold and untrammeled assertion, he moves with magnificent self-confidence in regions of hopeless controversy and doubt, and many a veteran of affairs would envy his superb note of conviction. However, the gift of excessive self-confidence is not always an unmixed blessing. The tangle of Indian affairs in particular would not be smoothed away by categorical pronouncements. Lord Curzon tried the experiment, and the results he achieved are still the subject of Mr. Montagu's most uncompromising philippics. Even Under-Secretaries of State cannot lose the infallibility of their position by sometimes trying to study things instead of laying down the law about them.

Mr. Montagu began by claiming that both the changes and the method of carrying them out were absolutely and strictly constitutional. The Bill, he said, was a machinery Bill "to carry out a policy acclaimed by the vast majority of all classes and races . . ." We have amply discussed this aspect of the question on several occasions and have no desire to repeat what we have already said

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in this behalf. But it is rather amusing to see Ministers protesting too much against the charge of unconstitutionality. Let us, however, grant that all that has been done was perfectly *bona fide*. Let us freely accept the assurance of the Under-Secretary of State that the Government of India were amply provided with existing statutes and enactments to indulge in huge administrative gambles and to incur fresh expenditure of millions. But does the matter end here? Is the legality of the procedure the only issue or even the main issue raised by the announcement made at Delhi? We must recognise that Mr. Montagu is fully conscious of the far weightier issue of policy underlying the changes, which renders the constitutional question comparatively trivial. It is the spirit of the new policy that is the far more serious consideration. The changes themselves are the result of that policy which, says Mr. Montagu, "has been welcomed by the overwhelming bulk of the people of India, and by all races and creeds. It would open a new era of contentment and progress. There were already signs of great hope of increasing the peace, increasing the prosperity, and increasing the consent of the governed to be governed by a Government which had shown sympathy with their legitimate aspirations." We earnestly hope the beneficent prospects outlined by Mr. Montagu will speedily materialise as the fruits of that policy. But we confess, even after reading the picturesque despatches of the Government of India and Lord Crewe and all other official pronouncements on the subject, we are still uncertain as to what that policy really is. There has been plenty of fine feeling, sympathy and good will shown towards India since the Royal Visit by those responsible for the Government of the country. And although it is yet too early to estimate the character and tendencies of the new spirit, there can be no doubt that a new spirit is abroad in the land. That does not, however, mean that Indian affairs have been cast in a new perspective or definite change has been introduced in the objective and character of the British Rule. There has been no definite enunciation of policy or principles, and it is not our fault if we are left to infer what Mr. Montagu calls "the new policy" from the nature of the recent administrative changes, their genesis, their fruits, and the reasons that are said to have prompted them.

Now, coming direct to the modification of the Partition of Bengal, the first question that naturally arises is why the Partition was at all carried out. Mr. Montagu tells us that Lord Curzon had no policy in partitioning Bengal, and that he was simply concerned with administrative efficiency. But he had thoughtlessly cut across a united and homogeneous nationality and created widespread agitation. Says Mr. Montagu --

But the real and bitter resentment against the line which Lord Curzon drew across the Bengali-speaking nations and the grievance against unfair and disproportionate representation remained as deep as Durbar Jay as ever. That kind of agitation was at the root of most that was threateningly wrong in India. It was the wisest statesmanship to investigate the reasonableness of the grievance, and remove it, and settle a natural wrong so none could say that they were responding to an illegitimate clamour that was dead. They had redressed a grievance which, as long as it lived, would have remained as great as on the day it was caused.

Let us suppose the Partition of Bengal was a grievous wrong which had driven the entire people to desperation. It was no doubt a wise statesmanship to remove the wrong and heal the festering wound inflicted by an impious Viceroy on "the Bengali-speaking nations." Then why was that monstrous wrong, that terrible and unbearable woe allowed to remain unredressed when a most liberal and sympathetic Ministry came into power? To talk of expediency then and of "settling the national wrong" now is the height of satuity. The Partition agitation may have been based on some genuine grievance. It was, however, its virulent and anarchical manifestations that seem to have frightened the Government into revoking it. At least that is the conclusion that one is forced to draw after studying the whole melancholy situation. Mr. Montagu need be under no illusions as to the real value that has been attached to his wrong healing by those who were "wronged." They have now a truer insight into the methods of political success and they make no secret of their knowledge.

Mr. Montagu had to say something in his own inimitable style about the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal, every word of which is well worth pondering. His generalisations are sometimes as staggering as they are positive and absolute. About the Mussalmans of India he confidently asserted that "it was a mistake to talk of them as though they were a homogeneous nationality." This was perhaps a major premiss which led to another categorical assertion, to wit, "the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal and Hindus had little or no relation with those outside Bengal." We do not know why Mr. Montagu found it necessary to make these remarks. We hope he was not trying to use these luminous saws about Indian Moslem ethnology as arguments against the united demands of the Mussalmans for a recognition of their claim to a separate individuality in the political evolution of the country. We do not know what Mr. Montagu means by "a homogeneous nationality." If a

common religion, a common culture, a common language, a common history, an identity of aims and aspirations and a community of living interest include in them the elements of homogeneity the Indian Mussalmans are the most homogeneous community in India. Islam does not recognise the boundaries of colour and race. Its greatest glory is to have destroyed for ever these artificial barriers and welded the true believers into a common brotherhood inspired by the same ideals of life and its ultimate purpose. It is, therefore, misleading to talk of the Indian Mussalmans as a "nationality" that is not "homogeneous." In fact the Mussalmans are the only community in India that is stirred by the same ideals and is moved by the same hopes. The Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal are bound to their co-religionists in other parts of the country by ties stronger than any that bind a Scotchman to an Englishman, and all their social, political, and educational activities are inspired by and co-ordinated with those of the whole community.

Perhaps Mr. Montagu meant to prove by his remarks about the relations of the Moslems of Eastern Bengal that they had much in common with the Bengali Hindus. It is, however, a strange phenomenon, which unhappily often escapes notice, that while the Hindus of Bengal strongly opposed the Partition, the Mussalmans were as strongly in favour of it. There ought to have been a united outcry against Lord Curzon's blunder if there had been any community of interest or sentiment amongst "the Bengali-speaking nations." The Hindu politician would, of course, say that they were misled by the false glamour of official favouritism. We know the fatal facility with which he can construct arguments of this kind; but no one, who has dispassionately considered the various elements—racial, religious, and political—that constituted the Partition question, can take him seriously. Deep down in his consciousness the only "wrong" that burnt was the loss of monopoly. Mr. Montagu has said admirable things about the impartial character of the British Rule, and has denounced, in the solemn, pontifical tones of orthodox Liberalism, all those who imagine that Eastern Bengal was purposely created to be a Muhammadan Province. No one having the least knowledge of the conditions of British Rule can for a moment believe that the favouring of one community at the expense of another can be the reasoned policy of the State. It would end in disaster. There is, however, a kind of infatuation for mock liberalism and its facile formulas that not seldom masquerades as justice, and perpetuates a fearful iniquity all the more grinding and ruthless because it is borne in silence. Mr. Montagu's righteous fervour notwithstanding, Lord Curzon did justify the Partition on the ground that it would give a much-needed opportunity to the Mussalmans to improve their condition. He could see no injustice in creating equality of opportunity for different races and creeds where it did not exist before. Indeed he had far truer sense of justice when he set about to right a perpetual wrong under which more than half the population of Bengal was groaning as the result of the conditions that favoured exclusive Hindu ascendancy. The impartiality had degenerated into indifference. It was a far wiser statesmanship that realised the danger of allowing millions of the "Bengali-speaking nations" to be perpetually condemned to political and social servitude. Lord Curzon redressed the balance, and, without injuring the legitimate Hindu interests, set free the energies of the Mussalmans to work out their own salvation. Was this a "national wrong" or a necessary measure of justice? The anti-partitionist cries had the ring of "unity" and "national sentiment" about them. They found willing converts amongst those who would not hesitate to forge new fetters in the sacred name of liberty. Mr. Montagu thinks that by undoing the Partition the grievance of the "Bengali-speaking nations" has been removed. But what are these "nations"? Are we to understand that more than half the population of Bengal has no title to be called "people" inasmuch as their grievances have never found an echo in the Bengal Press? Are the boycott demonstrations, anti-partition meetings, violent crusades in the Press, anarchical propaganda, Samsis and bombs to be the hallmarks of a living "nationality"? Mr. Montagu seems to imply as if the Moslem demands were unfair and unreasonable. We should think they have a right to demand that the pledges given to them shall be redeemed in full, and we do not see any unfairness in their refusal to sink quietly again into their bondage from which a mere chance had given them deliverance. We are sure even Mr. Montagu would not like that they should adopt the cult of the "nationalism" that has succeeded in proving a "settled fact" to have been a "genuine grievance," although there seems to be no other way of making themselves effectively heard. Whatever the new policy may be in its essence, in its practical effects it has taught the people of this country the unmistakable lesson that clamour tempered by violence is a political asset not to be despised. It is just because the results of this lesson are too terrible to contemplate and disastrous to peace and order that we have written so often on the subject. We wish the people to unlearn it, but that consummation, no matter how devoutly to be wished, cannot be brought about by insincere apologising for weakness.

Behar and the "Beharee."

IT SPEAKS volumes for the energy and political capacity of the people of Behar who are responsible for this enterprise that within an incredibly short space of time they have converted the *Beharee* from a weekly into a daily paper. It was in utter disregard of All Fools' Day that the recent administrative changes were carried out by the Government, and, following that precedent, these enterprising workers have shown their contempt for superstitions by converting the *Beharee* into a daily on a 13th. But whatever the day chosen for the conversion, we welcome this indication of our contemporary's progress. Behar and Bengal were an ill-assorted couple, and the separation gives to Behar an opportunity for developing the individuality which a century and a half of association with Bengal had not succeeded in destroying. Behares are no doubt sure that what has secured to them their good fortune is nothing less than their own character of sturdy loyalty. But we are not so sure if Bengal has not proved the sturdier of the two, and we have yet to discover that loyalty is in any way a peculiar merit of Behar, or that, for the matter of that, it ever enters as an important element into Government calculations when political concessions are to be made. A lady of considerable beauty was once observed to show some partiality towards a somewhat plain individual. At this one of the company turned round towards another and said, "What a lucky fellow, that, I say." His companion, who was shrewder, replied, "I pity the poor devil who is intended to be jealous." Well, we have a suspicion that if Behar is lucky, some other Province is also intended to be jealous. But howsoever Behar may have secured her separate existence, it depends upon the Beharees what use they are going to make of such existence. A powerful organ of Behar opinion was a sine qua non of progress, and we shall be happy to discover in the enlarged and renovated *Beharee* such an organ of Behar opinion.

Behar had hitherto suffered for being smaller than Bengal, and few minorities can do otherwise than wear the badge of their tribe. But Orissa and Chota Nagpur yoked to Behar are just as ill-assorted as Behar yoked to Bengal. All that they have achieved is a change of masters. Behar will have the power of the giant, and it rests with the Beharees whether that power is to be used like a giant's. The two representatives of Behar in the Imperial Council have already been on a fugitive pilgrimage of assurance to Cuttack on the suggestion of His Excellency the Viceroy, and we trust the Uryas have been duly assured of the good intentions and kindly disposition of their new masters. There is, however, a Behar within Behar itself, which stands in no less need of assurance than Orissa, although we are often asked to believe that such an element has no separate existence. We refer to the Mussalmans who will now form a very poor minority of the new Province. Thanks to the enterprise of some of the leading Moslem families of Behar, the community is not comparatively backward in education. But the Hindus are, fortunately leaving off the old-world superstitions which prevented their crossing the seas, and in a few years their superior wealth and numbers would tell forcibly, and a population of 7 per cent. will find it difficult to make itself felt in the new Province. So long as the relations of Hindus and Mussalmans are such that religion does not draw lines of cleavage in politics, all is well. But when once such distinctions begin to enter into mundane affairs, the weaker community must go to the wall.

Behar has had the good fortune to have had among its leaders such men as the late Babu Saligram Singh, Khan Bahadur Syed Fazl-i-Imam, Nawab Vilayet Ali Khan, Khan Bahadur Khuda Baksh Khan, C.I.E., and the much younger but hardly less influential Babu Mahesh Narayan. It is also fortunate that amongst the older men Rau Radha Kishan Bahadur, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Khairat Abnud and the Hon. Nawab Sarfraz Hussain Khan are still there to watch over the new Province, while the comparatively younger men include Babu Krishna Sahay, the Hon. Messrs. Shiva Shanker Sahay, Ucen Narayan Singh, Mazhar-ul-Haque, and Wasi Ahmed. Far the most brilliant leaders of Behar have, of course, been the brothers the Hon. Messrs. Ali Imam and Hasan Imam. But they and their amiable uncle are now cut off from public life, and although their very existence must be an influence for good, politics cannot know them while they remain in office. With a past so encouraging and with the present so hopeful, Behar may well look forward to the continuance of those happy relations which kept the Hindus and Mussalmans united.

But we shall be suppressing an important fact if we give no hint of hostile tendencies which have been too persistent to be ignored. The Hindus of Behar would no doubt ascribe all these to the Moslem League and the separate electorates, just as in Bengal every evil is alleged to have had its root in the Partition. But it is curious that some prominent Mussalmans of Behar took the lead in founding the Moslem League, while the provisions of the Reform Scheme which relate to Moslem representation are almost their own creation, and had received the approval of a Provincial

Conference of Behar. Since then the Hon. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque has had occasion to discover the demerits of separate electorates, and although even in Behar he would rather have the Mussalmans voting for the Musselman representatives in the Legislative Councils, for some occult reasons he would not apply that principle to local bodies. Similarly, the Hon. Mr. S. Sinha, who had, we believe, supported separate Moslem electorates and a larger representation of Mussalmans than mere numbers warranted, is still of opinion that this should be endured more or less as an evil that cannot be cured, but would stoutly oppose the logical extension of these principles. Mr. Parmeshwar Lall, however, is more consistent and will have none of such representation anywhere. Some eight or nine months ago he had called his co-religionists together to form a militant Hindu Sabha to oppose a moribund Provincial Moslem League whose cornatose condition perhaps only its Honorary Secretary, the Hon. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, can explain. There was a good deal of plain speaking then, and the rift in the lute became only too apparent. It is no secret that Mr. Parmeshwar Lall cannot tolerate a Moslem politician even of the type of Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, and in the Behar Provincial Conference presided over by the latter, Mr. Parmeshwar Lall referred to the "height of impertinence" displayed in the Presidential Address, and to the evils of having a Mussalman in the chair. What then could be more natural than the letter of Mr. Parmeshwar Lall to the *Bengalee* written, as he says, "in common justice to the Hindu community", inquiring what attitude the daily *Beharee* would adopt towards the Mussalmans? He quotes at length the Hon. Mr. S. Sinha's views on the Hindu Moslem question, condemns what he calls the "excessive over-representation" of Muhammadans in the Councils, confronts the Hon. Mr. Ali Imam with Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P., and with much plausibility says that "the fact that the Government of India through the late Sir John Jenkins once said in the Imperial Council that the question would not be re-opened until the Muhammadans themselves give up their claims does not settle the question *any more than the statement of Lord Morley as to the Partition*." After this ominous statement, Mr. Parmeshwar Lall asks, "will the paper (*the Beharee*) express the views of the Hindu community on the subject or will it take up the extraordinary attitude of Mr. Sinha," stating at the same time that the views of the latter are not shared by those who are financing the *Beharee* to-day.

We had hoped that after being called upon to explain this our contemporary would not hesitate to offer a clear statement of its views. But all that it has done is to reproduce an article from its first issue when it went by the name of the *Behar Times*. We have carefully read that article, but find little in it that is applicable to the conditions of to-day. It indicates nothing beyond a protest against Bengali domination which had, in fact, led to the establishment of the paper 18 years ago. The Hindu-Moslem question did not exist then in Behar, nor elsewhere either, for the Mussalmans were in too depressed a condition to count in politics. Recently, however, there has been little to distinguish the *Beharee* from other Congress organs representing the views of the assertive and articulate section of the Hindus; and a couple of months ago we were amused at the irony of fate that led the *Beharee* to talk of the necessity of safeguarding Hindu interests in the matter of high Government appointments, for this remark was made *adpropo*s of the acceptance by Mr. Hasan Imam of a Judgeship, at considerable self-sacrifice dictated by the needs of the Province itself. It cannot, therefore, be denied that there is considerable apprehension that the *Beharee* would be a Hindu paper in all but name, and we think the Mussalmans of Behar should thank Mr. Parmeshwar Lall, who would make it frankly the organ of the Hindu opinion of Behar, rather than those who may be tempted to sail under dubious, if not false, colours. For one thing, however, we are thankful to the founder of the *Behar Times* of 1894. He wished to dissociate himself from "the canting conventional liberalism" as much as from partisanship, and we would be sorry if the *Beharee*, while exposing its Bengali opponents ruthlessly and often in language which we would hesitate to employ, would still persist in asking the Mussalmans of Behar and elsewhere to believe implicitly in the angelic virtues of the Bengali leaders of the Congress and their organs. In its issue of the 14th instant it repeats, a somewhat trite but no less true saying: "So long as human nature is what it is, one can hardly feel elated at the impending prospect of loss of pelf and power." We wonder if the *Beharee* has ever thought that the same human nature that makes the Bengali what he is makes the Hindus of Behar and elsewhere also what they are. We also pity poor human nature, and, as a necessary corollary, we vote for separate electorates so long as human nature is human nature and the conditions of India remain the same as they are to-day.

CORRESPONDENCE



Essays : Indian and Islamic.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE"

SIR,—I have read with interest, almost with amusement, the letter of Khwaja Ghulam Ali Saqlain. In his zeal he has forgotten the usual courtesy, and has made his criticism a mere veil for a personal attack. I will not follow his example, but will only say that he would have done better had he waited and read the essays before rushing into print. Upon his own admission his criticisms, if criticisms at all, are founded upon a perusal of the review which appeared in the *Comrade*.

I would hardly have thought it necessary to reply to his letter had he not charged me with a lack of moral courage in not openly discarding Islam. My views, according to him, are un-Islamic. They have an atheistic complexion. Allah be praised! I do not stand in need of a certificate of orthodoxy from so high a pontiff. And all the more thankful to the Almighty am I that the days of religious persecution are over—never, I trust, to return. We live in days of free discussion, and this inestimable gift our coreligionists should enjoy and not throw away. Our religion is founded on too solid a foundation to suffer any damage from free discussion. If anything free discussion will bring out its hidden qualities more and more.

Nothing is more painful than to break with the past, and I can well imagine the horror of one who has been brought up in old traditions at the sight of old beliefs attacked, accepted positions challenged, dearest traditions rejected, old landmarks swept away. Everything is in a state of flux here religion, law, social conditions—everything, in fact, with which man has any concern, direct or indirect. Every change, slight or great, has been resisted, but in spite of resistance the world has moved on. Is it not *Ghandi* who has said—

* میا دیز اے پور نہ زند آڈ را تو
مر کس کے شہ ساحب نظر دین بزرگان خوس نہ گرد

Was not Socrates condemned as a corrupter of youth? Was not Jesus crucified and Mahomed persecuted? Why? Because each sought to lead humanity to a larger sense of duty, to a more perfect sense of righteousness. The old religions needed reawakening, readjustment, and these prophets were the instruments of reform.

The old Arabs who fought the Prophet were as deeply convinced of the truth of their religion as the Khwajah is—and rightly so—of his own. But that did not prevent Mahomed from exposing the hollowness and falsity of the religious system then prevailing. The fact is that the heathen religion had done its work. Another was required, more in harmony with the growing needs of the time. And so the world has moved on from point to point.

Have not changes taken place in Islam itself? What are the different sects? Are they not the various aspects of Islam; Islam seen through various lenses? Surely Mr. Saqlain does not contend that Islam is cast iron, hide-bound, stereotyped. If anything, it is the one religion which is flexible, accommodating and absolutely unfettered by any unalterable, inviolate rules.

My supreme offence is that I have said that Islam owes a great deal to Judaism and Christianity. Can any one in his senses deny the indebtedness of Islam to these two great religions of the East? Mahomed never claimed the honour of having set up a new religion. Over and over again he denounced the corruptions that had clung to Judaism and Christianity, and sought to purify them. It was the religion of Abraham that he was restoring in its original, pristine purity.

If the Khwaja had only taken the trouble to read my book he would have found that I deplore as much as he does the neglect of religious education among us. But it is perfectly clear that, however much we may be in agreement on this point, our conceptions of religious education will vastly differ.

If my views appear unorthodox to the great Khwajah, be it so. I do not quarrel with him on that score. But where does he find that I deny what he calls the *basic truth of Islam*?

"Now there should be no mistake in what," says he, "I mean. If the learned author is a Mussalman, belonging to any definite sect or even a rational exponent of Islam who has taken up some visionary 'Broad Church' as his model, he cannot be allowed to deny the *basic truth of Islam* that there is an external existence, which can and does inspire apostles for the guidance of mankind, and that of all such appointed agents of the Almighty Mahomed was the greatest, and that whatever he said was in conformity with and by order of the creator and ruler of mankind."

Is there a single passage in my book which even remotely suggests a denial of the eternal existence or leads a fairminded man to the belief that Mahomed was not the prophet of God? I am not aware of any such passage and I challenge the Khwajah to cite one if he can.

As a Moslem, not only by birth but also by deliberate choice, I cannot but have the highest regard and veneration for the Prophet of Arabia. In my opinion, he stands first and foremost among the religious teachers of the world. His humanity, his gentleness, his self-sacrifice at a time when not a single peak of human greatness had remained unclimbed—all these mark him out as the greatest of men, almost superhuman in firmness of will and strength of purpose. I have no less a love for the Prophet of Arabia and "the founder of Islam" (I use these words advisedly) than my critic has, but the parting of ways comes here between us.

I would not rob the Prophet of his glory by making him a mere conduit pipe between Allah and the angel Gabriel. No! I consider him to be the author of that great religious reform which opened to humanity a new path for salvation and showed a new road to righteousness. Inspired he was, for what is inspiration but the surest conviction of the truth of one's message and mission in life? Inspired, indeed, in the truest sense of the word, for he could not have achieved what he did in fact achieve without divine light and without divine protection.

Let us have the basic truth of Islam—to quote the language of my amiable critic—and let us adhere to it. Why call for allegiance to the accretions that overlie it? Can we not be good Muslims without the accretions? Surely we can.

No greater service can we render to our community and religion than the removal of fanaticism, which, to our discredit, is always associated with Islam. The advance of modern culture has very largely leavened our thoughts and has deeply affected our religious beliefs. To deny this would be the height of folly. To oppose it would be the height of absurdity, for opposition would be unavailing. We must accept the situation and make the most of it. The disputed propositions of one age are the commonplaces of another.

It would be idle to stifle the enquiry or to stop free discussion in matters religious, because enquiry will be made and discussions will take place—protest as much as we may. The only solution of the problem is the weeding out of non-essentials and the uprooting of useless overgrowths in our religion.

Before I conclude, I would like to add one word about the 'mundane instruction' which has excited the indignation of Mr. Saqlain. Much as I admire his contempt for mundane instruction, I only trust he will not put his views into practice upon those who enjoy his protection and have the benefit of his guidance. If we have such kindly lights as the Khwajah to lead us, our community, poor as it is, in "dipsi sahibs, bilsiter sahibs and babu sahibs," will soon cease to supply even this small quota, and will eventually become a fit training ground only for butlers, khansamahs, railway employees and, possibly, village chowkidars.

We have already neglected secular education enough, and it is time that we awakened to our real needs and requirements—leaving the heavy-turbaned and long-bearded aspirants to the *Kouris* of paradise to quibble, to wrangle, to dissipate their energy over religious squabbles.

The "basic truth of Islam" should suffice for the present. I loathe controversy, and I trust I will not be drawn into it. I ask for the Khwajah's forgiveness if I have been, in course of this letter, betrayed into warmth of language.

S. KHUDA BUKHARI.

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

THE Pioneer's Shiraz correspondent wrote on 29th March .— Ispahan Road has reverted to its former state of absolute insecurity. A large caravan was plundered about six weeks ago and stores for the squadron of the C.I.H. at Ispahan were looted as well as a large number of packages belonging to an English firm here. The freight rates rose to Rs. 60 per mule for the journey, the normal rate being a quarter of that sum, and now no transport owners will risk their animals at all, so that Ispahan is absolutely cut off from the south. Fortunately, Mr. Knox, late Consul here, with Major Capper going up to join his squadron at Ispahan, managed to get through safely.

Replying to Mr. Morrell, in the House of Commons on the 19th, Mr. Acland said that in view of the situation, the British and Russian Governments had urged Persia to hasten the arrival of the new Governor Firman Firman at Hamadan, and to strengthen his forces to enable him to deal with Salar-ed-Dauleh. Firman Firman had now left Kazvin for Hamadan.

Reuter wires from Teheran on the 22nd.—The tribesmen to the north of Ispahan attacked Major Peterson, a Swedish gendarmerie officer, as he was returning from Shiraz. One of the assailants was killed.

The Regent yesterday received Sir Walter Townley, the new British Minister.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES")

March 30.

A BLUF BOOK was issued on the 29th March [Cd 6104] containing further correspondence on Persian affairs. The correspondence begins in January of last year with the suggestion that Swedish officers should be appointed to organise a *gendarmerie* in Fars, and is carried down to the end of September. It thus covers the appointment of Mr Shuster as Treasurer-General, the return of the ex-Shah to Persia, and the controversy regarding the appointment of Major Stokes. All these events are dealt with in great detail, the correspondence including despatches to and from Sir George Buchanan at St Petersburg as well as to and from Sir George Barclay at Teheran. The despatches fill rather less than 200 pages and cannot be adequately summarized. It is interesting, however, to note that as early as 10th July (he arrived in Teheran on 12th May) M. Shuster's attitude prompted the following mailed despatch from Sir George Barclay to Sir Edward Grey —

Mr. Morgan Shuster has now been two months in Teheran, and his influence is already a leading factor in the situation. The Majlis, for the moment at least, is entirely at his command, and proposals from him have only to be made to be accepted with practical unanimity.

One must admire the pluck and energy with which he has at once thrown himself into the struggle for reform, but at the same time one cannot have but some misgivings as to the results of his headlong progress.

On the only occasion on which I have met Mr Shuster he emphasized the purely financial character of the work before him, and said that he was no politician. If he means by this merely that he will refrain from meddling in politics one can only applaud his resolve, but the apparently light-hearted way in which he embarked on a conflict with the Belgian Customs Administration, and followed this up with the offer of the Treasury *gendarmerie* appointment to Major Stokes, in both of which steps he was exposing himself to opposition from Russia, would seem to give his disclaimer of the politician's rôle a more ominous significance, and point to its denoting a disregard of political considerations which it would be wiser to take into account.

The proposal to appoint Major Stokes was telegraphed to the Foreign Office by Sir George Barclay on July 7th, the first intimation regarding it having reached him on that day. On July 10th Sir Edward Grey telegraphed to Sir George Buchanan instructing him to obtain the views of M. Nératof on the proposed appointment. M. Nératof expressed himself in favour either of the appointment of an officer from among the minor Powers or of the division of the new command between a Russian and a British officer. Both suggestions were immediately communicated to Sir George Barclay, who replied that the splitting up of the command would certainly not commend itself to the Persian Government and further transmitted a note from Mr. Shuster strongly insisting on the appointment of Major

Stokes in preference to an officer of some minor Power. These papers, therefore, destroy the accusation made in some quarters against Sir Edward Grey that he failed to act with promptitude when the appointment of Major Stokes was first proposed.

Bushire, March 29.

Lord Lamington has arrived here, and at the invitation of Sir Percy Cox, the Resident, has gone on board the Royal Indian Marine steamer *Lawrence* to visit Koweit. (Reuter)

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, March 31.

Russian troops have bombarded the mosque at Meshed containing the tomb of Imam Riza, where a number of inhabitants had taken *bast*.

St. Petersburg, March 29.

Shua-es-Sultaneh, the ex Shah's brother, is reported to be in St. Petersburg on private business. The visit is declared to be devoid of political significance.

The following is an extract from a private letter from Shiraz written by a member of the Indian force which left Bombay on October 19th and 20th to reinforce the British Consulate Guards in Southern Persia —

We cannot move about in small numbers, already we have lost in killed and wounded ten men, six followers, 20 horses, and eight mules. We have a blood feud with the Kashgai tribe, and the road to the coast is absolutely blocked to us. Taking the area we must defend here we have 350 rifles to 2,800 yards of perimeter, and our water supply can be cut off at any moment. In the spring 120,000 tribesmen, supplying roughly 30,000 modern rifles, will be round Shiraz, and then times will be a bit too lively.

I do not think that any one at home realizes the absolute chaos that there is now in Southern Persia. There is literally no government. The tribesmen, who are all good fighting men, have many modern rifles, and apparently unlimited ammunition. The nominal road guards are merely riflemen, stationed at posts about four miles apart all along the road, and they, at the muzzle of the rifle, demand toll from all who use the road.

Brussels, March 30.

It is reported that six officials belonging to the Finance Department left Belgium a few days ago for Persia. Three of them will be attached to the Treasury service and the others to the Customs Administration.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN")

The St. Petersburg *Reich* publishes the following Note, which throws a light on the events which preceded the bombardment of the mosque of the Imam Riza at Meshed — "The telegraph has brought the news that our Consul at Meshed, Prince Dabirha, has called upon the population to surrender their arms within three days. We are informed that the order issued by the Consul has been provoked by the fact that the adherents of Mohammed Ali, having joined hands with the opponents of the Russians, had posted themselves in the mosque, whence they have repeatedly made sorties, plundering both Persians and foreign subjects. The Consul has at present at his disposal about one battalion of Russian troops, which have been ordered on the expiry of the three days' grace to disarm the local Persians forcibly and completely to isolate those who have taken *haft*."

The *Narod Vremya* publishes from its Teheran correspondent the following message — "The Regent insists that the clergy should sanction the reply of the Persian Government to the Anglo-Russian Note in order to avoid responsibility before the future Majlis.

"In view of the projected reforms with regard to the reduction of the staffs of the administrative departments, all the officials of the Ministries of Justice and of Public Instruction have been dismissed."

The *Zemps* announces the appointment of the Sipahdar to the post of governor of the province of Azerbaijan.

The *Narod Vremya*'s special correspondent in Persia, who, during the last few months has been flooding the columns of that widely read and influential organ of the St. Petersburg bureaucracy with his letters, deals in his latest article with the latest developments of the Persian question—more particularly with the compulsory withdrawal of the ex-Shah. The writer takes the view that Mohammed Ali was in possession of virtually all Northern Persia except Teheran when the two Powers intervened.

Expounding his opinion he declares:—"On the very eve of the complete bankruptcy of a Government so notoriously incapable

and so potently inimical to us Anglo-Russian diplomacy decides to turn into dust all the successes of lawful authority resting on the people's will, and, discarding (because it appears for the moment inconvenient to it) the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of Persia which it had proclaimed itself, offers to that Government not only its pecuniary support in the shape of a loan, but also its assistance in the matter of removing the old Shah and his brother from Persia. Recalling, then, the divergence of view between the British Foreign Office and M. Sazonoff on the question of the ultimate recognition of the ex-Shah should he succeed in capturing Teheran—a divergence which the Russian Foreign Minister in an interview reported in the *Narodnaya Vremya* only qualified by saying that 'the Russian troops would by no means lend their shields for carrying Mohammed Ali to Teheran,'—the writer of the latter assures the world that 'the old Shah was not at all in need of Russian shields.' The illegally deposed monarch was able with his own shield to attain his object, but then the highest diplomatic quarters decided that the lawful sovereign of Persia was an article of political contraband, and he has now been compelled to return to Odessa.'

The writer asserts that "In the political world of Teheran the Anglo-Russian Note of 19th February is regarded as a new and considerable victory for the powerful and skilful English diplomacy which has sacrificed to us Mr Shuster and a score of revolutionists executed at Tabriz and Resht for the murder of a hundred Russian soldiers in exchange for a sovereign who, even in the estimation of a Radical journal, was the sole friend of Russia." "And now," the correspondent concludes, "we are once more galvanising this semi-decomposed body, which, however, as the recent events at Tabriz and Resht have shown, is capable in this simulation of life of producing most unexpected and dangerous reflexive movements against the repetition of which no diplomatic notes can ever safeguard us."

It is evident that only the complete occupation of the country will satisfy the representative of the *Narodnaya Vremya*.

On 3rd April in answer to a question put by Colonel Yate as to whether it would be made a condition in the agreement for the next loan to Persia "that the payment of the claims of the British and Indian merchants, amounting now to over £75,000, should rank with the claim for compensation for the attack on Mr. Smart, the British Consul, and his escort as the first charge on that loan" Sir Edward Grey stated that "the case of Mr. Smart is most exceptional, the attack having been made on one of His Majesty's Consular officers proceeding to his post. The Persian Government at once recognised the gravity of the matter, and have agreed to settle it as soon as any adequate funds are in hand. As regards other British and Indian claims, I would refer the hon. and gallant member to the answer returned to his question on 29th February, to which I have nothing to add. I cannot say whether the payment of commercial claims will be one of the objects of the next loan—the first object of any loan must be the restoration of order."

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Odessa, March 31.

The assistant-editor of the *Odesskii Novosti* was a few days ago accorded an interview with the wife of the ex-Shah and was by that lady explicitly informed that her Royal consort had definitely decided to take up his residence in England. The necessary arrangements had not yet been completed, nor has any date as yet been fixed for their departure, hence Mohammed Ali is anxious to meet his half-brother, Salar-ed-Dowleh, who is expected here within the next fortnight. The ex-Shah is now being treated by a specialist for diabetes, and is confined to his bedroom. His wife explained to the interviewer that it was this resolve of his Majesty to reside in England that has prevented his leasing a more commodious dwelling here. The Royal exile and his family, with a very limited number of attendants, are uncomfortably quartered in small ten roomed villa. The suite and a few followers who returned with Mohammed Ali from Persia are variously lodged in neighbouring private apartments. Captain Khabaev, the Russian adjutant attached to the ex-Shah, has not yet returned from his private mission to Tsarskoe Selo, wither he carried an autograph letter from Mohammed Ali to the Tsar. I am privately informed that on the tenor of the Imperial reply to that communication really depends the freedom of Mohammed Ali's choice of transferring his residence to England. He will be accompanied by his wife and two younger sons, a suite of half-a-dozen persons, and a few personal attendants. The editorial interviewer gathered from an observation of the ex-Shah's wife that it was not improbable that Salar-ed-Dowleh would also elect to retire to England. The final withdrawal of this Kajar prince from Persian territory is here regarded as the fortunate removal after that of Mohammed Ali, of the most dangerous mischievous factor militating against an early restoration of peace and order in Iran.

A Persian Dialogue.

(FROM THE "TIMES" TEHERAN CORRESPONDENT.)

TEHERAN is changed in these latter days and has resumed an ancient habit, lately interrupted for a space of years. It has for the moment an intermission of its modern fitful fever of politics; and if it does not, after its fitful fever, sleep either better or worse—Teheran has always had a turn for sleeping sound and waking volatile—it now gives back to the philosophical contemplation of existence what politics had stolen. The Mejlis sits no longer, and newspapers are few. The tide of war which flowed nearly to the city wall in the late tempestuous autumn, has ebbed away to the Caspian Gates on the East and the Turkish frontier on the West. Mr. Shuster has gone and the ex-Shah is going. The exacting patriotism, which rendered life unbearable by a boycott of tea, sugar and tram-rides, is no longer in place. So, with the gentle air of spring and the faint fragrance of violets to charm his garden, the Teherani has lost interest in politics, and being off with his new love, finds it well to be with the old. And the old love is all that ever went with philosophy, from metaphysics to the nice conduct of a carven silver walking-stick which is the Persian sop's equivalent for the clouded cane, the management whereof betrayed so much to the more observant of our ancestors.

It was in this mood of revivified reflection that Sohrab sat on my verandah and discoursed upon the vanity of human power. For it is not well to plunge abruptly from one absorption to another, and Sohrab, with a nice sense of transition, tinged his mood, not with the contemplation of pure being, but with the philosophical consideration of politics. He has much to say on such subjects that is of interest to me. For I find it a great comfort, and no mean aid to our friendship, that, though he has never travelled further West than Stambul, he has made some studies in the politics and literature of Europe. There is a select company of subcutaneous experts who profess to be able to get into the Oriental skin and to cross the supposed chasm between East and West but an indolent disposition and some lurking doubts about my own ability ever fully to understand anyone else, Oriental or otherwise, has barred me from their number. For I remember a manservant at home to whom I paid a small living wage, and who therefore had in the opinion of just and reasonable people, no right to allow himself to be in any way a mystery to me, but who, nevertheless, daily presented himself, as a baffling series of conundrums. Sohrab is more comprehensible than he. For Sohrab takes an occasional and entertaining interest in English politics, and he has even learnt to read the *Times* as well as the works of Monsieur Anatole France.

Sohrab is a poet and loves the quatrain. Unlike most of his countrymen, who rather resent our enthusiasm for Omar Khayyam and prefer both Sani and Hafiz, he admires Omar and imitates him, though somewhat *longo intervallo*. And it was to summarize the prevailing mood of Teheran that I quoted him a verse of Omar, and thereby provoked discussion—

Iran indeed is gone with all its Rose,
And Jamshyd's Scv'n-ringed Cup where no one knows,
But still the Vine her ancient Ruby yields
And still a Garden by the Water blows.

"Iran indeed is gone," said Sohrab, "but Iran is not. As for Jamshyd's Seven-ringed Cup, I do not know whether the butler of one or other of the Legations may not have taken it to add to his master's collection, for it is not well to leave things about in Persia. But Iran remains."

"Why, yes," I answered vaguely, "Iran remains." Believing myself to be what Lord Morley has called 'a good European,' I was somewhat nettled by his innuendo as to the possible fate of Jamshyd's Cup.

"I do not mean," he continued, "that there are still remains for the picking. Nor am I speaking in the geographical sense, that Persia remains only because, unlike the Cup, it is not portable, and so cannot be carried away. What I mean is that Persia as a nation has still something of its own, which is its contribution to the general stock of human value. It is true that we have just left a glorious future behind us. Two years ago we talked in that glorious future, the era of liberty and independence. But we have been like the thieves who found themselves in heaven—we have looted Paradise instead of living in it, so that we may say of the Constitution and of the country that it is a poor thing and not our own."

"If that be so," said I, "what have you left?"

"You," he answered, "judge a nation by its material power and riches. If a country is so great that, when its Ambassador speaks, everyone is seated on the carpet either of hope or fear, expecting either war or peace, or at least a loan or a railway, to come out of his mouth, so that there is general disappointment when he only asks for another glass of tea, you consider the citizens of that nation blessed. We, too, have pursued that shadow, and the Mejlis has wasted much time in giving orders that there were none to execute. We sent great Governors and Princes to pacify

disordered provinces and Sardars to crush rebellious tribes. And the Governors and the Sardars salaamed and said, 'Chashm, by our eyes, we will go at once.' And six months later I have found those Governors and Sardars still smoking the opium of content in their houses in Teheran, or cheating the city of its wheat supply at great profit to themselves, and in general giving to the interpretation of the era of liberty and independence a personal and joyous application. But had the breath of the Majlis been able to create fleets and armies—in which case I make no doubt that we should have been in the front rank of nations both by land and sea—so that we should have been a cause of fear to other nations, what profit would that have brought to the souls of our citizens? Or wherein is a man happier working at the bottom of a great ship than singing on the top of a high camel? You will say that he is sustained in his toil and compensated for blackness of his face by the thought that the ship, though for the most part he only sees the bottom of it, is one of the largest warships in the world. But, for my part, I think that he is sustained by the thought that he will receive sufficient money for his needs, which is, perhaps, what makes the camel-driver sing, or perhaps it is not. Moreover, the camel may be the largest of his kind also; and in any case it is not given to every country to have such large animals, wherein one may sit with a clean face and see the sun."

It seemed to me that several fallacies floated on this sea of illustration, but my admiration of this instance of Persian adaptability, in one who had lately been amongst the most thoroughgoing constitutionalists, overcame any instinct of combativeness. Here indeed was the *εὐπατερία* which of old was the hallmark of the best Periclean Athenian. Sohrab had risen superior to political circumstance, and discovered anew the true greatness of his country. But he had not as yet revealed wherein it lay, and my curiosity was unsatisfied.

"I understand you to mean, Sohrab, that in the possession of the elements of happiness the modern Persian is at least no worse off than the citizen of a great Empire, but that every great country possesses a distinctive quality of its own, and that in this sense Persia is still an independent nation."

"I am not speaking of Literature or Art," he said. "I might contend that a country which has excelled in these has perpetuated itself for ever, and that, for this reason, my country need take no notice either of armies or ultimatums. But I speak only of a still-existent contribution to the art of life, an art wherein nations may learn much from one another. For example, the essential contribution of the English seems to me to be comfort. The English are held to be hard workers, but in my judgment they toil only in order to make themselves comfortable and they have made of comfort a fine art, so that every country learns from them in the production of comfort. With the Germans I am, by circumstance, less well acquainted. Were I to judge from the newspapers, I would say that they excelled in the production of discomfort, and that other nations were recognizing a master in this art. But I am more disposed to judge them from their philosophy and to believe that their special attribute is calm. The Russians excel in hospitality, and the French in gaiety and cookery—though in this latter we rival them in the matter of rice, and it seems to me that the Italians, having conquered the world by *macaroni*, might have lost Tripoli to the Turks without loss of glory. As for the Turks, they also have an art of pleasing by their innocent stupidity, which is somewhat difficult for Persians to acquire, but nevertheless repays cultivation."

"But I take it that it was not of your acknowledged and unique position in the matter of rice that you spoke," said I. "I am seated on the carpet of expectation."

"The carpet was made in Persia," retorted Sohrab. "But it is not of excellence in carpets that I would speak, were it for me to mention the qualities of my own countrymen."

"But this is the abode of friendship and the court of frankness."

"No, it is for you to say what is the proper virtue of the Persian, and if, in my opinion, you are right, I shall surrender the citadel of modesty, not as concerning myself, but for my countrymen."

"Dignity," I answered, without hesitation.

"You have hit the mark. I speak not of national dignity, so much as of personal dignity. For is it not the test of dignity that it survives even when bereft of resources and in humiliating conditions? And this is in the nature of the Persian, so that even the servility of your servants is dignified, and the friendly greeting of cabmen—I speak not of their quarrels, wherein the difference is perhaps less—is a ceremonious form of words, whereas I understand that in your countries it is of ribald and barbarous character. It is true that, in these latter days, it has often pleased God to deprive us as a nation of the resources wherewith we should like to comport ourselves in a dignified manner; as, for instance, when last week we wished to give the Turkish Ambassador a salute, but, owing to a misunderstanding between our officials

and those of our Northern neighbour, the guns were missing at the appointed hour. Yet I am assured that, even in the lamentable absence of the guns, all things were conducted in a proper and worthy manner, and everything humanly possible was done to comfort the heart of the afflicted Ambassador, who naturally resented an entry without either the smell of powder or the sound of shot."

The contemplation of the calamity of this silent and inodorous arrival produced a long pause. The stillness was at length broken by Sohrab reciting one of his own quatrains, which may be rendered thus—

The Kingdom, Pow'r, and Glory, since we must,
We leave beneath Time's Key to Moth and Rust,
But let the Flow'r of Dignity and Pride
Blossom for ever in Dishonour's Dust.

Sohrab left me revolving in my mind an Oriental compliment, which, being unspoken, was perhaps more sincere than most. For I thought that he was justified in his optimism and that the nation which produced him could never die.

"The Charm of Persia."

We all know the dreary and unreal conversation that hovers round a subject which fills the mind of all, but which no one dares to touch. It is like a funeral luncheon, when people chatter about politics, the theatres, and even the cold weather, but the worn-out body just left cold in the ground is not mentioned. At the Geographical Society once we heard a traveller who had returned from two years on the Congo, discourse amiably upon fetich and idols, ants and flies, for more than an hour, and at the end the chairman thanked him for having so skilfully avoided all reference to "certain unpleasant subjects"—which were exactly the subjects the audience should have wished to hear about if they had not shrank from having their feelings harrowed after dinner. Similarly, at a recent International Conference upon peace and the treatment of subject races, no word was allowed upon European questions or the suppression of other races by the Great Powers—the only points that would have given vitality to the discussions. "Oh, no, we never mention her! Her name is never heard," our modest grandmothers used to sing with drawing room pathos, and often in polite public assemblies, as well as in conversations at the dinner table, we are reminded of that sentimental warbling.

We were reminded of it again the other day when Sir Mortimer Durand was expatiating to the Persia Society on "The Charm of Persia." Sir Mortimer Durand knows Persia well. He was Minister at Teheran for about six years. He travelled leisurely over the country. As one who was long intimate with the North West Frontier, and who has penetrated at least twice on public affairs to the heart of Afghanistan, he knows the value of a free and independent Persia for our Indian Empire. He knows what it will mean for us in the future if we are compelled to advance our frontier from the natural line of mountains and passes, fortified and defended at so great expense and sacrifice during the last two generations, to the indeterminate and desert plains of central or southern Persia. He knows also the special character and capacities of the Persian people. We cannot doubt that he has followed the events of the last five years with particular, and even with absorbing interest. Far more vividly than those who have not dwelt in Teheran, he has realised those attempts at reform, the struggle for liberty and self-government, the corrupt intrigues of the Court, the shameless intrigues of Russian encroachment, the gallant and unavailing stand made by Mr Shuster against them, the pathetic loyalty of the popular party to their one disinterested friend, the brutality of Russia's invasion, the impotent acquiescence of her British ally in aggression, the final collapse of freedom and hope.

All this he knew, and whatever view he might take of the situation he has a special right to his opinion. That situation was the point of interest. In that brief struggle for freedom now lies the "Charm of Persia," that he took for the title of his discourse. But of this real point of interest and genuine charm he said not a word. It may be that the rules of the Persia Society prohibit allusion to anything vital. Or it may be that the speaker considered himself still bound by his former office, though, if everyone upheld that obligation, how much of our most trustworthy information we should miss! At all events, there it was. Upon the one subject of intense and actual interest he was dumb. "Oh, no, we never mention her," was his song, and round the thought that filled all minds he did not even hover.

He flew right away to an account of the climate—the dry and sunny air, so like South Africa, so cheering to the spirits. He told of the seasons in their turn, of the violets, the irises, the tiger-lilies, and the roses to which Omar's nightingale sings; the planes and poplars, the blackbirds, hoopoes, and plaintive owls, the summer quarters up in the hills to which the Legations remove; the delightful winters when even skating may be had

27th April.

along canals laid down for stores of ice, and sheltered by high walls from the brilliant sun. And then he told of the free and spacious country, still unfettered by railways ; of the caravans, and of the official manner of travelling with two sets of tents, one daily sent on in front, so that on arrival the encampment is always ready. This manner of travelling he identified with "the simple life," and how many a wayworn traveller, struggling at the end of day to make some shelter of a bit of canvas or a cave, might envy official simplicity ! He told of the mournful ruins of Isfahan, of the Bakhtiari, living on acorn bread in pride among their mountains, of the Arab plains, where blue and green rivers meet, and horses play about the tents like cats. Then he told of polo, shooting, and the Briton's chances of amusement in killing various beautiful animals, of the country's arts, so rapidly declining under the blighting touch of Europe, of the literature and the poetic faculty still surviving even among muleteers. And at the last moment he called to mind the greatness and power of the land in past ages, as when, not so very long ago, a Persian conqueror equalled Napoleon in the extent of his conquests. That was the nearest approach to history, and that was all. Not a word of the poignant tragedy in which Persia is protagonist, while England sits mutely "assisting" at the final act.

Certainly, it is something to be made to realise the charm of a country thus to be sacrificed, and the happy disposition of a people so soon to be enslaved under the most tyrannical of the world's Governments. Tragedy is rendered all the more poignant when, like Hamlet or Antigone, its victim is endowed with a special and conspicuous charm of nature. The external beauty of her scenery, the tradition of her art, which may be said to have supplied not only the Middle East but India herself with their highest ideals of form and decoration, the literary associations interwoven in the very names and outward appearance of her cities—all these combine to endow this victim of Imperialist greed with peculiar interest. In his book of travel, called "A Year Amongst the Persians," Professor Edward Browne thus describes his first sight of one such city —

"We were now," he writes, "at that point, known to all students of Hafiz, called *Tung-i-Allahin Akbar*, because whoever first beholds Shiraz hence is constrained by the exceeding beauty of the sight to cry out in admiration, '*Allahu Akbar*'—'God is most great !' At our very feet, in a grassy, fertile plain, girt with purple hills (on the loftier summits of which the snow still lingered), and half concealed amidst gardens of dark stately cypresses, wherein the rose and the Judas tree in luxuriant abundance struggled with a host of other flowers for the mastery of color, sweet and beautiful in its garb of spring verdure which clothed the very roofs of the bazaars, studded with many a slender minaret, and many a turquoise-hued dome, lay the home of Persian culture, the mother of Persian genius, the sanctuary of poetry and philosophy, Shiraz."

Only when we have realised all that is conveyed in the names of such places as Teheran, Isfahan, Shiraz, or even Naishapur, can we also realise the approaching horror of their subjugation under the monotonous brutality of Russian dominance. So, to some extent, even Sir Mortimer Durand's agreeable discourse upon temperature, flowers, horses, tents, and shooting must be allowed its effect. Those of the audience to whom Persia was only a geographical expression may have gained from it some sense of reality, and for those who knew the reality, it revived the tragedy of her fate. It served a purpose, but with how much finer delicacy and effect a similar purpose might be served, was well shown three days later in a letter from the *Times* correspondent in Teheran. It is called "A Persian Dialogue," or "Philosophy in Adversity" (the *Times* of 1st April), and the writer, well known for past services to the Persian cause, treats the overthrow of Persian freedom with elusive irony that even such champions of national suppression as the *Times* or the *New York Tribune* could hardly catch hold of. The dialogue runs between the writer and a poet philosopher, named Sohrab, who, in despair of Persia's new love of political freedom, has turned back withonic contentment to her old love "of all that ever went with philosophy, from metaphysics to the nice conduct of a curved silver walking stick, which is the Persian sops equivalent for a clouded cane." With native irony, perhaps tinged by his study of Anatole France, the philosopher maintains that "Persia as a nation has still something of its own, which is its contribution to the general stock of human value" —

"It is true," he proceeds, "that we have just left a glorious future behind us. Two years ago we talked in that glorious future the era of liberty and independence. But we have been like the thieves who found themselves in heaven—we have looked Paradise instead of living in it, so that we may say of the Constitution and of the country that it is a poor thing and not our own."

In the course of the dialogue, the distinctive quality supplied by various nations to the general stock of human value is discussed. The English contribution is found to be comfort, the German, discomfort and philosophic calm; the Russian, hospitality; the French gaiety and cookery; the Italian, macaroni (owing to the world-wide triumph of which they might have left Tripoli to the Turks without

loss of glory); the Turkish, and innocent stupidity. As to the Persian contribution, Sohrab politely urges the correspondent to name it. "Dignity," he answered, without hesitation.

"You have hit the mark," Sohrab replied; "I speak not of national dignity, so much as of personal dignity. For is it not the test of dignity that it survives even when bereft of resources and in humiliating conditions? And this is in the nature of the Persian... As, for instance, when last week we wished to give the Turkish Ambassador a salute, but owing to a misunderstanding between our officials and those of our Northern neighbour, the guns were missing at the appointed hour. Yet I am assured that, even in the lamentable absence of the guns, all things were conducted in a proper and worthy manner, and everything humanly possible was done to comfort the heart of the afflicted Ambassador, who naturally resented an entry without either the smell of powder or the sound of shot."

Finally, the poet sums up the meaning of dignity, and its surviving power, in one of his own quarters —

"The Kingdom, Pow'r, and Glory, since we must,
We leave beneath Time's Key to Moth and Rust,
But let the Flow'r of Dignity and Pride
Blossom for ever in Dishonor's Dust."

It may be that in the history of nations—"in this batter'd Caravanserai, whose portals are alternate Night and Day"—a race that dignity in dishonor is to be counted happy. But for us the true charm of Persia will still lie in the memory of her honourable effort for national independence, however, calamitous, and her tragedy in the suppression of that honourable effort by two great Powers, actuated, the one by greed, the other by fear. It is useless to blink the truth by shirking the central interest and seeking refuge in amiable prettiness that moves no passion. Nor can one envy those diplomats who, at the whisper of Freedom in the Chancelleries of Europe, combine in unison to practise their ante-chamber song, beginning —

"Oh, no, we never mention it !
Its name is never heard,
Our lips are now forbid to speak
That once familiar word."

—(*The "Nation."*)

Sir Edward Grey on Persia.

By H. F. B. LYNCH

THE Anglo-Russian Convention was signed in September 1907. Though Parliament had been in session until late in the summer, no suggestion had been made by Ministers that a treaty of this far-reaching nature was under negotiation. On the contrary, the House of Commons had been informed, in answer to a question, that the negotiations had reference to mere frontier questions in Asia. When the terms of the Convention were published, they produced what may almost be described as a feeling of consternation among those in this country who were well acquainted with Asiatic affairs. This feeling was mainly engendered by the provisions relating to Persia, while those which concerned Thibet and Afghanistan appeared to open wider rather than to close the door upon Russian intrigues in those regions. When Parliament reassembled in February of the following year, five months after the conclusion of the Convention, a debate took place (February 17, 1908) which, although it dealt with a fact that had been accomplished, was nevertheless memorable for the speeches which it elicited. It was opened by a speech of exceptional grasp and comprehensiveness from the late Lord Percy. It is interesting now to read the terms of the Motion which stood in his name. "That this House, while welcoming the principle of an agreement with Russia with regard to Persia, Afghanistan, and Thibet, is of opinion that the terms of the Convention, while involving at several points a sacrifice of British interests, still leave room for international misunderstandings of a kind which both the contracting Powers desire to avoid." Lord Percy began by enlarging upon the ambiguous nature of some of the most important provisions in the Convention. Were the two areas traced in the Convention, and subject, respectively, to British and to Russian influence, commercial or political areas; and, if the latter, what was the meaning to be attached to the word "political"? Noting that the phrase "spheres of influence" had been carefully avoided in the text of the treaty, he asked whether in fact there was anything to prevent their creation? Would it be contrary to the provisions of the treaty if one or both of the contracting parties were to persuade the Persian Government to entrust them with the machinery of administration, allow them to maintain a local garrison or even grant them a lease of territory in the regions where the Convention recognizes that they have a predominant interest in the maintenance of law and order?

In the light of subsequent happenings, Lord Percy's speech assumes an importance which impels me to make further reference to it on this occasion. He drew a striking contrast in principle between the Anglo-French Agreement and that concluded with

Russia. In the case of the latter, both the character of the settlement and the methods by which it had been arrived at were the exact antithesis of those which had inspired and determined the former. The Anglo-French Agreement was a comprehensive arrangement, removing all outstanding difficulties between the two countries. It ranged from Newfoundland to Siam, and it proceeded to balance a concession in one part of the world against a corresponding concession in another part. In dealing with any particular problem, the authors of the Anglo-French Agreement started with the assumption that the most effective—if not the only effective—means of preventing a future conflict and clash of interest between the two Powers was to put an end once and for all to anything in the nature of a condominium in identical or even in contiguous geographical areas. We got a free hand, so far as France was concerned, in Newfoundland and Egypt, and France obtained similarly a free hand, so far as we were concerned, in Morocco. Contrast this kind of agreement with the Anglo-Russian Convention. That Convention alone included in its scope the regions commonly known as the Middle East, in particular portions of which it confirmed or extended Russian interests, and in Persia created a political condominium between Russia and ourselves. The Convention merely facilitated the prosecution of rival politics without, in fact, taking the trouble to inquire whether these policies were reconcilable or not. After emphasizing the enormous commercial sacrifices which we had made to Russia in Persia, Lord Percy concluded his speech on a less pessimistic note. Everything would depend, he said, on the manner in which the two Powers would interpret the main provisions of the Convention. It was quite possible that Sir Edward Grey had received from the Russian Government satisfactory assurances on all the points which he had just raised. British good faith and British honour were one of the principal assets of the British Empire, and both were involved in our dealings with the Mohammedan peoples in the countries adjacent to India. He expressed the hope that these peoples might come in future to look upon the Convention, not as a sign that Great Britain had ceased to take any practical interest in their welfare, but, on the contrary, as a crowning proof of the unselfish and disinterested character of her friendship.

Such is an outline of the speech to which, in February, 1908, Sir Edward Grey had to respond. It seemed to us who heard it to be unanswerable. Rising at once, the Foreign Secretary replied in the style to which we have now become familiar, and which consists in giving his own versions of events and of causes and setting it up against the version presented by his adversary. Addressed to an audience, to the vast majority of whom such subjects are new and unfamiliar, this style of reply possesses obvious merits. Very few of Sir Edward Grey's "facts" about Persia will bear the test of critical examination. In a recent letter to the *Times* (February 22, 1912), Professor Browne has collected a number of such loose statements and it would not be difficult to add to the list. We know that Sir Edward Grey really reads the newspapers, and we must assume that the information conveyed to him by his department is either inaccurate or misleading. But the "facts" make a brave show, when skilfully strung together, and, on the occasion of his reply to Lord Percy, a great part of his speech was devoted to this process. He at first refrained altogether from dealing with Lord Percy's inquiries about the nature of the areas in Persia which had been traced in the Convention, and whether there was anything to prevent the conversion of these areas into spheres of political influence or even of occupation. But, when pressed by an interruption from the latter to give the House a reply, he brushed aside the question as hypothetical in nature, and confined himself to the statement that it had never entered his head for a moment that an Agreement which confirmed the integrity of Persia could be turned into a partition without consultation between the Governments concerned. This statement, however, was so obviously unsatisfactory that he was obliged to return to the subject before bringing his speech to a close. It is this passage which was the Foreign Secretary's substantial contribution to the debate, and it is so important that I shall quote it at length. It ran as follows: "I cannot say that all danger of interference in Persia is now over... But the danger of interference by ourselves or Russia is greatly diminished; and when I hear it said that Persian interests have suffered, I maintain that that statement is the direct contrary to the truth. I have used the term 'British and Russian spheres.' I trust that it will be noted and understood that I have used it solely in the sense in which it is used in this Agreement and not in the sense of the political partition of Persia. Under the Agreement we bind ourselves not to seek certain concessions of a certain kind in certain spheres. But these are only British and Russian spheres in a sense which is in no way derogatory to the independence and sovereignty of Persia. But if Persia is to have, as I hope she will, the chance of working out her own constitutional problems, now so serious and difficult, in her own way; if, after years of mis-

government and bad government, she is to come by constitutional means to a better form of government, to a better, stronger, and less corrupt administration, then I say that the chance of doing so without interference, her chance of working out these problems in her own way, has been greatly improved by the agreement between Russia and ourselves." I would beg my readers to note that this language is almost identical with the language used in the Spring-Rice despatch, to which I shall presently come. The same note was struck by Mr (now Lord) Morley, who wound up the debate on behalf of the Government of India after a speech delivered by myself. "It is quite true," he said, "that my hon friend the Member for Ripon has made a case in one or two details. But think what the change is! We now have got Persia herself, weak and rather distracted as she is by constitutional struggles, free from that squalid and mischievous rivalry, and you have these two great European Powers, no longer rivals—I had almost called them confederates—in the sterilization of anything like moral progress or material progress in Persia. That is the broad answer that I would make to all those detailed criticisms." Lord Morley's peroration was conceived in the same vein. "I think His Majesty's Government and the country have reason to congratulate themselves upon this arrangement being made, and the foreign Powers concerned, whether the Amir of Afghanistan or other potentates, may know that *what we have undertaken will be faithfully observed and carried out*"—*Isfahan Quarterly Review*

(To be continued.)

Morocco.

News of the Week.

Reuter wires from Tangier on the 18th—According to news from Fez the trouble there is not general. Several quarters of the town are in revolt against local measures and several Frenchmen have been killed.

The Larbiyya is safe and reinforcements have arrived from Meknes.

The total military casualties at Fez were 25 killed and 60 wounded. The papers contain terrible narratives of the savagery of the mob who paraded the streets carrying the horribly mutilated bodies of Europeans and heads held aloft on spears. Unbridled licence prevailed for three days. The Jews were particularly singled out and were barbarously ill-treated. Many were thrown from the house tops and girls violated. Four thousand Jews took refuge in the Palace. The French killed 800 of the rioters.

General Mornier telegraphs on the 22nd that quiet has been restored at Fez but that the French losses were officers 15 killed and 4 wounded, and men 40 killed and 70 wounded. In addition 13 civilians were killed.

General Mornier has dismissed the Pashas and will appoint Governors to replace them. A court martial will try the ringleaders, while the inhabitants of Fez will be disarmed. It is also possible that a war contribution will be levied as an indemnity to the families of the victims of the disorders.

News by the English Mail

(From THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, March 31

It is announced that the Sultan signed the Protectorate Treaty at Fez on Saturday.

According to information received from Fez, a vigorous attack has been made on Sefru by malcontent tribesmen and a column of 1,500 to 2,000 men has been ordered to advance to the relief of the besieged troops.

Paris, April 1.

The French Foreign Office has now received confirmation of the news that the Sultan of Morocco signed the treaty establishing a French protectorate on Saturday afternoon. It is semi-officially stated that the Treaty is on the lines of the Treaty of the Bardo with the Bey of Tunis. The French Minister, Mr. Regnault, who submitted the Treaty for signature, telegraphed at 5 o'clock the same day that it had been signed, but the Foreign Office only received the news yesterday afternoon.

The Treaty contains a reservation as to the future administration of Tangier and of the Spanish sphere, which has yet to be delimited. I am informed on the best French authority that the Sultan manifested very great reluctance to except Tangier and the future Spanish sphere from the exercise of his direct authority as defined and limited in the Protectorate Treaty. As regards a portion of the Spanish zone districts connected with Larache and Alcazar, it was urged that these were so-called Maghzen territory where the Sultan's authority had always been exercised.

M. Poincaré, the French Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, had, however, given most precise instructions to M. Regnault to reserve Tangier and the future Spanish sphere

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from the operation of the Treaty. This condition was regarded as essential as regards Tangier in view of the express stipulation of the Franco-German Treaty that the *régime* in Tangier shall be international. The question, moreover, is one in which Great Britain is particularly concerned. As regards the Spanish sphere French Treaty obligations towards Spain as well as the Franco-Spanish negotiations now in progress precluded any arrangements with regard to these territories without Spain's consent.

It is now stated that France has renounced her demand for the cession of Cabo del Agua on the Mediterranean at the mouth of the Muluya river. On the other hand there seems to be some doubt as to whether she still insists upon detaching from the Spanish sphere certain districts north of the river Lukkos, near Alcazar. It is reported that France has withdrawn some of her demands with regard to Spanish territory in the south near Isni. That territory does not constitute part of the Shereefian Empire. France, however, would like to have access to the sea in that region and not a mere belt of *Hinterland* such as Spain is understood to have offered.

A review of French and Shereefian troops was held at Fez last Thursday, and the French Minister, M. Regnault, warmly congratulated General Moinier upon the appearance of his men and upon their achievements in the field. Some 5,000 men were on parade. In front of the *légion* General Bailloud presented General Moinier with the cross of a Commander of the Legion of Honour.

On Saturday, after the signature of the Treaty, the Sultan gave a banquet in honour of M. Regnault, who proposed the toast of the Sultan's health and referred with satisfaction to the past and future co-operation of France with his Shereefian Majesty. The Sultan responded in similar terms.

Tangier, April 1.

The calming influence of E. Mokri, the Grand Vizier, who reached Fez a few days before M. Regnault, the French Minister, and the latter's intimate knowledge of the Sultan's personality and his remarkable tact, seemed to have had a most desirable effect upon the spirits of Mular Hafid and were not without influence in inducing him to regard with equanimity the French proposals.

Paris, April 1.

The absence of any form of shelter for merchandise and lighters at Casablanca, as reported in the *Times* of February 21, has led the authorities to decide on the construction of some shelter before the completion of the harbour works, in order to meet the more pressing needs of the merchants interested in the loading and discharging of cargo. Tenders were invited for the work, but British objections were offered to a technical error in the terms of the offer and the construction has been postponed. A delegation will leave for Tangier in a few days in order to urge the Foreign Representatives to find some solution as quickly as possible.

Paris, April 2.

A despatch from Fez of to-day's date says that the treaty establishing a French protectorate over Morocco declares that France and Morocco are in agreement as to the establishment of a new *régime* and proclaims freedom of religion. France is allowed for the maintenance of order, to enter into military occupation of points necessary for this purpose, after due notification to the Sultan. The treaty then proceeds to deal with the support to be given to the Sultan for the maintenance of his authority and defines the powers of the Resident General. It next provides for the diplomatic representation of Morocco by France and for the reorganization of the country's finances. Loans may not be made without the assent of the French Government.

President Fallières has sent a telegram to the Sultan assuring him of the support of France and congratulating him on the happy issue of the negotiations.—*Reuter*.

Paris, April 3.

In French messages from Madrid attention is drawn to the importance of the visit of the Spanish Ambassador in London to Madrid, where he is to discuss with his Government the various aspects of the proposed internationalization of Tangier. According to the *Journal des Débats* France has communicated to Spain a draft proposal on the subject with which England is said to be in substantial agreement.

Paris, April 3.

According to a semi official summary of the Franco-Moroccan Treaty, signed at Fez last Saturday, which is issued this evening, the French Government and the Maghzen proclaim their intention of introducing in Morocco the reforms which France shall deem expedient. In the first place, the new *régime* is to safeguard the religious attributes of the Sultan and his traditional prestige, and will secure respect for existing religious institutions. The Maghzen is to be maintained and reformed. The rights of Spain and the special *status* of Tangier are questions that will be reserved. France is to be free to occupy such points as she may consider necessary in the interests of order and she will be entitled to exercise police powers throughout the country and in Moroccan waters.

France undertakes to lend the Sultan every assistance. Government measures are to be proposed by her and promulgated by the Sultan. France will be represented by a "Resident Commissary General," who will be invested with all the powers of a French Republic and will act as sole intermediary between the Maghzen and foreign Powers. He will approve and promulgate the Sultan's decrees. France will represent Moroccan subjects and interests abroad. The Sultan is pledged not to contract any foreign engagements or loans or grant any concessions without the assent of France. The two Governments reserve the question of financial organization.

Mulai Hafid appears to have received several French newspaper correspondents in audience at Fez on Sunday. The Sultan expressed to them, as he had already intimated to the French Minister, M. Regnault, his satisfaction at the prospect of co-operating with France, whose experience of the Musulman world would be of invaluable service. He expressed his pleasure at the promptitude with which the Protectorate negotiations had been concluded, thanks to M. Regnault's tact and skill. He felt sure that the country might look forward to a prosperous future.

Madrid, April 3.

The prospects of a satisfactory termination of the Franco-Spanish negotiations have undoubtedly been greatly improved by the latest French proposals, which were communicated by the French Ambassador to the Spanish Foreign Minister last Saturday evening. These proposals have clearly made a favourable impression in Madrid and are regarded as "reasonable." Although this does not imply that Spain is prepared to accept them as they stand, it means that she is prepared to concede something like them, and that the negotiators, instead of being poles apart as they were a couple of weeks ago, are now within measurable distance of each other.

The Spanish Government, indeed, now seem anxious to press matters forward. Nothing, it is true, can be done for the next two or three days. Both the Prime Minister and the French Ambassador left Madrid last night for Seville, but the former returns here on Saturday, when a Cabinet Council will be held and the Spanish reply will be discussed. A further conference will, therefore, in all probability take place very shortly after the return of the Ambassador, who is expected here on Tuesday. Meanwhile the presence of Senor Villa Urrutia, the Spanish Ambassador in London, who arrives to-night, will afford the Government an opportunity of learning what views are held in England, especially with regard to the future *status* of Tangier—a question which excites the keenest interest here. The Spaniards, naturally, hold that, if everyone had his due, Tangier would be theirs, and, had this aspiration been realized, there can be no doubt that the course of the present negotiations would have been much swifter and smoother. Since, however, that may not be, much anxiety is manifested that the safeguards devised for the internationalization of the town may be thorough and effective.

Paris, April 4.

The text of the "treaty for instituting the *régime* of a French protectorate in Morocco" is published to-day. The clause reserving Spanish rights as well as the future position of Tangier runs—

"The Government of the Republic will make arrangements (see *concessions*) with the Spanish Government on the subject of the interests which that Government derives from its geographical position and its territorial possessions on the Moroccan coast. The town of Tangier will likewise retain the special character which has been acknowledged to belong to it, and which will determine its municipal organization."

It would, perhaps, have been out of place to refer in a treaty with the Sultan to the Franco-Spanish Convention of 1904, but there can be no doubt that Spain regards her interests and rights in Morocco as being based quite as much upon the terms of that treaty as upon the facts of "her geographical position and her territorial possessions on the Moroccan coast."

One of the financial stipulations is to the effect that the Sultan undertakes "for the future not to contract, directly or indirectly, any public or private loan, or to grant, under any form whatever, any concession without the authorization of the French Government."

Article II gives the French Government a right to effect the military occupation of any part of Moroccan territory where it considers such occupation to be necessary for the maintenance of order and the security of commercial transactions. The only condition of such occupation is that France should previously have informed the Maghzen. The significance of the article is that it precludes the necessity of asking the Sultan or the Maghzen each time that France is under the necessity of extending the area of her military occupation of Morocco.

With regard to the details of the territorial compensation proposals in Morocco, as they now present themselves to the Spanish and French negotiators in Madrid, it may be inferred from various accounts of their tenor that France has tacitly abandoned her claim both to Cabo del Agua, at the mouth of the Muluya River, and to the Beni Bu Yahi territory, on the left bank. Spain may succeed in securing both banks of the Lukkos River between Alcazar and Larache, and there is a prospect of mutual concessions in the Wergha Valley and in the southern Spanish sphere.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

A TELEGRAM from Constantinople on the 18th states that the Italian fleet has entered the Dardanelles and that an Italian vessel has been sunk.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 18th.—It is positively denied that an Italian warship was damaged in yesterday's demonstration in the Dardanelles.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 18th.—It is officially stated that the Italian warships fired projectiles into the forts of the Dardanelles and the barracks of Sedilbahr, Orhanieh and Kumkaleh, which were slightly damaged. The Orhanieh fort replied and damaged an Italian vessel, which caught fire and drew off. The Italians subsequently put to sea. Prior to their arrival in the Dardanelles, the Italians bombarded Samos, Mitylene and Rhodes. The fleet comprised altogether 39 ships. The bombardment was simultaneous with the opening of the Parliament, at which the Sultan made a speech in which he said:—"We desire peace, but only on condition that Turkey's sovereign rights are maintained."

The *New York Herald* of 24th March has the following.—Owing to the presence of floating mines in the Dardanelles, the Hamburg-American Line's steamer *Cimarron*, carrying four hundred Americans on a tour of the world, has cancelled its visit to Constantinople. The passage of the Straits by vessels of large dimensions entails great danger from such an explosion as occurred yesterday.

Other steamers of the Hamburg-American Line have received orders to avoid the Dardanelles.

A letter to the paper of 19th March from Constantinople runs as follows.—I left Beirut on the 9th instant by the Khedivial Line through to the Turkish capital under some difficulties. Sixty tourists had cancelled their bookings by the vessel and only six first-class passengers left Beirut. The city of Beirut has been under martial law since the bombardment . . .

Our course took us past the island of Patmos and we anchored off the island of Rhodes, where one passenger ventured to embark for a trip through the war zone. At the entrance to Sinyrna harbour a harmless kind of a fort is located, and two antediluvian ships are stationed, so that on the approach of an enemy they may be sunk, thus blocking the channel. Sinyrna was much perturbed over rumours of an attack.

The lights along the Dardanelles are out at night, and the Straits are virtually hermetically sealed except for daylight shipping. A Turkish torpedo boat led the way for some distance through the heavily mined waters, delaying our ship many hours. Sixty thousand armed Turks line the Dardanelles at strategic points where so-called forts are located. The entire Turkish fleet of six ships is on watch near the entrance to the Sea of Marmara . . .

Turkey notifies that she has released the chain of floating mines. Consequently the navigation of the Dardanelles is closed.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 19th.—It is stated here that the Italian fleet did not intend to attack or force the Dardanelles nor to land troops.

The fleet merely hoped to induce the Turkish fleet to come out and fight. Eventually, after two hours' cannonade with the forts, the fleet steered off, having meanwhile cut several submarine cables.

Lloyd's and the Baltic Exchange are uneasy at the closing of the Dardanelles. All chartering for the Black Sea is at a standstill and there are 150 steamers on the other side of the Bosphorus.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Acland said the Government fully appreciated the seriousness of closing the Dardanelles to British shipping. He would immediately endeavour to obtain information whether the mines were adrift in the open sea.

Reuter is informed that the Italian squadron is returning to Italy, having accomplished its object. The Italian papers suggest that it was intended to force the Turks to close the Dardanelles.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 19th.—Italian war vessels have seized a yacht belonging to the Khedive off the coast of Asia Minor opposite to Rhodes.

Newspapers declare that Turkey will never be intimidated by action such as the bombardment of the Dardanelles, which is merely a proof of the weakness and failure of Italian efforts in Tripoli.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 19th:—An official statement says that the fleet cut the cables between Asia Minor and the Turkish Archipelago and sunk a Turkish gunboat.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 19th:—It is reported that in view of prejudice to shipping Government has decided to re-open the Dardanelles.

Reuter wires from St. Petersburg on the 19th:—Russia will protest against the closing of the Dardanelles as contrary to international agreements.

Reuter wires from St. Petersburg on the 22nd:—The closing of the Dardanelles has caused uneasiness in Southern Russia among grain merchants, who are appealing to the Premier to demand the re-opening of the waters. They say that otherwise the heaviest losses will be incurred.

The Porte will reply to-day to the communication of the Ambassadors of the 16th instant regarding mediation in the war. The reply will reassert the impossibility of Turkey negotiating unless the Sultan's sovereignty over Tripoli be recognised.

In the House of Commons Mr. Acland stated that at present there was no blockade of the Dardanelles. Britain had communicated with Turkey expressing the hope that the Straits would soon be opened again in view of injury to shipping. Government believed that Turkey was fully alive to the importance of the matter.

Though the Porte has contemplated the reopening of the Dardanelles the Commander of the Forts has refused to undertake the responsibility in view of the continued presence of the Italians in the Archipelago.

A large number of ships laden with grain are in the meantime held up in the harbour and Bosphorus, presenting an unprecedented sight. The underwriters at Lloyd's are uneasy and chartering for enormous trade from the Black Sea is at a standstill. London and Baltic shipowners are discussing cancellation of contracts.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 22nd:—The Italians have occupied the Island of St. Amalia in the Aegean Sea and have established a revictualling base. The position of the island is most suitable for the repression of contraband.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 22nd:—A telegram from Cairo states that Enver Bey died yesterday morning at Marut from wounds received in the recent fighting. It appears that the Turks are seeking to conceal the death of Enver Bey until the end of the war. In the meantime they announce that the Sultan has created Enver Bey a Pasha and has recalled him to Constantinople to recuperate. Aziz Bey will replace him for the time being pending the arrival of Eyubsalri Bey, who will take the chief command. (*This was a false rumour. See page 367*)

The Madras Presidency Moslem League has telegraphed to the Grand Vizier at Constantinople stating that Indian Mussalmans are entirely against abandoning any rights in Tripoli. The League also congratulate the Right Hon. Syed Amer Ali on the graceful recognition by the Sultan of Turkey of his valuable services to Islam and to humanity, especially those in organising and despatching a medical mission to the seat of war in Tripoli for succour to wounded Mussalman.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 23rd:—The Porte's reply to the Powers is couched in moderate language. It expresses thanks for the offers of mediation, which it accepts conditionally on the maintenance of the effective, integral sovereign rights of Turkey and the Italian evacuation of Tripolitania. Any other solution, the Porte says, is impossible without disturbing the whole Empire. The Note concludes that Turkey is prepared to grant full economic concessions in Tripoli.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 24th:—The Italians lost seven killed and seventy wounded in repulsing attacks on the 23rd instant on the new positions on Macabes Peninsula.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 24th:—A friendly Russian Note points out that the immediate danger in the Dardanelles is removed, and recommends re-opening. It is believed that the Turkish ministers to-morrow will decide to remove the mines.

A message from Reuter's correspondent at Cairo says nothing is known there to corroborate the Italian report of the death of Enver Bey.

At a meeting of Muhammadans held at Medical College Street the following resolution was passed:—That telegrams be sent to Sir Edward Grey, H. E. the Vicere, and the Home Secretary, Government of India, protesting against the extension of Italian hostilities to the very mouth of the Dardanelles in spite of the assurances of the Powers to limit military operations to Tripoli; and as British subjects respectfully pointing out to His Majesty's Government the deplorable consequences of destroying faith in the words of great Powers (including England) by flagrant breach of promise.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Berlin, March 31.

Now that the Venice meeting is over the German semi-official Press condemns as efforts to sow dissension in the Triple Alliance

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all suggestions that a meeting between the German Emperor and the King of Italy might have important consequences as regards the Turco Italian War. The articles in the Italian Press before and at the time of the meeting are forgotten, and the *North German Gazette*, relying on an article which has been put into the *Piopolo Romano*, says that the supposed "disappointment" of the Italian Press at the fruitlessness of the meeting is a fable. These petty Press operations are all in the day's work, but as I have pointed out before, there was no reason to suppose that the Emperor William, when he left Berlin, had solved in an Italian sense the problem created by his ambiguous relations with Italy and Turkey. What would be interesting to know, on the other hand, is what message the Emperor carried concerning a possible extension by Italy of the sphere of military operations. It is reasonable to suppose that His Majesty deprecated any such extension of the sphere of operations. When, a fortnight ago, it was proposed that the Emperor should postpone or abandon his visit to Corfu, the German domestic crisis may have been sufficient reason for such a change of plans, but it appears that His Majesty was at the same time advised of the complications which might arise from his residence in the very heart of the troubled area.

After its reference to the Venice meeting, the *North German Gazette* makes the following careful reference to the present state of the deliberations of the Powers:

As regards the peace mediation it seems, according to newspaper reports which have remained uncontradicted, that although nothing may yet have been done officially in this sense, a parallel action of the five Great Powers in Constantinople is being prepared after the manner of the *démarche* which they undertook in Rome. The question then would be whether the five Powers consider it appropriate to put a question to Turkey as well as to Italy in a friendly but official form concerning her peace conditions.

Rome, April 1.

Yesterday, at Tobruk, the enemy, numbering 3,000, attacked a new fort, but were repulsed with loss by the Italian artillery.

The Turkish report that Derna is suffering from lack of water owing to the cutting of an aqueduct by the Ottoman troops is denied by the Ministerial Tribuna. An attempt to divert the water was frustrated by the Italians.

Constantinople, April 1.

Some anxiety has been caused among the rumours in Constantinople during the last few days by the action of the authorities, who are making preparations both against fire and for the rapid conversion of the schools and other public buildings into hospitals and first-aid stations, and who have issued confidential instructions to all the local doctors and surgeons who are Ottoman subjects. However, there is every reason to believe that these are merely precautionary measures against an Italian naval attack, and are in no way connected with the elections, which will probably be held in a week's time.

Rome, April 2.

A message from Tripoli of to-day's date states that last night a band of about 100 Arabs fired at long range on the Ain Zara Fort without effecting any damage. By means of searchlights, the Italians located the position of the enemy and a few shots by the artillery quickly dispersed them.

Another message, from Tobruk, reports that some bodies of Turks and Arabs yesterday again made several attempts by a harassing fire to put a stop to the work on the new fort but were on each occasion driven off by the artillery and rifle fire of the troops covering the working parties.—(Reuter.)

"The Ottoman Embassy in London is requested by Naschet Bey, Commander of the Turkish Forces in Tripoli, to convey to the British Press and public his gratitude for their generous donations, which, accompanied by the marks of sympathy manifested by them towards the suffering Arabs in Tripoli, have gone a long way towards relieving the distress caused among the population by the war."

Rome, April 4.

Particulars of a slight engagement between Italian troops and a number of Bedouin are given in the following telegram: of yesterday's date from Bengasi:—

"While defence works were being thrown up facing the oasis of Suni Osman, some bands of Bedouin tried to interrupt the work. In order to put an end to these tactics, a battalion of infantry was sent this morning to patrol the oasis supported against attack by another infantry battalion and a field battery. The Bedouin advanced towards the oasis and fired on our troops without causing any loss, but they were immediately repulsed."

"About 10 o'clock one of our battleships opened fire on Coeffia, which is a well-known rallying point for the Turco-Arab forces. Coeffia is situated about five miles from Suni Osman oasis. Following on this bombardment, there was, about 1 o'clock, an extensive movement of Turkish and Arab troops from Coeffia and Sidi Musfer, the men advancing towards the oasis. Our infantry, however, supported by the field battery and the fort artillery, checked the advance immediately, and forced the enemy to take to flight. The work on

the defences was thus able to proceed without interruption. We lost one man killed and one wounded, whereas the enemy had about 100 casualties."—(Reuter.)

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

The *Temps* correspondent with the left wing of the Turco-Arab Forces transmits a brief message saying, that two Italian dirigibles dropped six bombs, of which only one exploded. The remainder were picked up by the Arabs and photographed.

The Arabs continue to attack the Italian lines in small groups, and return bringing back war material of various kinds. On March 8th they even succeeded in penetrating into Ain Zara and set fire to two large buildings—the sole remaining there,—of which one was a dépôt and the other had been formerly used by the Turks as a hospital. The correspondent is of the opinion that the hot season which is now due will prevent all action by the Italians.

The Constantinople correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, whose knowledge of Turkish affairs is unrivalled, reviews the electoral situation in an article which is interesting both from the view it takes of the contending parties, and for the general optimism with which it regards the chances of Parliamentary government in Turkey. "The party of Union and Progress," he says, "which regards itself with some justification as the founder of the new political organisation of life, has in the course of the last Parliament kept a firm hold on the reins of power. Sometimes it would succumb to the fierce attack of the Opposition, and sometimes it would itself undertake a cleansing operation among its members. That was natural. It was only by the gradual separation of chaff from the wheat, and through the fire of the party discipline that it could at all attain the consciousness of its own worth. It has passed during the four years on which Turkish Parliamentary government now looks back through some exceedingly difficult situations which have severely tried its power and existence. Both domestic and foreign policy have played it some nasty tricks, and have seemed more than once to counteract with its success its endeavours to create a united Ottoman fatherland. These have been for the party years of serious test, from which it now emerges from the electoral campaign hardened and steeled."

"Nothing even approximating this can be said of the parties of the Opposition. One misses here entirely anything resembling a programme. The decentralisation of the Administration, and, together with this, the creation of a sort of Federal State, only serve in the hands of these parties as a bait to catch adherents. There has never been any serious intention on the part of the leaders of these parties to carry out the promises they make. The lack of sincerity which pervades their words could only deceive a few Nationalist hotspurs, while producing in the more serious elements of the Opposition a contrary effect. Both the Liberty and Concord party and the minor groups are utterly bereft of conscientious leaders and faithful followers. Besides, the Opposition has never possessed any organisation. It has latterly devoted most of its strength to personal squabbles, which indeed filled the last two sessions of the Chamber. In the course of the electoral campaign it has lost rather than gained in the matter of organisation. The resignation of Damad Ferid Pasha, the Sultan's son-in-law, from the leadership of the Liberty and Concord party has been a specially hard blow to it. This meant the loss of the most brilliant name on its list. The party also showed a complete misconception of the situation when it tried to exploit for its party purposes the war in Tripoli. This cost its parties some adherents."

"On the other hand, the Committee party, enjoying the support of the Government, well understood how to make use of the situation in order to extend its organisation to the most distant corners of the Empire. From the point of view of impartiality this action of the Government cannot of course be justified, nor can one justify the strengthening of the press law and the arrest of a few hot-spurs of the Opposition. The Government and the Committee party, however, declare that, in view of the need for securing the orderly development of government and for counteracting the centrifugal tendencies of the Opposition, the use of the power possessed by them is a matter of urgency and a high patriotic duty."

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST.")

Although no Cabinet changes are at all probable till Parliament has met, there is reason to believe that some of the leading members of the Committee are inclined to criticise Said Pasha's long absence from the Porte, which has now lasted over two months; though the Grand Vizier frequently presides over Ministerial Councils which are held at his house.

The *Jeune Turc* learns that the Grand Vizier, following the advice of his doctors, intends making a cure at Carlsbad.

His Excellency the Turkish Ambassador His Highness Tewlik Pasha had the honour of being invited to luncheon with the King and Queen on 2nd April.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonika, March '90.
THE days pass, and the Italian imbroglio still hangs its weary way, an incubus disorganising trade and the nervous systems of

those living in Turkish seaports. The Italian Government wantonly and gaily rushed their country into a reckless act of spoliation and brigandage, an act in every way contrary to the accepted law of nations and to twentieth-century ideas of civilisation. And with what result? What have their fleet and army really done during all these months? The latter, merely fringing the African coast, is hardly able to hold its own; the former, moving about in an aimless manner, has destroyed two small Turkish gunboats and interfered with a few merchant ships belonging to friendly Powers, while its rulers, ostentatiously rolling up their sleeves, proclaim loudly what they are going to do when once they make a start. Meanwhile, the Italian Government behind the scenes are urging the other Powers to interfere, and to bring pressure to bear on the aggrieved Turk to make peace by accepting all their iniquitous demands. One may be anti or philo-Turk, an adversary or a friend, but there should be a certain amount of justice guiding the conduct of the life of nations as well as of men. In the Italian case what has been done may be in accord with diplomatic rules, but morally it is downright robbery and brigandage. And who are the real sufferers? Mainly the Italians in the mother country, mourning their long list of dead, and their fellow countrymen in Turkey, whose homes are being broken up, and who are being driven forth with their wives and little ones to make a fresh start in life elsewhere. The next to suffer are the other Europeans living in Turkey, whose business is paralysed by the general upset of all commercial affairs. For who dare venture on anything with this bogey of mined waters, blockade, bombardment, etc continually in mind?

Take, for instance, this present week, with the imminence of bombardment or of an unknown danger weighing upon us, and our authorities evidently expecting something to happen, since they called out all the firemen, with their pumps, and have kept them on duty day and night in case of an emergency. That emergency might be the getting out of hand of the native element, with consequent rioting and incendiarism. The German and French Consuls speak of a bombardment as a certainty, and the former, as protector of Italian subjects, has arranged with them that when it begins they shall all take refuge in the German club, while the latter has warned French subjects to prepare themselves by laying in provisions, etc., lest for some days they may not be able to get about freely and may have to remain in their houses. It is said the German Consul officially informed our Governor-General of the arrangements he had made, and was then asked by this latter whether it was thereby meant to imply that he was incapable of maintaining order in the town. The Consul, of course, repudiated any such insinuation, but explained that it had been deemed prudent to arrange with the Italians some common line of action should a necessity arise.

And while all this uneasiness and unrest is caused from without, the interior situation is no less unsavoury. Some few weeks ago massacres in Langaza, two or three hours' distance by carriage from this town, made such a sensation that the authorities had to appoint a commission of inquiry, which, however, never threw any public light on the question. Next some Parliamentary deputies took the matter up, and went to Langaza, with like result. Last of all, our big Reform Commission visited the place with the same object, but they never got to the bottom of that well in which Truth is said to be found. At any rate, nobody was ever brought to trial, and the matter dropped. Now again Langaza is to the fore, and at least some dozen people have been killed and many—including gendarmes—have been wounded in a riot over the elections. Our Governor-General motored over post haste to restore order and to hold an inquiry, but the true why and wherefore of the riot will never be known outside official circles. Whether the instigators were the Union and Progress Committee or the Opposition will remain a mystery, and it is very doubtful that anyone will ever be brought to trial, although our local papers are again loudly calling for justice. One thing is sure: except to the Union and Progress Party, the manner in which the elections are being carried out is causing great dissatisfaction here and everywhere.

Our Reform Commissioners have at last reached Scutari, in Albania, after it had proved necessary three times to clear the road before them with troops and artillery and to subsidise some of the tribes further to protect the route. Perhaps the return journey will be made in a more triumphant fashion.

On April 1st Mr. Mark Sykes asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether certain contact mines in the Dardanelles had exploded; whether any had broken adrift; whether the pilots appointed to take ships through the Straits could guarantee the safety of the course; and whether the British Consular authorities could guarantee the reliability of the pilots.

Mr. Montagu, Under-Secretary for India, who replied, said:— His Majesty's Vice-Consul at the Dardanelles had reported that several mines had recently exploded. It was uncertain whether they were contact or observation mines. No damage had been

done by the explosions, which were all on the side furthest from the channel left for shipping. He had no information that any mines had broken adrift, or that the buoyed channel left clear for shipping was unsafe, or that the pilot ships which were provided by the Ottoman Government were unreliable.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" OWN CORRESPONDENCER.)

Odessa, March 31.

M. Tcharykoff is expected here within the next few days from Constantinople, *en route* for St Petersburg. The metropolitan correspondent of the *Odesski Lystok*, who is usually well informed on diplomatic movements, affirms that the so-called disgrace of M. Tcharykoff has been greatly exaggerated, and that he will later receive another diplomatic appointment, but one of lesser importance than the Pera Embassy. Another local journal yesterday stated that M. Tcharykoff sought permission to wait upon the Tsar at Livadia before returning to St Petersburg, but the request was not acceded to.

M. de Giers, the newly-appointed Russian Ambassador to the Porte, is a son of a former Minister for Foreign Affairs. He is fifty-six years of age. After graduating in jurisprudence at the St Petersburg University he joined the army as a volunteer. He went through the Russo-Turkish campaign, and was subsequently decorated for distinguished bravery. He was afterwards attached to the Foreign Ministry, and on several occasions was entrusted with special and confidential missions. He was successively attached, in a secretarial capacity, to the Russian Legations in the Brazil, the Argentine, and China; he was in Peking during the Boxer Revolt. Later, M. de Giers was appointed Russian Minister to Munich and subsequently to Bucharest, where he remained until his recent transfer to Constantinople.

(FROM THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, April 2 (delayed by Censor)

The question of the concentration of Russian troops on the Caucasian frontier may now be regarded as completely cleared up. The causes of the concentration were neither of a general nature nor did they stand in any relation to the plan for mediation in the Turco-Italian war. They were of a purely local character, being the nature of a demonstration against, first, the tactless attitude of certain Turkish agents in the contested zone between Persia and Turkey, and secondly, against the *milice*, which was not considered as justified, of the Turkish troops posted in localities situated beyond the contested zone, i.e., in Urumia, Hoy, Saou, and Shiplak.

The Acting Minister of the Interior and Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Talant Bey, with whom I had a long interview to-day, furnished me with several interesting particulars—

"We are not putting forward claims of any kind in connection with Urumia, Hoy, Saou, and Shiplak," he said, "but in view of the urgent requests of our Consuls, who complained of their extreme insecurity, we sent out a force of twenty-five soldiers to each Consulate. This number was afterwards increased to about eighty men. General Djabir Pasha is now about to leave on a tour of inspection."

"We are willing to diminish the number of our Consular Guards, and even to withdraw them altogether, if the safety of our Consuls and our *protèges* is assured. As for the contested zone itself, our occupation of it dates back four or five years. A discussion concerning it is about to be opened with Persian Commissioners, and we expect that an agreement will be reached. If this proves to be impracticable, we shall submit the question to The Hague Tribunal for decision."

"It would appear that certain Turkish agents in this zone, urged on by excessive zeal, have established themselves in certain points of the territory which are unquestionably Persian. In addition to this having misunderstood the instructions sent to them, they have made arrangements for taking a census in these districts and for carrying out electoral operations. To counteract this, I have just despatched a Judiciary Inspector, Ali Seyyidi, for the purpose of examining into the matter, and dismissing at once all the Turkish agents found guilty of having acted in this way."

"It follows, of course, that the arrangements for the census and the elections must be restricted to those districts on the frontier which are recognized to be Turkish."

"In these circumstances," concluded the Minister, "I earnestly hope that all misunderstanding with Russia may be explained away, for we have no desire to raise useless differences with our neighbour."

These statements by Talant Bey are in entire agreement with my own information, according to which M. Sazonoff, the Russian Foreign Minister, has on several occasions emphatically intimated to the Turkish Ambassador at St. Petersburg, Turkhan Pasha, the increasing displeasure caused in Russia by the tactlessness of certain Ottoman agents on the Persian frontier.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST.")

In the absence of any apparent consequences of the meeting of the German Emperor with King Victor Emanuel in regard to

the course of the Turco-Italian War, the Italian people seem have acquiesced in the abandonment of the hopes previously formed of diplomatic interference. Fresh exhortations are being addressed to the Government by the Press, to conduct the war with energy to a decisive finish, and the impression is gaining ground that developments may shortly be expected in the military operations. If the Italian Government can, once persuade itself that the task before it in Tripoli may take years to achieve, it is evident that there will have to be a re-casting of the plan of campaign. One of the first steps contemplated is understood to be the fortification, in the place of Tobruk, of the Gulf of Bomba, lying farther to the East, and superior to Tobruk in strategic value. Not only would the new port serve as an additional point from which the conquest of the interior could be undertaken, but it would prove a valuable base for naval operations in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean. There is good anchorage in the bay, which is protected by islands, while the land is abundantly supplied with drinking water, which Tobruk lacks almost entirely. Transports loaded with coal, provisions, and ammunition are said to have been recently concentrated in the Gulf, and the actual occupation of the position may take place at any moment. Meanwhile the building in the occupied territory of fresh forts, which are generally the objects of attacks by the Turkish and Arab forces, continues. This method of enforcing the annexation is necessarily slow, and in the case of a somewhat costly war, particularly exasperating to the temper of the nation. It is, however, the soundest policy, and, however tempting it may be to the Italians to supplement the operations in Tripoli by some cheaply gained success in the Aegean Sea, we trust that they will avoid a course calculated to inflict the maximum damage on Turkey while causing the maximum anxiety to the Powers.

The prolongation of the war between Italy and Turkey causes increasing importance to attach to the attitude of the Senussi towards the invasion of Tripoli. This people is scattered over practically the whole of Northern Africa, but Tripoli is especially their stronghold, and the maintenance of Benghazi and Tobruk, in Barka, as free ports for the traffic in slaves and munitions of war has hitherto been regarded as essential to their independent existence. Turkish relations with the Senussi have been considerably strengthened since 1910, when a Resident was installed at Kufra, the head-quarters of the Sheikh El Senussi, and the latter's cousin was subsequently appointed as Governor of Jarabub, the sacred city of the sect. The Sheikh has recently received from the Sultan a Turkish Order and a jewelled sword, gifts that were evidently intended to induce him to take up arms. So far, however, he has failed to organise a general movement of the Senussi and he is now credited with a definite resolve not to take this step. At the same time he offers no objection to members of the sect taking the field against the Italians. If reports are to be believed, there is little chance of a "holy war" being proclaimed under the Sheikh El Senussi so long as his present capital, which is distant some forty days' journey from the actual theatre of hostilities, is not threatened by the Italians. On the other hand, the effect of the closing of the Barka ports has yet to make itself more clearly felt among this people, and when that stage has been reached it is possible that the independent action of the Senussi forces, in their effort to reopen their illicit traffic may prove almost as embarrassing to the Italians as a holy war. Already, it is stated, the Arab forces now bearing the brunt of the struggle against the invaders have introduced a system of rotation for the men engaged in hostilities, in order that the crops of the various tribes may not suffer while the war is prosecuted without interruption. In respect of food, the Turkish and Arab forces are said to be well supplied, but it is believed that there is some lack of ammunition, for which they have to rely largely upon successful smuggling on the coast of Cyrenaica. This question of ammunition may ultimately prove an important factor in the Tripoli operations. The Turkish forces actually in the field are relatively insignificant in numbers, for the Ottoman Government is making the tallest use of Arab hostility to the Italian invasion. If munitions of war fail, and the Porte is unable to provide any fresh supply on an adequate scale, the Arabs may be induced to take a different view of Italian pretensions.

WE ARE told all good Americans go to Paris when they die, and not a few of them, as we all know, visit Rome ere they depart this life. One of them—a very live one indeed, evidently—has lately written from the latter city to the Editor of the *New York Herald*, explaining, succinctly and forcibly, "Why Turkey Should Be Parcellled Out." As an essay on the gentle art of apportioning the property of others this lucubration is distinctly interesting.

"Who, beside England," this egregious individual asks, "is benefited by the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire?" And he proceeds to answer his own query in his own way, and doubtless to his own great satisfaction, showing, incidentally, how blind the Powers have been heretofore to their own interests. Russia, for instance, "kept from the sea by Turkish territory both in Europe and Asia"; Austria "has Macedonia and Albania on her southern borders

to fall under her rule and give her a magnificent and unrestricted seaboard; Germany "can only hope to secure a Mediterranean naval base or a Mediterranean colony out of Turkish territory in Syria or Arabia", and the appearance of Russia as a Mediterranean naval Power would greatly strengthen the position of France, where her greatest interests are—in the Mediterranean Sea." In fine, "France and Russia on the one hand, and the Triple Alliance on the other, would balance things on the Mediterranean most completely, if they carried out the partition of Turkey outlined above." How simple these little international problems are, to be sure, when once they are grappled with by such a massy intellect as that of "An American"!

There is nothing ill-considered about the project, be it noted. "An American" is not one of those people who rush into print with ill-digested proposals, he has studied his facts carefully and provided for all details. "Russia can find her road to the sea across Mesopotamia, south of Asia Minor, from the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Northern Persia", and "The Peninsula of Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, the Sea coast, and Yemen would give Germany a colonial field sufficient to occupy her for a hundred years, and occupy her with great profit." Note here the precision and meticulous care of the born diplomat! In case Russia should by any chance fail to "find her way to the sea across Mesopotamia" when it became a field of German colonial enterprise, she has a wide road left open to her through Northern Persia and Central Asia, being thus enabled to reach either the Yellow Sea or the Indian Ocean, as she may prefer. And again, though we are not quite sure whether both shores of the Red Sea are to go to Germany, there can be no shadow of doubt that the Yemen is to do so, since it certainly lies within "the peninsula of Arabia." Nor can there be any question that Tripoli, "with the war at an end," is to go to Italy, or that Austria Hungary is to have Macedonia, with Epirus, Albania, and Novi Bazar. For these things are made quite clear by "An American."

The author of this magnificent scheme for dismembering the Ottoman Empire—and, presumably, for extinguishing the Balkan States simultaneously—has not entirely forgotten this country, though his consideration of our interests is certainly exiguous. For this we are thankful. With Austria, Russia, France, and Germany amicably settled round the shores of the Mediterranean—and guarding the route to India and Australia—England might still feel satisfied that all was for the best. Or as he prefers to put it—"With all the countries contiguous to Europe's great inland sea under the control and guidance of European civilisation and commerce—who but England would not be the gainer? And would England lose so much really?" Finally, he has even—*mirabile dictu!*—remembered the Turks, who, he suggests, might be left in possession of Constantinople and Anatolia, "the latter their native land (*sui*), to govern as best they can under the guidance of the Powers. Then Constantinople would not serve to create envy among the Powers." This is thoughtful, if a trifle inconsequential. Unfortunately, we are not told how many square yards of Turkish territory west of the Bosphorus is to be left to the Turks. "An American" should hasten to repair the omission.

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Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 18. Anna 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, May 4, 1912.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1.

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The Week.

Home Rule.

MR. CHURCHILL in moving the second reading of the Home Rule Bill said that Home Rule had never been a separatist movement. The present demand was moderate and reasonable. Never before had so little been asked but never before had so many asked for that little. There was not even a demand for Colonial autonomy. He denied that there were any naval or military risks involved. Assuming a complete divergence of views in the event of a war, the Irish Parliament would not be able to add to our military risks. But he denied the likelihood of such divergence as the Bill would remove every ground for quarrel. Identity of interests would then be absolute and anything that would ruin England would ruin us to Ireland. The gain to the Empire would be of the greatest and risk to Great Britain would be of the smallest.

Mr. Churchill made a strong appeal to Ulster for co-operation. He admitted that Ulster was a serious obstacle to a thoroughly satisfactory settlement. Every citizen was entitled to resist oppression, provided that circumstances were sufficient but here there was no oppression. It would be a great disaster to Ireland if the Protestants in the north held aloof from the national Parliament. Ulster had her duties as well as her rights.

Mr. Churchill continued. The Protestants of the North had a plain duty to their co-religionists in the rest of Ireland and to the self-governing Dominions. Nobody could measure the blessings to Ulstermen of the opportunity of conferring with their countrymen or the fame and honour they would reap if they led united Ireland home. "It is their duty to bring the ship safely into port but if they refuse they shall not obstruct the work of salvage."

Mr. Long said the Unionists were not prepared to desert their Ulster friends and advise them to accept the Bill which will bring not peace but war. There was bitter war in every clause. As regards national defence the Government were not entitled even for the final settlement to incur risks which were undubitably involved. The financial provisions, Mr. Long declared, were unsound and dishonest. The greatest imposture of all was the pretence that the Bill would help towards federalism. The Bill would make federalism ten times more difficult. The Opposition were united and determined not to desert their friends in Ireland and to defend interests common to both.

Resuming the Home Rule debate Sir Robert Finlay warned Government that to persist in the Bill would mean Civil War. Government regarded this as Parliamentary tactics but would find themselves face to face with grim realities.

Colonel Seely said that unless it was assumed that the Nationalist leaders was acting a lie, the House must admit the impossibility of religious persecution or injustice. The question was whether the Nationalist leaders could be trusted. The Opposition had refused to trust the Boer leaders and had prevented the grant of Home Rule to the Transvaal being the gift of the Nation, instead of Party. Were they going to be so mad as to repeat the error? He believed that the Irish people would work the Bill honourably and thus make Ireland the greatest bulwark of British-Irish liberties.

Mr. O'Brien said that the Nationalists had no *arrière pensée* when they stated that it would be their aim to work the Bill if it became law, for the peace, happiness and greatness of Britain as well as Ireland. He criticised the financial provisions as based on mysterious economics to be made by the Irish Government but which were not practicable.

Indians in Africa.

IN THE House of Commons, Mr. Montagu announced that Germany had not yet made any proposals regarding the importation of Indian labourers into Damaraland. Unless such a request were received, it would be premature to discuss details, but speaking generally Lord Crewe was not disposed to encourage any new scheme of indentured emigration from India to places outside the British Empire. Indentured emigration to Damaraland was unlawful and could not become lawful unless the Governor-General of India in Council was satisfied that the country made such laws and provisions as were thought sufficient for the protection of emigrants. In any event, no steps could be taken without an Anglo-German Convention making full provision for the emigrants' welfare.

In the Reichstag during the debate on the Colonial estimates General Liebert, Imperial Party, said that the influence of Indian merchants in East Africa was a serious matter. The English Government which itself took measures against Indian immigration could not complain if Germany did likewise.

Reuter wires from Capetown on the 1st -- The "Black Peril" outcry has been revived with intensity, especially in Johannesburg and Natal, where a number of outrages on white women are reported.

In a debate in the Senate Mr. Munnik (Transvaal) moved a resolution advocating that the minimum penalty for such outrages should be hanging.

Colonel Standford advocated the settling of the Kaffir families in locations and the establishment of a Native Police.

Mr. Hertzog deprecated yielding to sensationalism. He believed that the establishment of locations would be most effective.

Mr. Schreiner, ex-Premier, emphasises the necessity for keeping the natives in compounds.

Mr. Munnik's resolution was subsequently withdrawn.

China.

Information from reliable sources on the Tibetan border has now been received in Simla on the subject of the situation at Lhassa where fighting of a very severe order between Chinese and Tibetans continues. It appears that the Tibetans had lost in all some nine hundred killed and the Chinese three hundred killed. There are now about a thousand Chinese troops in the south of Lhassa, surrounded by a large force of Tibetans who occupy the northern portion of the city. The story of the arrest of the Regent and other Tibetan officials by the Chinese and the burning of Sera Monastery has proved to be untrue. The only Tibetan prisoners of importance in the hands of the Chinese are the wife and children of the Dalai Lama's brother, whose house the Chinese have seized and are now occupying. Several buildings in the south of the city have been burnt but Sera Monastery, Lhassa Temple and the Dalai Lama's palace have so far escaped. The Chinese are hard pressed and want of supplies is telling on them but both sides desire to end these disastrous hostilities. At present, there is no one to mediate but the Tashi Lama's Prime Minister is proceeding to Lhassa from Shigatse to endeavour to aid in this matter as terrible loss of life seems otherwise inevitable.

Reuter wires from Peking on the 29th-- The Advisory Council which is practically a provisional senate was opened to-day. In his inaugural speech Yuan-Shi Kai pointed out emphatically that the most important matter was finance. China at present was unable to pay for foreign capital which was essential. Government was now drafting a scheme of financial and taxation reforms which he briefly outlined. Government was negotiating with the Powers with a view to increase in Customs, abolition of Likin and reduction of export taxes. He hoped that railway and other reproductive loans would pay for themselves, otherwise salt galibette would bear the expense. Yuan-Shi Kai pointed out that it would be necessary to employ foreign financial experts to ensure a correct budget and proper accounting. He hoped the people would abandon their opposition to the development of the country by means of foreign capital and would come to see that that was the best means. In conclusion Yuan-Shi Kai said that the mining laws would be reformed and superfluous troops reduced. The Powers in recent years had shown a just attitude and a desire to assist China for which the Chinese should be grateful.

Afghanistan.

The latest news from Khost Valley shows that no Afghan troops have so far arrived to raise the siege of Matun fort in which Shahgasi and a small garrison are shut up. The Mangals encouraged by the non-appearance of reinforcement have assumed the offensive. On Wednesday some three thousand attacked and sacked Matun Dazar and the environs. The Afghan garrison made a strike from the fort and in the skirmish lost nine sepoys killed. The Mangals who had seven men killed eventually drew off and are said to have retired some distance. No details are available as to the number of the wounded on either side. The Shahgasi did not venture outside the fort during the fighting. There is no news of any Afghan relief column being on its way to Matun, though probably one must be on its way either from Ghazni or the Logar valley.

The Pioneer's frontier correspondent sends the following news regarding affairs in Khost Valley :--

On hearing of the revolt of tribesmen the Amir sent a proclamation calling upon the Mangals, Jadrans and Jagis to submit a statement of their grievances through their headman and warning them of penalties of disloyalty. A number of the Mullahs were at the same time sent to Khost to preach obedience to authority according to the law laid down in the Koran. The Amir has transferred to other regiments the Jagis who were serving as his bodyguard. This step was probably due to the report from Kabul that between one and two hundred Jagi sepoys had deserted carrying off their rifles and ammunition.

Sardar Nasrullah Khan from his headquarters at Kabul has issued urgent orders to the military commandant at Ghazni and Kandahar to prepare columns for movement upon Khost. A force of two batteries, two regiments of cavalry and six battalions of infantry under the command of General Abdul Aziz Khan was formed from Kabul and ordered to march upon Matun. There was a delay owing to transport difficulties. Pack animals and supplies were collected in Jellalabad and Laghman and sent to Kabul. The general direction of the punitive expedition is in the hands of Sardar Nasrullah Khan Commander-in-Chief of Afghanistan.

Somaliland.

THE condition of affairs in Somaliland is shown by the following letter from the Aden correspondent of the *Times of India*, dated Aden, 21st April :—According to reports received last evening from Somaliland by country craft a force of the Osman Mahmood Midjirtains who have suffered much from the Mullah's depredations have attacked Ail, a dependency of Illig, one of the most important ports of Esaa Malimood Midjirtain's lying on the east coast and now held by the Mullah, while the Mullah's men were unaware and captured many hundreds of camels and other animals. On hearing of the Midjirtain's raid the Mullah is reported to have sent a column against Ras Hasoon and other places belonging to the Midjirtains but the result is not yet known. It is rumoured that the Mullah's followers have already occupied Darrow which is about one day's journey from Bunder Kassim.

India Bill.

A SEMI-OFFICIAL copy of the Government of India Bill has reached the Government of India by the last mail. The text will not be published till the Bill is passed. The draft, however, confirms all the leading features of the Bill which have been published in this country. The maximum number of members for both Bengal and Behar Legislative Councils has been fixed at fifty each and the maximum for Assam and the Central Provinces has been left to the decision of the Government of India. The Governor of Bengal has been given the same powers as those exercised by the Governors of Bonbay and Madras and an Executive Council is created for Behar. The bill carries out certain amount of repeals and saves to the Government of India power which they have enjoyed for territorial redistributions and administrative changes.

It is notified that the newly created Bengal and Behar Legislative Councils will be in working order by September. Meanwhile the Bengal Government has been asked to forward draft regulations and no time will now be lost in making a similar request to the Government of Behar.

The Haj.

THE Government of India have issued the usual precautionary notification regarding the forthcoming Haj.

In order to promote the convenience of pilgrims and to relieve the present congestion of pilgrim traffic in Bombay, the Governor-General in Council has decided that for the ensuing pilgrimage and until further orders, the port of Karachi shall be open in addition to the port of Bombay to pilgrim traffic to Hedjaz. The usual precautionary notifications are published in the *Gazette of India*.

Wakf-al-Aulad.

THE Secretary of State has accepted the principle of the Hon. Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah's Wakf Bill and possibly the details will be recast in certain particulars to meet the requirements of the Muhammadan community. The Imperial Legislative Council will proceed with the further progress of the measure next cold weather. This is the first non-official Bill which has so far been accepted by the Government of India and will in the end be placed on the Indian statute book. The Government of India will amend the Bill in several particulars in Select Committee and, if necessary, also in the Council.

TETE À TETE



IN THE ISSUE OF LAST WEEK the Proprietor of the *Comrade* published the prospectus of the series of 3,500 Debentures which he is about to issue in order to set up a press of his own and launch an Urdu daily paper, with a weekly edition also.

The "Hansard" Debentures. It was then announced that informal offers, which had been privately invited only for 3,000 Debentures, had exceeded that number. Till then 533 different gentlemen had offered to take 3,625 Debentures. But during the week that has intervened 78 more gentlemen have offered for 430 more Debentures, and if all these 4,055 informal offers are converted into formal applications, with a deposit of Rs 5 for each Debenture applied for, the Proprietor shall experience something akin to the *embarras de riches*. To prevent disappointment, we should like to point out that "first come, first served" would have to be his motto. He knows only too well that it is not the offer of an interest at 5 per cent per annum that could attract the formal applications, and in fact in many cases interest has been voluntarily relinquished, and some have gone so far as to say that they do not even want a refund of the money. But the generosity that is so lavish cannot be a less compelling motive than the hope of personal gain, and we expect a rush of formal applications this week. Already many have come in, the deposits having been invariably remitted on the 1st of the month, the pay-day in India. Next week we fear—and this fear is too like hope—that there will be a rush of money which the Manager's staff will be unable to cope with. We, therefore, wish to emphasise the fact that unless gentlemen look sharp about it, they may find it difficult to be "admitted into blessing." The burglar who relieved us of six hundred odd rupees and, we trust, taught our Manager a lesson, may, however, know just as well that all cash now finds its way to the Bank daily, and the Bank of Bengal has, at least, better arrangements than our landlord has yet made for the safety of our property.

It is with very great regret that we have to record the death of Khan Baadar Khan Sadiq Ali Saheb, the Late K. B. Viceroy of Khairpur State. He was a man of the old school, of great capacity and experience, and had risen from comparatively poor circumstances to his high office by dint of merit. He was one of the most trusted and tried members of the Sindh Provincial Service, and during his long career as a faithful public servant he earned appreciation and reward at the hands of the Government. His services were lent to the Khairpur State about six years ago, and ever since he served the State with zeal and devotion till the end of his life. Khan Sadiq Ali Saheb was one of the most public-spirited Muhammadans of Sindh and was deeply interested in the spread of modern education amongst his co-religionists. He had thoroughly identified himself with the ideals of the Aligarh movement, was a Trustee of the Aligarh College, and took a very keen interest in the work of the Muslim Educational Conference. It was mainly due to his initiative and endeavour that a session of the Conference was held in Karachi, which greatly stimulated the desire of Sindh Muhammadans for modern education. Besides contributing considerable sums of money from his own pocket to various funds for the spread of Moslem education, he had secured handsome grants from the State for the Aligarh College and the Muslim University. He was at one time the elected representative of the Sindh Muhammadans on the Bombay Legislative Council. By his death the province of Sindh loses one of its leading citizens and the Mussalmans a genuine and useful worker. We offer our condolences to the bereaved family, and trust that the Khairpur State, which has recently acquired some distinction of an undesirable character in the much advertised celebration of its Chief's receiving a G.C.I.E., will select a Viceroy who would lead the State into the paths of progress and productive charity.

WE HAVE received, under a registered cover, the following communication purporting to be addressed to us by Behar and the Hon. Messrs. Mazar-ul-Haque and Sachchidananda Sinha from Bankipore on the 1st May, and, as requested, we gladly

"give to this letter as prominent an insertion" as we did to the statements it seeks to contradict, even though the signature of one of the hon. gentlemen is of such doubtful authenticity that had we time enough to do so, we would have referred to the alleged writer, or, at least, taken the opinion of a handwriting expert. The risk of publication is, however, great, and we may receive another communication next week—under registered cover,—informing us that there was "no warrant" for our having published the letter, which was "absolutely incorrect and without any foundation." In that case, we admit, there would be more real ground for complaint than there is in the present case. The letter runs as follows:—

"Our attention has been called to an article in the last issue of your journal headed 'Behar and the Beharee.' It contains a large number of misstatements, but we have no desire to refer to all of them in this letter. We, however, deem it our duty to take specific exception to one of these, namely, that we went to Orissa 'on the suggestion of His Excellency the Viceroy.' There is no warrant for your having made that statement, which is absolutely incorrect and without any foundation. It is equally untrue that we went to assure our Urya brethren of 'the good intentions and kindly disposition' of the Beharees. We shall be obliged to you by your kindly publishing this letter in the next issue of your journal. We trust you will in fairness to us give this letter as prominent an insertion as you did to the statements it seeks to contradict." Now for a word of explanation. The statement that the hon. gentlemen went to Orissa "on the suggestion of His Excellency the Viceroy" may be even more "absolutely incorrect" than it is stated to be, but we take leave to submit—however feeble our submission may appear by the side of the emphatic manner which should be familiar to those interested in the personnel and proceedings of the Imperial Legislature—that the statement which we published is *not* "without any foundation," and has, at least, some "warrant" for it. We placed our own value on that foundation and that warrant when we published it, but it is open to others to revise that estimate in the light of the following little disclosure. Our informant was no other than one of the two hon. gentlemen who have so emphatically contradicted the statement! We do not publish the name, nor the occasion—yet. We fancy the publication of the statement has already proved a source of worry to the hon. gentlemen, and the publication of the source of our information even in this general manner is not likely to make it less. But the disclosure of the name of our informant would be worse still, though we shall have to do it if pressed by our informant, just as we have had to disclose the general source of our knowledge. We may, however, add that had we understood that the information was supplied to us confidentially we would have never dreamt of publishing it. As a matter of fact, we do not yet see what harm there is in His Excellency's suggesting to two representatives of Behar to go to Orissa and assure the Uryas, and what there is in the publication of such a statement to be upset about—presuming, of course, that it is true. We disavow all evil intentions in the publication, and those who know us would believe in our good intentions as well as in our veracity. That is enough for our purpose. The writers of this letter refer to "a large number of misstatements" in our article, but disclaim any desire to refer to all of them. We have examined the one to which they "take specific exception," and regret that a similar opportunity has not been conceded to us to deal similarly with the rest of the sweeping charge. There is, however, one other statement to which the writers allude, namely, the object of their visit to Orissa. Both the mover and the motive have thus been categorically denied, and we await an equally categorical denial of the motion. We would perhaps wake up one fine morning to hear that they never went to Orissa at all. The Hon. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson has playfully attributed to the Hon. Mr. Gokhale the juggler's trick of forcing the mango tree to grow up from the seed in a few minutes before one's eyes. Would it, then, be strange for two of Mr. Gokhale's colleagues to appear to have gone to Orissa when all the time they were in Calcutta or Bankipore? Alibis are not so difficult of proof after all, and to lawyers too it is a wonderful world, all *maya* and nothing else. And to some, if not to all, truth is stranger than fiction.

WE WERE prepared to hear something even worse than the robbery in Lord Lamington's camp in which Colonel William was alleged to have lost all he had, and which Lord Lamington in the best manner of the English "milord" calls a mere trifle. We wonder to whom Lord Lamington owes this hospitality. Russia is far and yet so near. There is also the Persian Gulf officer of our own Government, who wanted to know whether his lordship, who could at one time be trusted with the governance of Bombay, could also be trusted now to seek the truth unassisted by petty politicals whom he would have ordered about four years ago. But—*Honi soit qui mal y pense!* Hush, that would never do, *mon ami*!

The debate on Mr. Montagu's motion was as discursive as his own statement. The Leader of the Opposition contented himself by saying that the changes had not met with general acceptance, nor were they constitutionally carried out, but that he

would not oppose the Bill because "they would be sorry to deal with anything affecting the Government of India in any way which might be regarded as bringing India into the arena of party politics." We have hitherto been taught to believe that the greatest achievements in British political history, in fact all that is healthy, virile and inspiring in British political life, is the result of the party system. Political philosophers have extolled on the nice balance of the political forces that the great party organisations have achieved and on the natural evolutions of two different sets of ideals, mutually complementary, which are necessary for the administration of the affairs of a commonwealth. If all this is true it is incredible that any responsible British statesman, subscribing to a definite political creed, should be prepared to swallow his principles when dealing with Indian affairs. Are Conservative and Liberal ideals mere political claptrap for securing political power? If there is to be a definite policy in the governance of India, it must have some definite ideals to render it practical and alive. To make Indian affairs a non-party question is to leave India to drift on according to the whim of the moment, without any definite and settled policy. This perhaps explains to some extent the vague Ministerial utterances in regard to the future of this country. Mr. Montagu said that everybody in India had a policy of his own, therefore the Viceroy also thought it expedient to have one. That is why paragraph 3 of the Government of India Despatch came to be written. Well, there have already come to light serious differences of opinion in regard to the meaning of that paragraph, and the leaders of the anti-partition agitation have already declared from the housetops how their energies are to be employed in future. The net result of the changes has so far been this. The methods of political agitation employed in Bengal have received official consecration, loyalty and contentment have been found to be no effective safeguard against neglect the changes, though claimed to have been initiated in response to the "new policy," have appeared to be a concession to a very dangerous agitation. The "new policy" in the meantime, hangs somewhere in the cloudland.

"*Asiaticus*," who is no other than Mr. Lovat Fraser, in the course of his article on "Greater Britain and Indian Moslems and International Politics," in the *National Review*, finds occasion to express some concern regarding the present state of Moslem feeling

in this country. He thinks that "all is not well with Islam in India. The waters are troubled, and Moslems are not quite so silent and acquiescent as they were wont to be a few years ago." He recalls Sir William Hunter's book on "The Indian Mussalmans" in which the author had sought to prove that the whole Moslem community was seething with discontent and even sedition. But "*Asiaticus*" forgets, or perhaps is not aware of the fact that the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had given a crushing reply to Sir William Hunter, who was himself forced to acknowledge that his statements were far-fetched and inaccurate. It was the same Sir William who afterwards, as President of the Education Commission of 1882, praised the loyal character of Aligarh education in the most glowing terms. The Aligarh movement started by Sir Syed Ahmad determined the character of the educational and political ideals of the Mussalmans, and it was due to his "wise and prudent and patient leadership," long before the Aga Khan came out as a public man, that they came to be regarded as "amongst the most loyal and dependable communities in India." The Mussalmans still hold steadfastly to the political faith of Sir Syed, and H.H. the Aga Khan, whom "*Asiaticus*" praises so deservedly, has not thought it necessary to initiate a new policy for his co-religionists. There can, however, be no denying the fact that they have been passing through an anxious period as the result of untoward events both at home and abroad. The affairs in Tripoli and Persia have caused them the deepest distress, which has been not a little "accentuated by the Imperial Announcements." His Highness the Aga Khan, in whose resignation of the presidency of the Moslem League "*Asiaticus*" saw more than "met the eye," feels as strongly as any other Mussalman about Tripoli and Persia. The Mussalmans may not know exactly what England ought to have done to prevent the Italian movement, but they fear Great Britain has not made it clear that she had done nothing that encouraged Italy. They appreciate what the British Government has done in Persia, and regret that it should have left so much undone. It is their unquestioning faith in the sense of justice of their rulers as well as their consciousness of belonging to a free empire that accounts for their trustful appeals to the British Government to help their brethren abroad by restraining the hand of the aggressor. "*Asiaticus*" says that "the Government of India cannot feel very comfortable about the present trend of Mahammedan opinion." If that is so, then there is hope for the Indian Mussalmans, for when

Government feel comfortable about a community, there is reason to believe they do very little for that community.

As we had stated in an earlier issue, we intended to send a COMRADE PARTY to Tripoli for the relief of war sufferers.

Turkish Relief Fund. But failing to get any estimates of the cost from the British Red Crescent Society, and fearing that the funds collected by us would not go a long way if such a Party was sent, we decided at last that we should wait no longer, but send another instalment of £600 to the Grand Vizier at Constantinople. We are making inquiries about the statement, which we were led to publish some time ago on good authority, that funds sent from Turkey to Tripoli had seldom reached its destination on account of money being contraband and the Italians intercepting even the funds of the Red Crescent. We hope to publish, before many weeks are over, a clear statement on the subject. In the meantime, our second instalment—sent, as before, as a Draft of the Deutsch-Asiatische Bank of Calcutta on the Deutsche Bank filiale Constantinople, by the Bank of Bengal here to the Imperial Ottoman Bank in Constantinople—is on its way to Turkey, making the total amount forwarded hitherto by us the round sum of £1,000. But clearly this is a drop in the ocean. For, although good rains have fallen this year in Tripoli after a four years' drought, the response of Heaven being equal to that of the Moslem fighters—and by June ample crops would reward the patience and fortitude of all those engaged in this civilized warfare, in which women and children, the infirm and the bedridden, have to suffer even more than the able-bodied males, there must be money enough for these destitute and hapless creatures wherewith to buy something to nourish themselves. India's contribution has been far smaller than that of other Moslem countries, notably of Egypt Great Britain, which has contributed perhaps more than a quarter of a million for the relief of the relations of those who lost their lives in the sinking of the *Titanic*, has hitherto contributed not even £500 for those who have suffered even more terribly from the brigandage of Italy. But if British "humanity" is so narrow and circumscribed, there's all the more reason why that of the Mussalmans should be more intensive. We would emphasise the fact that in this matter there are no restrictions imposed by Government. His Excellency the Viceroy has already made that clear enough by kindly writing to us on the 7th October last, that there is no objection to our raising funds for such a purely humanitarian purpose. This applies to Government servants as well, for there is no *laissez faire* in England or India which disables public servants morally and makes them "inhuman." There is nothing in such charity which is against the laws of neutrality, and if any Government servant feels a doubt about it, we would suggest his referring his doubts to his superior officers in the proper official manner. We however, confess we have no prescription for those weaklings who, like the rat, fear not the cat so much as her "Mew." All we can say is that the cat is as harmless as it is necessary, and the feline bark is wholly incommensurate with the feline bite. No official dare interfere illegally in the private concerns of his subordinates, specially when they are of such a humanitarian character, and if one does bear a grudge, well, then, something must be risked and something must be endured. After all what is their risk and their endurance to the risk and endurance of their brethren, aye, of their sisters and their little ones out there in Tripoli. This is nothing but the literal fulfilment of the trial of which we have all been duly warned by Allah, "And we will certainly test you with a little of fear and hunger and loss of moneys and lives and produce, and carry the good tidings to the patient that say, when a calamity befalls them, 'Verily we are for Allah, and verily unto Him we are to return!'" Their trial is only of a little needless fear, at the worst, and not even of hunger, while the Turks and Arabs are being tried with loss of lives as well as of moneys and produce. To them we would, therefore, say —

صَمْتْ بِاللّٰهِ مَوْلَى اَنْجِلِي وَطَلَقْ
بِاللهِ عَزَّ بَعْدَ صَمْتْ تِوَالِتَارِ تِو

(Keep thy courage high, for with God and the world, the measure of thy courage is also the measure of thy value.)

The great undertaking begun by the Moslem community with an unusual display of energy and enthusiasm in the beginning of 1911 has almost reached completion as far as it concerns the initial, the most necessary and the most difficult

work, of raising the funds required for the purpose. Only about a lakh more is needed to complete the necessary minimum of 35 lakhs of rupees for the creation of the University. Even this deficiency may be taken to have been practically made up, inasmuch as we have reason to believe that that large-hearted lady, Her Highness the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal, is contemplating to add one lakh more to her already generous gifts in the cause of Moslem education. Nothing can be more fitting and graceful, indeed nothing would go more directly to the heart of her grateful

co-religionists than that Her Highness should come forward to finish the work which she was the first to help so liberally at the outset. We must also record our appreciation of the manner in which the Mussalmans of every class and station in life have on the whole acquitted themselves in their great communal undertaking. It is barely 16 months since the idea of making practical efforts for the creation of the Moslem University was broached by H. H. the Aga Khan, and to have collected Rs. 35 lakhs in the interval from amongst a community by no means superabundantly endowed with riches is not an unworthy achievement. His Highness had shown some dissatisfaction with the progress of the work before his departure to England. However, after surveying the results so far achieved by the University workers, the difficulties they have had to meet, and the colossal nature of the task itself, we are fully persuaded that there has been hardly anything serious to justify pessimism. The response to the appeal has been throughout ungrudging. Our wonder is not that the response has been so generous—no one who knows how lovingly the ideal of Sir Syed had been cherished by the community can be surprised at that—but that the money should have been so speedily realised. Those amongst the University workers to whose silent and steadfast devotion the present success is mainly due deserve the special thanks of the community. We may also note here that a considerable number of the promises yet remain to be realised. We hope efforts to collect these will not be relaxed, if indeed they are being made at all, even though the minimum has been subscribed, for no one can honestly believe that a great University requires no more than 35 lakhs of rupees. The Hon. Mian Mohamed Shafi in detailing the work done in the Punjab has said that the amount promised on behalf of the Province has been already collected. He, however, includes in his calculations the donation of the Bahawalpur State, which, if we remember aright, was distinctly excluded from the promise when it was made at the University meeting held at Lahore. Be that as it may, there can be no questioning the fact that a considerable amount yet remains unrealised in the Punjab and elsewhere and it would be much more to the purpose if organised efforts are made even now to collect it. The most important work now lying ahead of the University Committee is to move the Government to undertake necessary legislation as soon as possible. We hope the Hon. the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad will speedily call a meeting of the Constitution Committee and arrange the necessary consultation with the Government with a view to introduce the University Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council in its Simla session. Now that the required amount of money has been collected, the Government would, we trust, lose no time in helping forward the project at its present stage. The frank and very distinct pronouncements of the Hon. the Member for Education, particularly at the last annual Session of the Mohamedan Educational Conference at Delhi, leave no room for doubt that the Government will promptly and whole-heartedly co-operate with the Moslem leaders in their efforts to bring about a speedy realisation of their great educational scheme. The Bill should be ready for introduction in the Simla session. We think it would be altogether unnecessary to refer it to the Local Governments for opinion. It does not embody an administrative measure for the consideration of which local knowledge and experience are necessary. Besides, the Government of India and the Secretary of State have approved of the creation of the Moslem University in principle and it would be a waste of time to invite Local Governments to express their views on a matter already settled.

The Opening of the Dardanelles. The decision of the Turkish Cabinet to re-open the Dardanelles in spite of the immense risks involved in such a step may not have been arrived at with a sole regard to the military exigencies of the situation. Indeed, there are ample grounds for thinking that European diplomacy has been at work at Constantinople to induce the Porte to take advantage of the perils threatening the safety of the Turkish shores in the interests of European commerce. It is impossible to believe that the Powers would have dared to interfere with any other country in the exercise of its unquestioned right to concert measures for self-preservation. As the *Statesman* rightly observed the other day, it is Italy that has broken her pledge by her wanton attack on the Dardanelles; let the Powers therefore exercise pressure at Rome if they desire to keep the Straits open. Interference at Constantinople is exactly what Italy desired to bring about by her naval demonstration. And even if we for the moment disregard the cynical injustice involved in this act of coercion to which even European diplomacy can hardly supply a parallel, the success of the Italian *coup* in this particular part an entirely fresh complexion on the mediatory efforts of the Powers and their solicitude for honourable peace. The last shred of faith in the proposed mediation being disinterested and fair has disappeared now that the Dardanelles question has revealed the true character of the motives that inspire those pacific professions. "Now that Italy has wantonly provoked the closing of the Straits," wrote the *Statesman*, while commenting on the situation a few days ago, "it would be monstrous for any Power to attempt to force

Turkey into re-opening them without proper guarantees." But the Straits have been re-opened, doubtlessly at the requests or representatives of the Powers and without any guarantee having been supplied. This eventuality was clearly foreseen by the *Empire* on the 2nd instant in its brief but fair-minded and admirable survey of the situation. "The Italian game in the Dardanelles," said our contemporary, "is being played with loaded dice, but the chances are at present all in Italy's favour, unscrupulous as she is. The closing of the Dardanelles must inevitably bring about the interference of the Powers—one can almost see Sir Edward Grey being pulled into the struggle in spite of desperate efforts to keep his footing. Yet if Turkey opens the Dardanelles in response to a requisition of the Powers, what is there to prevent the Italian fleet from making another dash at the channel and perhaps squeezing through?" In spite of this patent danger to Turkey the Dardanelles have been opened, and no one in his senses can believe that Turkey has opened it of her own free will. We should like to know what the share of our own Government under Sir Edward Grey has been in this melancholy business, but Lord Morley's reply suggests that it has not been in considerable, nor such as would please the Turks. Is that how a Liberal Government would broad base the Empire on the people's will? And is this British neutrality?

CONGRATULATIONS to Democracy! The unspeakable Turk was said to be manipulating elections to his Chamber, and Liberalism—and, for the matter of that, Toryism even more than Liberalism—was wroth. But in Persia our British Democracy and Russian Autocracy or Oligarchy or whatever else they call the negation of right and justice—are jointly advising the Persian Cabinet "to remove the Extremist element from the Democratic party whose action is not consistent with patriotism at a time when Persia desires to be on friendly terms with Britain and Russia and when the united action of all parties is necessary." We wonder whether more jests have been perpetrated in the name of Democracy, or of Patriotism or of Civilization. Any way, "remove" is good and "united action" still better. But the best is the Democracy of Sir Edward Grey. Who says Democracy cannot govern an Empire? The man who said that did not know the pale grey Liberalism of British Democracy.

Feminism and a Feminist. One of the knottiest problems which stare both East and West in the face is the question of woman's position in the world, and although man has hitherto believed that man is not only man, but also master of her fate, this question will have to

be solved by allowing woman to have a preponderating voice in the settlement of her destiny. It is her economic slavery which has reduced her to her present position and when Islam gave woman as complete a control over her property as to man, it indicated the direction which her emancipation was to take. Europe boasts a lot about the status it has given to woman in society, but a cynic would have a certain amount of justification in declaring it as the result of his analysis of woman's rights and privileges that she is only a glorified housekeeper and a sanctified odalisque. It is certain that European women are not content with their present position, and however much one may regret that freedom is only too often abused and turned into immoral license, and that some very silly tactics are used by the militant section of women in pressing their claims, it is undoubtedly that the Rights of Man are often the Wrongs of Women. Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Christabel Pankhurst believe window smashing would sunder their chains but Mr. Justice Beaman, who published the other day in the *Times of India* a brilliant psychological study on the situation created by the *Titanic* disaster, would like woman to hug the chains and spare the windows. Professor Dicey says in his classical work on the British Constitution that Parliament can do everything except make man a woman or woman a man. We wonder whether the judiciary in India has the powers that are denied in England even to a Radical parliament, for, if so, Mr. Justice Beaman's glowing account of woman's privileges would make a world of men rush to the Bombay High Court to be unsexed. It is Mr. Justice Beaman's contention that the eight hundred million women of the world—or whatever else their number is—should thank their stars that God created them women, and remain in economic bondage, because once in a blue moon—we hope the blue moon would seldom occur in the calendar—some sixteen hundred men will go down to the bottom of the Atlantic, giving women and children and the Director of the shipping company the monopoly of life-boats. It does not occur to him that many of these privileged women—left without the prop on which womanhood has leaned for so many centuries that it has lost the strength to stand erect without it—would soon yearn for death rather than live a life without the bread winner. No; there are only too many women who would willingly change places with men rather than rejoice in the possession of all the privileges which Mr. Beaman would continue to them. However, it was not for such reasons that some women changed their

attire and vocation in Tripoli. A message received in Rome stated that a legion of one hundred women armed and mounted have arrived in one of the Turkish encampments. We hope Rome has also received a message from America stating that one of Mr. Justice Beaman's disciples dressed in woman's attire—warrant the most rational costume for the occasion—arrived—though not with a flourish of trumpets—in the lifeboat full of women and children that the officers of the *Titanic* had lowered when the disaster occurred. Here was a Feminist of a somewhat unusual character, though we learn that others among the steerage passengers of the *Titanic* were so anxious to follow his noble example that they would have jumped into the boats as they were being lowered even without the appropriate make-up. Of course, both he and they hailed from gallant Italy. Perhaps the Italian Chamber and the Senate, that annex countries with little ado, have more powers than the British Parliament, and can also turn men into women, even though we have not yet heard of the reverse process.

Rubber informs us once more of the outcry against the "Black Pearl" in Johannesburg and Natal on account of a number of outrages on white women.

An outrage is a sin as well as a crime, and, black or white, the same Decalogue and the same code of human laws apply to both. But, as we wrote once before quoting a candid and fair minded Colonial official who was both a European and a Christian, the Whites in the Colonies do not set a very Christian example to the Black savages. Not only are their own lives among themselves often unequal, but many a Black home has been ruined by the forcible intrusion of some White bird of passage who could not afford the price of a White marriage and had no horror of sin. Be that as it may, we would like to ask two questions of Mr. Munnick of the Transvaal who moved a resolution in the Senate advocating that "the *minimum* penalty for such outrages should be hanging." Our first question is, *if hanging is to be the *minimum* penalty, what is to be the *maximum*?* And our second is, which does Mr. Munnick object to, the crime or the colour?

We publish elsewhere a letter from the Hon. Mr. Jevanger of the East Africa Protectorate, whose cause

East Africa and German Logic is our own and with whom we have naturally every sympathy. But we would, in passing,

like to inform him that the *Zebra* was not such a poll tax as the one now being introduced into East Africa. It was a graduated tax, and was levied in lieu of military service by Islam, just as conscripts can now buy themselves off by means of commutation money in European States. We publish in the news of the week a telegram stating that Germany is anxious to get the Indian hewers of wood and drawers of water to develop Damaraland just as British Colonies have done, and that where her Colonies have already been developed, she is following the British Colonial example of disapproving of the presence of Indians there. Lord Cunard must no doubt find himself in a tight corner in the Damaraland Indentures question, but the German logic about East Africa is absolutely unanswerable. Said General Liebert: "The English Government which itself took measures against Indian immigration could not complain if Germany did likewise. Very true, indeed. We can all stretch ourselves to the full British measure, fill out our chests, clear our throats, and proudly say, 'Civis Britannicus sum' (I am a British Citizen.)

We had received numerous telegrams about Enver Bey as our contemporary the *Empire* has mentioned in a kind paragraph, before we were able to publish the forcible of Field Marshal Shevket Pasha's cablegram, and were thus assured soon enough that what little praise we showed was justified even from a business point of view. But we must confess our own anxiety about the fate of the gallant Ottoman was no less than that of our readers, and it was in a great measure with a view to remove our own suspense that we had cabled to the Field Marshal. Now, Reuter must know that out of 70 million Mussalmans in India some at least, and that several thousand subscribe for daily papers and thus fill the Baron's pockets, and had his agents looked at the matter in a business-like way, they would have anticipated us and themselves cabled the truth from Constantinople. But it appears that they know nothing of the intense feeling existing in India on the subject of the war, and think it would interest India more to know how a boxing contest was decided in England than to learn how the Italians had lied in killing one whose name first became familiar to us through the panegyrics of Europe and Reuter. We may add that on receipt of the news from Turkey we immediately communicated it to the Associated Press, whose agent wired it all over without delay. A similar communication was made to Reuter's Agency, but they had no use for the information. Evidently

they think that because all roads at one time led to Rome, to-day all wires must issue from Rome. So far as India is concerned, almost all newspapers published the information, and some, like the *Empire*, did it as prominently as possible. But that dear friend of the Mussalmans, the *Pioneer*, had perhaps the excuse of the overfed—too much pressure on space. Instead of publishing the news of Enver Bey being in good health it electrified its readers with the all-important news that Arnt, the champion sculler of the world, had arrived in England for his match with Bearly, and that some one who had organised the Indian business of some one else was dead. Well, we do not quarrel with the *Pioneer*. Its silence is exceedingly eloquent to Moslem ears, and the Services whom it represents will not be overjoyed when the bill of costs is presented some day. But our Lahore contemporary, the *Tribune*, has selected the best method of appropriating the warmest corner in Moslem hearts by telling us that our cabled inquiry was "too much ado." We hope it will permit us to correct it as to the facts and say that the news from Rome was never "contradicted." Had it been so we do not love the Telegraph Company sufficiently to have wasted our money. Our contemporary falls foul of us for our note on Enver Bey and italicises its concluding portion in this manner—"Were he to die there, how many of us would not envy him such a death in preference to all we have here?" It then comments with that masterly sarcasm which we have learnt to associate with it. "We did not hear before that the *Comrade's* household was so extended and that the *Comrade's* in particular was so full of martial spirit, neither is it quite clear how Enver Bey belongs to 'us' of India. Great is Pan-Islam." We have yet to understand the allusion to our household, but if it refers to any interest that we may be taking in Turkish affairs, we can only say we are humble followers of our contemporary's zeal for freedom from China to Peru. As for "Pan Islam," we would suggest the dropping of the "Pan" as well as of "ism," for Islam, plain and simple, has hitherto served the same purpose for Mussalmans equally well. It is an article of every Moslem's creed that all Mussalmans are brothers, and if some of 'us' in India claimed Enver Bey as a brother it should not have startled the *Tribune*. If we are not mistaken, its own brotherhood is also expanding, and one of its pet politicians included "my brother the sweeper" in its extensive "household." These are early steps, and we have hopes that before long the *Tribune* would recognise that the world is wider than the portion of earth contained in a circle with a 4-inch radius from the neither extremity of its nasal organ. We would suggest to it to persevere. As for martial spirit, who could escape the contagion of Bengal when even the far away *Tribune* could envy the death of Khudiram Bose and Kanhaiyal Dutt? Great is "Pan Islam," but oh, how ever so much greater is the "Nationalism" of Bengal as transplanted in the Punjab!

Now that the Secretary of State's sanction has been received to the principle of the Bill introduced last year by the Hon. Mr. Jinnah in the Imperial Legislative Council, we hope the promoters of the Bill will try to get it passed into law at any date in the next winter session of the Council. We have already discussed in some detail the provisions of the Bill. It is intended, in brief, to remove the disability created by the decisions of their Lordships of the Privy Council that militate against the Moslem Law of Wakt, and render it unknown for a Musselman to create a wakf of his property in favour of his family, children, and descendants. The Moslem law on the subject as expounded by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had given birth to a widespread feeling and agitation amongst the Mussalmans, and the Bill now before the Council represents an overwhelming volume of Moslem opinion on the subject. We are glad the Government of India and the Secretary of State have recognised the necessity of legislation in order to bring the existing law into conformity with the spirit of the Moslem Law of Wakt. There is room for amendment in the minor provisions of the Bill which, of course, will be fully considered at the Committee stage. The main consideration is to preserve the principle of the personal law of the Mussalmans. The measure is only of a permissive character and it is, therefore, not likely to be opposed by the few Mussalmans who have somehow or other failed to approve of its principle. We may also urge on the Mussalmans in response to whose wishes the Bill has been framed to study it fully in every detail and in all its bearings now that its enactment has been practically assured. A measure depends for its success mainly on the working of the details and it not seldom happens that a minor detail, badly conceived and ill-considered, vitiates the utility and purpose of the whole measure. We would suggest that the title of the Bill be altered into the Wakt Declaratory Bill and that it should be confined to a bare statement of Moslem law.

The Comrade.

Morocco.

I

More than twelve centuries after its contact with Islam, Morocco, the Maghrib-ul-Aqsa or Farthest West of the Mosalmans, has passed into the hands of a Christian Power. France acquires a country which—even after the French usurpation of Figig, Ighi and Tunt oases as part of Algeria, in 1900, when England was busy in the Boer War—exceeds in area the whole of France. Morocco is estimated to be 219,000 square miles, or almost exactly the size of Upper India, including the United Provinces, the Punjab and the N.W. Frontier. It exceeds Algeria—for which Abdul Qadir, the persevering, brave and chivalrous hero of Islam, had fought against France for 30 years—both in population and area. It is a third of Persia in size and maintains, according to one account, more than half, and according to another, a little more than the whole population of Persia. Morocco is now lost to Islam as a world power, and to the coloured races, and yet Europeans and Christians continue to talk of the Black Pearl and of the Revolt of Islam. The Peril is all the other way, and when the international "deals" of Christendom continue to be so manifestly unrighteous and un-Christian, it becomes difficult to deprecate Pan-Islamism even if it means what Europe has so often pretended to believe.

The footsteps of Islam were first imprinted on Moroccan soil in 682 when Arabs came under Uqaba. Twenty years later, Musa ibn-i-Nusair made a successful expedition as far as Tafilalt and the Dra'a. In 710, a force of 10,000 Arabs and Egyptians under the great Tarik held Tangier, and so rapid was the effect of these pioneer enterprises of Islam that a year later 20,000 Berbers were enrolled for the invasion of Spain in Europe. But the foundation of the Moslem Empire of Morocco was laid by Idris, a fugitive descendant of the Prophet, in 788. For 200 years this Arab dynasty ruled the north of Morocco, but was displaced partly by the Miknasa in 925, and wholly by the Maghraoua in 988. Both these were Berber, and Arab rule then ended in Morocco to be restored after the lapse of no less than five or six centuries. But the touch of Islam was enough to transmute the Berber, and the flame of the Murabits and Muwahhidis, the "Almoravides" and "Almohades" of Europe, overspread the whole civilized world. The rule of the former lasted from 1061 to 1143, in which period they conquered the rest of Morocco and most of Spain and Portugal. Under the "Unitarians," who ruled from 1145 to 1242, the Empire of Morocco in Africa included Algeria, Tunis and Tripoli, and Egypt escaped only through the prowess of Saladin. They have left many architectural monuments of theirs, including the towers of Seville, Rabat and Marrakesh, the Torre de Oro at Seville and the Gibralfaro Castle, besides the towns of Rabat and Alcazar. With the fall of the Almohades, the Moorish Empire of Spain dwindled to the kingdom of Granada. Two other Berber dynasties ruled in Morocco, the Beni Marin for two centuries, and the Wattasid for half a century or more. During the rule of the latter, the Amir of Granada returned with the Moors who were treacherously expelled by Charles V. from Spain, and built the city of Tetuan.

But early in the sixteenth century a new power began to gain strength in the South. This was the Sa'adi or Hasani dynasty of Arabs, who had originally come from Yambo and had settled in the Dra'a district. They too were the descendants of the prophet, and laid the foundation of the Sharifian Empire of Morocco, which has now fallen into the hands of France after a rule of nearly four centuries. Although Spain was no longer a Moorish kingdom, the Moors still possessed a great status in Europe. Ahmad IV "the Golden," entered into friendly relations with Elizabeth and other European potentates. His son Zidan twice obtained assistance from Charles I in order to subdue rebellions. The best indication of the position of Moors, however, is not to be obtained from historical but from literary sources. Othello, the Moor of Venice, when he marries Desdemona—the daughter, as Iago reminds him, of a "magnifico" who "hath, in his effect, a voice potential as double as the duke's"—repplies without any attempt at boasting

"I fetch my life and being
From men of royal siege; and my dement
May speak, unbanded, to as proud a fortune
As this that I have reach'd."

Again, Portia is wooed by the Prince of Morocco as well as by the Prince of Arragon, and talking of his deserts *apres* pos of the silver casket, which bears the legend, "who chooseth me shall get as much as he deserves," the Prince of Morocco says.—

"I do in birth deserve her, and in fortunes,
In grace, and in qualities of breeding."

Such, indeed, was the pride of Moors that Ismael wanted a daughter of Louis XIV. in marriage.

This, then, was the position of Morocco and her Princes when modern European States began to make themselves felt

beyond Europe also. But the people of Morocco were also building up fame for themselves through the terror they inspired in Europe by their daring piracies. The Moorish rovers had a sort of State subsidised navy of privateers, and in their descent on European coasts they went as far as Devon and Cornwall, carrying off the population of whole hamlets. Sali, Mehediya, Larache, Tangier, Ceuta, Tetuan, and Badis were their principal rendezvous. They flourished throughout the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, and reached the zenith of their power during the latter part of the 17th century. That was just the period of British and Spanish naval enterprise, and it is something to have put Europe in fear at a time when Drake and Frobisher flourished and Spain could send out an Armada, or when Cromwell had developed the navy of Great Britain and made it a power in Europe. The States of Europe were compelled to pay large ransoms for their captive subjects, and later on purchased immunity for them and their vessels by paying annual tributes, some countries continuing the payment well into the 19th century.

But while Morocco was levying this *chauvin* on the high seas, European traders were settling in the country, and paving the way for diplomatic negotiations and treaty privileges. Foreign trade was encouraged by the State, and thus originated all the rights enjoyed by foreigners in Morocco which have now resulted in the Moors' loss of the Empire itself. The Sa'adi or Hasani dynasty ruled till 1658, when another branch of the Arab Sharifs, the Filali, overthrew it, and is now in its turn subdued by France after a rule of two and a half centuries. Under the reign of Suleiman II. (1795-1822) piracy was abolished, but the policy of having as little as possible to do with Europeans, which lasted for a century, was initiated. It cannot, however, be said that this policy succeeded. For when Moroccan rovers ceased to trouble Europe, Europe began to trouble the Moroccans. There was a brush with Austria in 1828, and when France stepped into Algeria in 1830, a war had to be waged over the partition of that country, and again, in 1844, over the terms of peace arranged after the first war. Sali, whence the rovers used to sail out, was bombarded in 1851, and the French secured the settlement of many claims.

More recently, Morocco had difficulties with Spain. When in 1859, Abdul Rahma died, and his successor, Sidi Mohammad, had to defend himself against other candidates for the throne, some raids by Moroccan troops upon Spanish and Franco-Algerian territory gave to Spain the not unwelcome opportunity of taking up the sword against her old opponent in the Islamic world. War was declared, and in the following year, the Spaniards, advancing southwards from Ceuta towards Tetuan, and gained a victory in the vicinity of the latter city. The peace negotiations which followed this defeat of the Moors led to no result, but another defeat forced them to accept an amnesty which led to the peace of Tetuan on 26th April, 1860. A small tract of land was surrendered, Spanish missionaries were allowed to pursue their vocation throughout Moroccan territory, and the war indemnity of 100 million *reals* was imposed. In the reign of Mulei Hassan, in 1880, a Conference was held at Madrid to determine the extent of the protection which may be afforded by foreign Consuls to Moroccan subjects. In 1893, a Spanish fort near Melilla was attacked by the Kabar, and when they had been finally reduced to submission by the combined Spanish and Moroccan troops, Morocco concluded, in 1894, a treaty with Spain, whereby the Sultan pledged himself to punish the Kabar, to establish a neutral zone round Melilla, and to pay a war indemnity once more of 30 million *pesetas*.

But in spite of the troubles with France and Spain, the Sultan retained his power almost unimpaired. For centuries the treatment of foreign envoys in Morocco was most humiliating, the presents which they brought being regarded in the light of tribute. It was not till 1900 that the custom was abolished of mounted Sultans under umbrellas receiving European ambassadors on foot and barcheaded. But Hassan III. was the last of the great rulers of Spain. Although mild in disposition, he succeeded in subduing one by one the Berber centres which had revolted against the Sharifian authority. He died in 1894, and left for Abdul Aziz, a minor son by a Circassian slave, the heritage of a great but greatly coveted Empire. So long as Si Ahmad-bin-Musa, the Chamberlain who had become vizier, had the control of affairs, things are said to have gone on fairly well. But he died in 1900, just as his ward gained majority, and the last decade has seen the ruin of Morocco by those methods which are associated, in the language of the Tartuffes of Europe, with the civilizing mission of the West.

If report speaks true, Abdul Aziz had in him the making of a good and amiable ruler. But that was not what Europe wanted. With the lies of a sanctimonious civilization on its lips, it pandered to his worst traits and squandered his treasures. The process of "peaceful penetration" was not peculiar to Morocco. It is typical of modern European diplomacy,—and its various steps have been well described by Thrasymenes—"just returned from Asia" and "a good deal of an expert in this business of Imperial expansion"—in a Socratic dialogue on "Integrity and Independence."

dence," which was recently published by that brilliant Radical journal, the *Nation*. So well has the history of Morocco in recent years followed these steps that we venture to give a long extract from the dialogue. Says Thrasymenes:—

"So the first steps are in no sense political. Indeed the Imperial power is careful to keep quite out of sight. It simply allows or encourages some of its citizens to enter the country it has marked down for ultimate absorption, as traders for their private profit, as explorers, or as missionaries. And when the country is a little better known, and sufficient confidence of its rulers has been won or bought, other citizens obtain permission to work mines or plantations or to lend money to the rulers of the inefficient State."

But are not these commercial and other dealings very dangerous for those who undertake them?

Why, yes, indeed, but these private dangers are the very seeds of Imperialism.

How do you make that out?

Well, you see, it works like this. In simple, backward people, each of these intrusions makes for general disorder. The traders, who bring guns and strong drink, foment intestine feuds, new trade routes act as a demand for brigands, the miners and other foreign settlers get at loggerheads with the inhabitants, and, last of all, generous loans stimulate extravagance and make for bankruptcy.

Best of all, indeed! But how can the noble fruits of civilization grow from such hateful weeds as these?

Ah, it is just here that we enter the arena of our act. The disorder thus produced becomes intolerable. The property, nay the very lives of our valuable subjects are imperilled. These cry out to their government to save them. And so the government, which has been waiting, has them to intervene.

You mean it annexes the country?

Why, no such thing! Nothing could be further from its action or professions—at this stage. It merely intimates that compensation must be made to its injured subjects, and that better order must be kept than an inefficient government is capable of keeping. And next, as the disorder continues, it offers its disinterested advice and assistance to enable the rulers to perform their duties in a more satisfactory manner.

But does not this move arouse the very suspicion which you said just now it was so desirable to allay?

Why, yes, it does. And this is where the moral capital of an efficient Imperial race comes in so useful.

What exactly do you mean, Thrasymenes?

I mean the faith or confidence which the rulers of the backward state will naturally repose in the plighted word or declaration of a great civilized state. For the stage we have now reached is one that requires this pledge.

What pledge do you mean?

I mean a bold, uncompromising undertaking to maintain for ever the integrity and independence of the backward state. For only by this means could an open rupture of relations be avoided and the game of peaceful penetration be continued.

I quite realise the value of such a pledge. Nor this I apprehend is the precise point where the political process of absorption really begins.

Yes; and that is why the pledge should be given with full formality. And if there should happen to be two Imperial Powers alike devoted to this civilizing mission who will jointly pledge themselves to this sacred duty, so much the better, for the moral security is doubled.

But may they not find it inconvenient at a later stage to keep this pledge?

That indeed, O Socrates, may well happen. But in that case they will redeem it by another pledge of greater value.

But what can be of greater value than independence? broke in Eubulus.

Nothing, perhaps, for you with your narrow nationalism. But others would hold that a larger, truer liberty is found in forming part of a great civilized Empire.

In Morocco the first result of "the generous loans" that "stimulate extravagance and make for bankruptcy" was the revolt of the Berber tribes of the Algerian frontier under Er-Roghi, nicknamed Bu Hamara, and the vicinity of the domains of France to the disturbed area creates a suspicion and other evidence proves to the hill, that these troubles were "the very seeds of Imperialism" that were sown by France. Abdul Aziz was too busy with the toys of his new civilization, his bicycles and gramophones and things far worse than these childish gew gaws, to be able to deal with these troubles, and France offered its "disinterested advice and assistance" to enable him to perform his duties "in a more satisfactory manner." A French loan was obtained for the reorganisation of the army, with the result that more bicycles, gramophones and cameras were purchased, and Fez became a little more Parisian in its night's entertainments. Raisuli, a local Sharif, became master round Fes and created a false impression abroad as to the state of the Empire by capturing people and holding them to ransom. This, then, was just the opportunity when "the moral capital of an efficient Imperial rule comes in so useful" and be it said to the glory of Lord Cromer that it was he who showed the way of Imperialism to France. He persuaded Great Britain that a free hand in Egypt was worth more than any interests that could be acquired in Morocco. M. Cambrai, who was representing France, and had twice visited Morocco to study the problem on the spot, completely outwitted Lord Lansdowne. If the *extente cordiale* was desirable enough in itself, there still remain to consider the questions whether it was worth what England was induced to give for it, and whether the greater part of the price was at all England's to give. We shall not, however, discuss here what Morocco means to England and to France, but proceed with the narrative. In fact, there was no talk of giving and taking. There was only "the plighted word or declaration," but not of one "civilized power" only. France and England both pledged themselves not to alter the political status of Morocco and Egypt. One pledge is already broken, and unless England is content

to get the worst of a bad and an unrighteous bargain, the other must also go the same way to form a paving stone in hell. On the 8th April, 1904, the Anglo-French Agreement was signed, and Britain's astute ally—in this anticipating that other "great grey ally of ours" who brought Germany round to recognise her sphere in Persia—concluded a Secret Agreement with Spain also in the following October, with yet another in 1905.

A disturbing factor, however, now intruded itself on the scene, marring the peacefulness of this bartering of empires in the political market-place of Europe. That was the War Lord of Germany, who, desirous of "a place in the sun" for himself, sallied out to Africa with an open umbrella to shield Moslem Kingdoms and with the much advertised intention of being the Protector of Islam. On the 31st March, 1905, the Kaiser landed at Tangier and conferred with the Sultan's representatives. Veiled but easily intelligible promises of help led the Sultan of Morocco to reject the ample programme of reforms sketched out by disinterested France. He demanded a Conference of the Powers which M. Delcassé opposed strongly on behalf of France. Count Bülow, the German Chancellor, was, however, too menacing, and the French Foreign Minister resigned in June. France then agreed to the Conference, which met at Algeciras in Spain on the 16th of January, 1906, 13 delegates representing Morocco, the European Powers, and the United States of America. Russia had no direct interest in Morocco, but a Russian Legation was speedily set up at Tangier with all its appurtenances to give colour to Russia's claim to be represented, so that France could get another unrighteous vote in her support.

The result of the Conference was the Algeciras Act signed on the 7th April, 1906, and accepted by the Sultan on the 18th June following. After final ratifications it was deposited at the Spanish Foreign Office on the last day of the year 1906. Treaties in Europe have not always proved too sacred to touch, and it is too late in the day to complain of their violation. What is astonishing, however, is the indecent haste shown in tearing them up which is characteristic of the eventful first decade of our new century. It took even Russia half a generation to alter in 1871 the provisions about the Black Sea fleet and fortifications contained in the Treaty of Paris of 1856. The Treaty of Berlin of 1878 has been torn to shreds by Austria and Italy a whole generation later. But five years are enough for France to-day to accomplish that which it took Russia 15 and Austria and Italy 30 years, and which Great Britain, after the same period has not yet attempted in Egypt. The provisions of the Algeciras Act could not have been forgotten so soon, but we recapitulate them for ready reference. Under this agreement a Moorish Police force, 2,000 to 2,500 strong, commanded by Moorish Chiefs, assisted by French and Spanish instructors and officers, and inspected by a Swiss Inspector-General was to be formed and distributed among the eight Moroccan ports. This arrangement was to continue for five years. A State Bank with a concession for 40 years was established with the monopoly of the right of issuing bank notes, and to act as treasurer and paymaster of Morocco, and the financial agent of its Government at home and abroad. Its working was to be observed, but not directed, by four censors appointed by the Imperial Bank of Germany, the Bank of England, the Bank of Spain and the Bank of France. Provision was also made for the acquisition of land round the ports by foreigners, and, as a consequence, for the payment by them of regulated *erb* taxes. There was to be a more efficient control of customs. The authority of the State over public service and public works was recognised, and the Powers, suspicious of France, insisted on an impartial treatment of tenders for public works. Above all, the independence and integrity of Morocco were guaranteed by all the signatory Powers, and as the Anglo-Russian Convention guaranteeing the independence and integrity of Persia was not signed until more than a year after, the Eastern world, at least, understood that the dramatic intervention of the Kaiser had saved Morocco from the clutches of France and Spain. But in less than six years the triple principle of the sovereignty and independence of the Sultan of Morocco and the integrity of his States, on which alone, according to the Algeciras Act, order, peace and prosperity could be based, has been finally swept away. The pledge which Europe and America had given with due solemnity and full formality in which not only one Power or one Continent, but the whole of Christendom stood security, has been broken. Thrasymenes would call it, "a redemption of the pledge by another pledge of greater value." "But what can be of greater value than independence," the East, intoxicated with the new wine of the West—would inquire like Eubulus, and the West—that had so long scoffed at the world-conquests of Alexander and Tamerlane, and the liberty-crushing rule of Nadirshah or Napoleon—having now described the complete circle of modern civilization, from barbarism back to barbarism, would answer with Thrasymenes, "an expert in this business of Imperial expansion, just returned from Asia," "Nothing, perhaps, for you with your narrow nationalism. But others would hold that a larger, truer liberty is found in forming part of a great civilized empire."

Othello.

We HAVE been lucky in Calcutta during the last six months in the way of receiving the visits of two good *repertoire* dramatic companies performing something more serious than the *Chocolate Soldier* and more tragic than the *Count of Luxembourg*. We had first a fairly long visit from Mr. Allan Wilkie, then one from Mr. Matheson Lang, followed by another from Mr. Wilkie, and now we have Mr. Matheson Lang and his company once more among us. Our readers would remember that we wrote in two successive issues of our paper somewhat lengthy and fairly exhaustive critiques on the performances of Mr. Wilkie and his company, and though we could not unfortunately find sufficient space during an exceedingly busy and eventful political season to note in equal detail on the still more interesting and artistic performances of Mr. Lang, nor find it easy to do so now that he is once more delighting crowded houses in spite of a very disintegrating weather, we are anxious to associate ourselves with the chorus of praise that greets him every night in the playhouse and every morning—including the afternoon of the *Empire*—in the press.

Mr. Lang's exquisite Hamlet, and his interesting Charles Rex in *Sweet Nell of Old Drury*, reminiscent of Mr. Fred Terry, had already captivated us when we went to witness his performance of "perhaps the greatest work in the world," according to Macaulay, and "the most pathetic of human compositions," according to Wordsworth. We of course refer to the greatest masterpiece of Shakespeare, namely, the Tragedy of Othello, the Moor of Venice. On the last occasion when we commented on Mr. Wilkie's performance of this play, we had stated as follows—"Our own conception of the Moor is that of a great volcano with tremendous passions dormant beneath many a thick stratum of self-control, or of a mighty river harnessed by the master mind of an engineer who knows the laws of forces and motion and has provided with his skill and art a dam even more powerful than the strength of the element for all foreseen contingencies. But Iago's villainy, being almost superhuman, is an unforeseen contingency. There is at first an occasional rumbling below that is in marked contrast with the idyllic scenery of the hill-top. The water at flood time breaks through the dam here and there which is instantly repaired. But at last the 'self-government' of the Moor fails in its sustained struggle against the fiendish perfidy of the Venetian. The crater bursts and a lava stream of passion, an avalanche of hot blooded rage rushes down. The dam bursts and the surging flood sweeps everything before it. The force of the onward rush is all the greater for having been checked so long. The castle that had defied the cannonade so long begins to crumble at last, and the very strength of its adamantine walls increases the loudness of the report when they fall and leave it a massive and even a beautiful ruin."

But while praising the magnificent rage of Mr. Wilkie and his splendid passion in the love scenes, we had occasion to confess that the picture as painted by him lacked definiteness. The light and shade were not brought out as clearly as they should have been. The outlines were not sufficiently distinct. Although there was no monotony, the whole gamut was not played. The expression of feeling was superb, but the repression was not fully brought out. What the Moor did we all saw. But what he had resisted we did not see equally clearly. We do not wish to make odious comparisons, but for the benefit of those of our local readers who saw Mr. Wilkie's performance and have not seen Mr. Lang's, we should like to mention that the defects which we had noted above were almost wholly absent in the latter's impersonation of the Moor. There is a good deal of light and shade in the performance of those magnificent third and fourth Acts which show the ruin of a grand personality and make the triumph of vice over virtue so phenomenally artistic. But for an ideal performance much more time is needed than even the four hours which Mr. Lang required, interrupted as the performance was by frequent and fairly long intervals. It is by unduly hurrying over these two acts that even the best of impersonations may be spoilt, and conviction so reluctantly formed by the noblest and most unsuspecting of natures may be mistaken for a fit of jealousy. What we want are long silences interspersed with the well timed and diabolically subtle hints of Iago, which visibly change the settled convictions and firmly held beliefs of Othello, as a chemical re-agent changes the colour or consistency of a solution under examination in a test tube. Mr. Lang, we have no doubt, is the last person to call Othello jealous, and he laid clear emphasis on that beautiful exclamation which escapes the self-restrained Moor. "But yet the pity of it, Iago!—O Iago! the pity of it, Iago!" There is no more pathetic wail in the whole field of literature than this which is wrung from the heart of one of the noblest and manliest of men. The pathos is not the weak sentiment which usually goes under that name, but contains in it a world of tragedy, the tragedy of intense love and abiding despair.

But, as we stated on the previous occasion, the forces of evil in Othello's case, unlike those of other heroes of Shakespeare's tragedies, are wholly external to him, and resemble the indiscriminating and inexorable destiny of the ancients, against which he struggles to the last, blindly, incoherently and vainly, "a Laocoön amid the ser-

pent's coils." The unrelenting character of that destiny has to be brought out in the performance of Iago. The impersonation of Othello has this disadvantage that as his character, unlike Hamlet's, is not entirely formed from within himself, and as he is not the sole interest of the drama, no Othello, however excellent himself, can succeed on the stage unless there is an equally excellent Iago to bring out the gradual transformation of the Moor in the very sight of his poisoner. It would be possible for Mr. Forbes Robertson to act the ideal Hamlet with a fifth-rate company to assist him. But Othello cannot be rendered satisfactorily with one-star company, even if the star is most resplendent in the whole firmament. The unrelenting serpent with its coils is no less necessary for the picture than the writhing form of the Laocoön. Such is the importance of the character that Sir Henry Irving is said to have played the characters of Othello and Iago on alternate nights. Well, Mr. Vane is not an Irving, and we hope he will not take it ill if we suggest that a character to which Irving alone could do full justice was beyond his powers. He has the fault of the rest of the company, barring Mr. Lang, that he is only too often indistinct.

Among the men, Mr. Holloway as the Duke was exceedingly good, and we would suggest his trying the rôle of Iago. Mr. Thorndike's Roderigo was an equally good impersonation of the habitual dupe as contrasted with the Moor whom an Iago alone could deceive. But Brabantio was frankly horrid, and we would request him to redeem his own natural voice from the pawnshop instead of speaking in those awful accents which he seems to have borrowed. Mr. Vigors' Cassio was good, but it could have been better and more Southern in its loving for loving's sake. Among the ladies, Bianca was inexplicable, but the Emilia of Miss Marion Lind was very good and exceedingly clear, even if a trifle melodramatic. We wish we could praise Miss Hutton Britton as highly as some of our contemporaries have done. The part of Desdemona needs little elocution and much expression, but the little it needs must be there. In this case, however, expression had to do duty for elocution also, because Miss Britton was seldom distinct, specially in the bedroom scene. And the expression, too, was far too angelic for the part, for Desdemona is not a shy, retiring damsel, but as sparkling as she is innocent. She is more startled than meek, but Miss Britton did not bring that out clearly. In the earlier scenes, however, she was excellent, but in the later scenes she became inconsistent.

We should also like to add that we were no less puzzled than "A Presidency College Undergrad.", who writes to the *Statesman*, by the topsy turvy scenes as arranged by Mr. Lang. There is neither a warrant in Shakespeare for Act V scene i preceding Act IV scene iii, nor is the new arrangement artistic. It is, in fact, manifestly absurd for Emilia to be present at the scene of Cassio's attempted murder and thereafter to assist calmly at unrobing Desdemona for the night and discussing the infidelity of women in the way of a gay yet good Venetian matron. "Merely A Soldier"—and a silly one at that—who replies to the "Undergrad." asks him if he has ever seen the death of Desdemona in any other but the last act in any production. Nobody has, and nobody says it should occur anywhere else, but Shakespeare never arranged the unrobing of Desdemona in the last act and Mr. Lang has. This is all that the "Undergrad" and we object to, and while we are prepared to accept the Pharisee's confession that he does not presume to be a "student" of Shakespeare like the "Undergrad," we are also prepared to doubt if he is, as he claims, even "a humble reader." There is nothing of humility about him and little of reading—unless we include in that term a vast but not too wise reading of "up-to-date novels" which commence new chapters with, "We will now take our reader back, etc." We trust he will also take the "reader" back, and try to become a student before he bursts out as a critic.

While on this subject, we would, however, like to dispute the statement of the "Undergrad" that "Othello was a Venetian in everything except his birth and name." As for the name, we do not think that Othello occurs in the *Heautontimouthi* of the Italian novelist, Giraldi Cinthio, from which Shakespeare is said to have borrowed the plot. Stevens first pointed out that the name "Othello" is found in Reynold's *God's Revenge against Adultery*, standing in one of his arguments as follows—"She marries Othello, an old German soldier." Mr. Rawdon Brown, on the other hand, maintains that a certain Cristophal Moro was the original of Cinthio's *Il moro di Venezia*, the word "Moro" signifying in Italian either a blackamoor or a mulberry tree, and he points out that three mulberries were part of this Moro's insignia. It is, at any rate, clear that whether the mulberry tree and Moro were mistaken for a blackamoor, or whether Othello was a German soldier, it was certainly not a Moor's name and does not sound like one's at all. By birth Othello, as we know him, was a Moor, and he is proud of fetching his life and being "from men of royal siege." But he was evidently a Christian, and bore not even as much love for "a malignant and turbard Turk" as the Balkan Committee or even the *Times*. But, as for his culture, we have no warrant for saying it was characteristically Venetian, even though "Merely A Soldier" assures us that "doubtless Shakespeare intended us to believe that Othello was a Venetian in everything

but birth." "Undergrad" only objects to Mr. Lang's "radically Oriental mannerism—from his profound salam to the uncouth gestures of a noble savage." But "Merely A Soldier" goes further than mere manners, and does not mean to be very complimentary to Othello and to non-Europeans when he alludes to the old saying, "what's bred in the bones," etc. All the same, "Merely A Soldier" has happened for once to "strike oil." We detest sweeping generalisations such as Oriental habits and the Eastern mind, but if there is any distinction at all between East and West—vague and unscientific as these expressions are—then Othello leans more towards the East than the West. He is what the name of the play signifies—of Venice, yet a Moor. In this connection we would draw the reader's attention to a remark of Othello's in Act IV., scene i., that has not perhaps received notice in this connection. When Othello spies on Cassio and overhears his laughter, he, believing it to be a jest of Cassio's about his easy conquest of Desdemona, exclaims bitterly "Do you triumph, Roman? Do you triumph?" Now Michael Cassio was not a Roman but a Florentine, but in Morocco the men of the West are in general called "Romans" to this day, and in his distress Othello's inborn racial prejudice finds expression in this epithet.

It is certainly more artistic to dress Othello as a Moor and give him the manners and gestures of the East. It is not of this that we should like to complain. In fact, we would have complained if Mr. Lang had appeared in doublet and hose and had manners even remotely suggestive of a Venetian sot. What we complain is that the "profound salams" were too stiff and mechanical, and irresistably led us to think of Hamlet's description of those actors who, like the creations of Nature's journeymen, "imitated humanity so abominably." Othello's gestures were also uncouth, and even though "Undergrad" has chosen in "noble savage" an equivocal expression, they resembled in one instance, the "sprint" of the savage in Act III., scene iv., those of a savage more than those of a nobleman. It must not be forgotten that the Moors had ruled Spain and civilised Europe, and unless Mr. Lang wished to convey the idea that Othello ran away from the temptation to strike a woman which did not clearly appear—we should think Mr. Lang's "bolting away" was more like the flight of a blackamoor than of a Moor of Venice.

Then comes the colour question. We think Mr. Lang was fully justified in treating the expressions quoted by "Undergrad" as due to the most deeprooted and ancient prejudice of mankind, that based on colour, which magnifies the slightest difference in the pigment of the skin. Surely an Indian student need not go very far in search of this phenomenon. At one time colour distinguished the Aryan from the non-Aryan in India, the land of the Varna Dharmas, and to-day that ancient prejudice often makes a European Aryan call an Asiatic Aryan a "Nigger" with an expletive. When Lord Salisbury could call Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji a "black man," surely Brabantio and Roderigo, Iago and Emilia could have done the same four centuries earlier. The last criticism of the "Undergrad" was that Mr. Lang's Othello did not actually die upon a kiss, and Mr. Lang's martial defender interprets the failure as a suggestion that Othello, the murderer, was not worthy of a kiss and would have sullied Desdemona's lips. The price of a good woman is, indeed, above rubies, and Desdemona was a truly good woman. But how much higher Othello is in moral stature cannot perhaps be realized by such solidly critics. In fact, the remarks of "Merely A Soldier" show that he too is labouring under the colour prejudice of Brabantio and Roderigo, and thinks that Shakespeare wrote this magnificent tragedy all about the falling out of an Indian student who had married a Bayswater "slavey" on pretence of being a live Raja.

Verse.

Sonnet.

I STOOD before my buried youth and called :
Come back! come back! now have I found the truth,
I've found the worth of many verdured youth
On this sad crag whereon I stand appalled
To view its barren veins and fruitage bald ;
Come back my summer days ! for age uncouth
With noisome weeds has sown the garden smooth
Where erst I held my rarest blooms unwalled.

Too late ! too late ! you reap as you have sown ,
You should have cared in spring for winter needs ,
But now is summer waned and autumn flown ,
Half hoar with early frost on upland meads ,
'Tis late to turn, my loitering friend, move on ,
Nor leave behind your weary load of weeds .

WARISH.

CORRESPONDENCE



Poll-tax on Indians in East Africa.

To THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR.—When a few weeks ago, I published my little pamphlet *"An Appeal of the Indians in East Africa"* describing in detail the various disabilities which my countrymen there are labouring under, I little dreamt that I should be called upon so soon to protest against a piece of proposed legislation of the Government of East Africa, highly unjust and injurious to the interests of the Indian Community residing there. I learn that the Government have on their legislative anvil a bill for imposing a poll-tax indiscriminately on all the "non-native" population in the Protectorate and that it has been even read a second time. Shortly put, the bill contemplates a levy of Rs. 15 annually from every "non-native" male of eighteen, whether he be rich or poor. The term "non-native" in the bill means all outsiders including the Europeans and the British Indians. So, if the bill be passed into law, as it probably will, considering the present constitution of the Legislative Assembly there, every male British Indian in East Africa shall have to pay Rs. 15 on every April 1st. In default of payment the defaulter is liable to be prosecuted, fined and even imprisoned. Not only that, his property will be attached and sold, if necessary. But into the details of these I need not enter here.

Now it is true that this bill professes to make no invidious distinction between the Europeans and the Indians, and the Indians, therefore, have no sentimental ground to oppose the bill. But when we remember that the number of British Indians affected by the levy of this new tax is nearly 25,000, while the Europeans can count scarcely 2,000, it will be clear that, in effect, the whole brunt of this tax will fall on the Indian section of the population and it is the Indians alone who will have to pay by far the largest portion of the proposed tax.

Again, most of the British Indians in East Africa are labourers and artisans and their monthly incomes vary from Rs. 15 to Rs. 45 only, whereas the Europeans form a wealthy class; they earn fat salaries. To the latter a yearly payment of Rs. 15 is not a burden. But to an Indian, whose monthly wages do not amount to more than Rs. 20 or 25 (the number of such Indians is very large) a poll tax of Rs. 15 means an unmitigated hardship. I cannot do better than quote from a memorial, submitted to the Governor of East Africa by the British Indian Community, protesting against the proposed tax.

"In the first place we would state that His Most Gracious Majesty rules over no subjects more dutiful, more faithful or more law-abiding than us your humble petitioners, and that we fully recognise that it is a duty incumbent upon us to bear a fair share in the cost of the administration of the Government of this Protectorate. In times past, we and our fathers before us have done our duty in opening up and developing the country and thus it is not now our desire to shirk responsibility in the future."

It will be noticed that while protesting as they do emphatically against the poll-tax, the British Indians are most willing to pay any other reasonable and equitable tax that Government may levy. The Memorialists further urge—

"Your Excellency needs not to be informed that the British Indian Community is at least ten times more numerous than all the European population combined, so that consequently our fellow-countrymen would have to pay a greatly heavier percentage of the proposed tax, and this although we are denied equal rights and privileges as enjoyed by other communities.

"If wealth were equally distributed among all the members of the non-native population this might not be inequitable, but it is unnecessary to argue that such is not the case for it is a well-known

fact to your Excellency, that the large majority of British Indians in the Protectorate are drawn from the poorest classes consisting of labourers and artisans, a class of the greatest importance at this time to the country, while on the other hand among European population few are to be found belonging to this class."

It is needless for me to say how odious and unpopular the very name of poll-tax is. It has got the most unsavoury historical associations. It at once calls to our mind the names of Richard II and Wat Tyler the rebel, of Aurangazeb and his Jasia. Historians, ancient and modern, have with one voice condemned a capitation tax levied in any country and in any time. Indiscriminate taxation is always fraught with possibilities of a serious mischief and cruel oppression on the population concerned. In East Africa the Indians are already struggling against the grave difficulties and disadvantages, resulting from a policy of unequal treatment and colour distinction. But this atrocious measure, if passed into law, will further reduce them to a state of utter poverty and starvation. It is understood that the third reading of the bill has been postponed till the next session of the Council, probably in deference to the opposition of the European Community, who oppose the bill on the well-known principle of "no representation, no taxation." They refuse to pay the tax, which is levied by a legislative council, where their interests are not represented. The Indians, too, have got the same ground to oppose the bill, though, in addition to it, they plead inability to pay such a heavy tax. I hope the East African Government will realise the disastrous consequences with which the bill is fraught and will drop it like a hot potato. It is a measure which is unpopular both with Europeans as well as the Indian element of the population. Its introduction has caused widespread unrest and deep anxiety among the Indian Community. It will lead to a strenuous opposition on the part of the people in future. I have, therefore, thought it necessary to enter an emphatic protest against the bill and bring the injustice to the notice of the Indian people and the British democracy. We can only wait to see whether the East African Government carries the outrageous bill in the teeth of such a strong popular opposition.

I have the honour of being the Indian Member of the local Legislative Council; and one would naturally ask why I should not attend the Council and there oppose this hateful measure. In fact one of the white papers "The Leader of B.E.A." has, while criticising my Appeal as a misguided one, actually accused me of shirking my duty by my continued non-attendance at the Council Chamber. To those who do not know the conditions in East Africa it would appear strange that instead of fighting within the Council I should have chosen to absent myself from the scene and to work for my countrymen either in England or in India. To such people I may say that my past experience does not encourage me to attend the Council. It is a hopeless task for a single Indian member to fight against tremendous odds. The Council is packed with a Government majority and European representatives. I found it to be a sheer waste of time and energy to fight against an interested majority who refuse to be convinced and to consider any other interests than their own. Hence, my absence from the Council Chamber.

A. M. JEVANJEE.

Police Court Buildings.

To the EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE"

Sir,—If there is any one matter which calls for the immediate attention, indeed I should say, action of the Government, it is the unhealthy condition under which the Presidency Magistrates work from year's end to year's end. The rumour that the Police Courts were about to be transferred to the buildings where the Military Department was located was received by the Magistrates with satisfaction, by the practitioners with joy, by the public with approval. Hitherto the Chief Magistrate, who have been working under high pressure in a room devoid of ventilation, have suffered grievously. They have suffered in health and have had to seek a more healthy environment. The present incumbent, hard worked as he is, has borne the inconvenience so far, but is it possible for him to continue for long under circumstances so obviously adverse? The Chief Magistrate's room is crowded to suffocation from 10 A.M. to 12 noon, that is, till he has distributed the cases to his subordinates. Ought not he to have a room more spacious than the one he now occupies? But if the Chief Magistrate's room is bad enough, what must one think of the rooms in which the 3rd, 4th and 5th Magistrates work? Only the other day I happened to be in the room where the 5th Magistrate dispenses justice. It is a dark, dingy room—cell would be the proper word for it. Nor are the 3rd and 4th Magistrates better off in this respect. It is perfectly scandalous that such things should be suffered to go on without being remedied at once. Is it any wonder that the Health Officer has declared the building to be absolutely unhealthy and unfit for human habitation? We have a number of public buildings to spare now. Why can the Police Courts not be transferred to one of them?

Objections have been raised to the removal of the Police Courts to the Military Secretariat buildings. They seem to be purely fanciful. It is suggested that the Curzon Park would become a den of thieves and pick-pockets and it is suggested that the fair face of Chowinghee would be polluted by the presence of the most undesirable sections of the community of Calcutta, viz., the criminal classes. It is suggested that we shall have cigarette sellers, betel sellers, *biri wallahs* roaming about the streets *ad libitum*. Indeed objections of a multitudinous character have been raised. But if Lall Bazar has not become a den of thieves and pick-pockets, why should we assume that Chowinghee will?

No! there is a reason for this protest which is made in the fair name of the public. The landlords will suffer. The rents might go down. It is this which is haunting the critics of the transfer of the Police Courts to the Military Secretariat buildings. Their selfishness is much too thinly veiled not to be detected and we trust that the Government will not be dissuaded from a measure which public policy imperatively demands.

JUSTICE.

Essays : Indian and Islamic

To the EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE"

Sir,—In spite of our extensive knowledge, we, educated Indians, have not learnt the art of criticism and when we stumble over this field, we commit as many mistakes as are expected from a man who does not know what he is talking about. Mr. Ghulam Ali Saqlain's criticism gives us a typical example. Khwaja Saheb is famous throughout India owing to his historic war against the Moulavies. But I am afraid, he is better suited for gladiatorial combat, with the antiquated Lucknow Ulemas than for a fight with a poor business-like barrister, who, unlike Moulavies, has not the advantage of an *law*.

Khwaja Saheb dislikes the use of the expression, "the founder of Islam," and denounces the idea that many Islamic dogmas were borrowed from Judaism and Christianity, because, in his opinion they refute the doctrine of *حی و ابی*. But Mr. Saqlain forgets that the author is writing an historical essay and not a religious tract. It is not the province of history to enter the psychological regions and show how Mahomed was inspired, but to narrate plain statements without concerning itself with supernatural agencies. That many dogmas of Islam were taken from the earlier Semitic religions, is only too true to be denied and I do not think it is justice to abuse a man for his candour.

Another cause of Khwaja Saheb's annoyance is, that it may not pass for the average Muhammadan opinion. I do not think my esteemed friend, Mr. Salabud-din Khuda Baksh, presumes to express the opinion of the Muhammadan world. His essays are the result of his own reflection and judgment, which, fortunately, he is not sparing in imparting to the world at large.

The basis of Khwaja Saheb's criticism is a thing of the past. His contention is not on the historical ground, but on the religious.

Before denouncing the author in such strong terms, I think Khwaja Saheb would have done well to go through the book carefully.

GHULAM WARIS.

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Some Muslim Ladies of Lucknow, through Mashir Husain Qidwai, Esq., Bar-at-Law, money for Fatihah	40 0 0
Amount received during the week	... 210 4 0
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Total Rs.	15,716 12 6

Morocco.

News of the Week.

REUTER wires from Tangier on the 26th — One hundred and seventy-five of the Shereefian Cavalry encamped at Arcana under the command of a French Captain have deserted with their arms and horses.

It appears that 51 Jews were killed and 36 wounded during the revolt at Fez.

REUTER wires from Paris on the 26th — Six thousand Jews who escaped from the Fez massacre are completely ruined and have taken refuge in the Sultan's garden. The only shelter they can find is provided by empty cages in the Sultan's menagerie. Tents are being erected for those unable to find shelter.

Both France and Spain are largely reinforcing their troops in Morocco, where there is undoubtedly serious ferment, as exemplified in the rising at Fez, disaffection among the foreign drilled Moorish troops and a marked revival of activity among the Rifians.

REUTER wires from Paris on the 27th — General Lyautaud had been appointed Resident-General in Morocco.

Despatchers from Fez show that before signing the treaty with France granting that country a protectorate over Morocco, Mulai Hafid insisted on abdicating, declaring that he became Sultan as defender of Morocco against foreign intrusion. At the instance of the French Consul, however, he decided to await the arrival of M. Regnault in order not to show disrespect to France. When M. Regnault arrived, Mulai Hafid repeated his wish to abdicate, declaring that the French had deprived him of all power. Finally M. Regnault succeeded in gaining the Sultan's confidence and induced him to sign the treaty, pointing out that international necessities were involved.

News by the English Mail.

Paris, April 8

A TELEGRAM from Rabat announces that General Ditté's column on the 5th instant repulsed a strong attack by the natives near Machel. The enemy were driven off after a fight lasting 13 hours — (*Reuter*.)

Paris, April 1

A telegram of yesterday's date from Ujda states that at daybreak on Tuesday a force of about 2,500 Beni Warain Berbers made a fierce attack on a French reconnoitring party under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Feraud at Mahir Idza, on the Hammam river, to the west of Debiu. Lieutenant-Colonel Feraud at once delivered a vigorous counter attack and repulsed the *Harka*, pursuing straggling parties of fugitives for about six miles. The *Harka* left behind a large number of dead.

On the French side about 20 men were killed, including one officer and four non-commissioned officers and 60 wounded, including three officers and a non-commissioned officer. (*Reuter*.)

(FROM THE "STANDARD" CORRESPONDENT)

Madras, Mar. 4

In well informed circles the belief is held that though the Franco-Spanish negotiations with regard to Morocco may suffer a temporary interruption, owing to the nature of the French demands, there is no fear of a diplomatic rupture. Spain knows that she has an impregnable position in the Treaty of 1904, and the tacit support of the Powers, who could hardly desire to see Morocco completely absorbed by France. Out of the 185,000 square kilometres recognized under the Treaty of 1904 as Spanish territory in Morocco, France demands the cession of 140,000 kilometres, and rather than submit to such a demand Spain would invoke arbitration.

(FROM THE "MORNING-POST" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Paris, March 26

It is announced that the Minister for War has drawn up the following scheme for the composition of the Shereefian Army —

The Shereefian Army will be under the command of a General or Lieutenant General, who will be subordinate to the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of occupation in Morocco and eventual Minister for War. The Army will consist, first, of the Shereefian Guard stationed at Fez and responsible for the security of the Sultan, and, secondly, of the Moroccan Army, which will co-operate with the French Army of occupation. The Guard, which will be commanded by a French officer assisted by a Kaid, will consist of the General Staff of the Guard, the Sultan's Band, two battalions of infantry, including one negro battalion of two companies, two squadrons of Cavalry, including one negro squadron, one mountain battery, and ambulance. The Moroccan Army will consist of nine Infantry

battalions, five squadrons of Cavalry, four batteries of Artillery, one Engineer battalion, and commissariat.

Compulsory service will be imposed on the tribes as their administrative organisation proceeds in compensation for the advantages which they will obtain. In order to bring the Shereefian troops up to full strength by 1st January 1913, the enlistment of volunteers will continue.

(FROM THE "NEWCASTLE DAILY CHRONICLE")

Confirmation has been received at the Quai D'Orsay of the report that Sultan Mulai Hafid has duly signed the treaty placing Morocco under the protectorate of France. The news is all the more satisfactory owing to the rumours recently circulated that the Sultan was in a strange mood, and that unexpected difficulties might be created by him and the Maghzen. M. Regnault has accomplished his task successfully and expeditiously, and it now remains for M. Gouraud in Madrid to complete his work. The Franco-Spanish negotiations seem happily to be taking a more favourable turn. France has agreed to renounce her claims to Cabo Agna, and the questions relating to the Spanish zone on the left bank of the river Lukos and the basin of the Urgha are susceptible of arrangement with a show of good will on both sides. A satisfactory termination is, if not exactly in sight, not very far at any rate round the corner.

(FROM THE "MORNING-POST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, April 2

It is announced that M. Regnault, the French Minister at Tangier, who has just obtained the signature of the Sultan of Morocco to the Treaty of Protectorate, has been nominated Commander of the Legion of Honour.

It is announced that the Treaty of Protectorate, while based on the Treaty of Bardo, also contains clauses analogous to those of the Convention of Marsa of 1883 and of the Decrees of 1884 and 1885, which explicitly established the French Protectorate in Tunis.

It is stated that the Sultan intends to have the Treaty explained and commented upon for the benefit of the principal tribes before it is formally published.

With regard to the reservation of the rights of Spain, it is said that as the situation is as yet uncertain, both as concerns the relations of Spain with France and of that Power with the Sultan, the French Minister has informed Mulai Hafid that the question will be decided by a later arrangement.

Madrid, April 2

El Mundo to-day states that the French and Spanish Governments have reached an agreement regarding the bases of the Morocco Treaty now being negotiated between them. Spain, adds the newspaper, will renounce her claims in the plain of Uigha, and will also cede to France a broad belt of country on either side of the route of the proposed railway from Tangier to Fez. In exchange for these concessions Spain obtains fresh territories to the north as the result of which the Spanish zone will be extended as far as Tetuan. — (*Reuter*).

(FROM THE "DAILY CHRONICLE" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, April 2

Great satisfaction was felt in Paris the other day when news was received that Mulai Hafid, the Sultan of Morocco, and M. Regnault, the French Minister, had signed the Treaty whereby France assumed the protectorate of Morocco. Since the signing of the Treaty Mulai Hafid has granted an interview to the *Advertiser's* special correspondent at Fez. Referring to the question of the protectorate, Mulai Hafid expressed the joy he felt in collaborating in all sincerity in the task which France is about to undertake in Morocco.

"France," declared the Sultan, "will fulfil her task in Morocco with gentleness, persuasiveness, and benevolence."

"Certainly France is a powerful nation, which could impose her *régime* by force; but what would happen if she acted in that manner? She would dominate the people by fear and terror. Now that method would involve great sacrifice of men and money, and, in addition, when, for any reason whatever, there was a diminution of the forceful action, all those who had been kept in restraint would revolt."

"As for myself, I have the consciousness of having acted not only in the interests of my people, but also in accordance with the prescriptions of the Prophet. Mohammed has said, indeed, that everything that might improve the lot of the Mussulmans ought to be done."

(FROM THE "DAILY MAIL" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, April 3

The Franco-Moroccan Treaty signed at Fez on Saturday contains eight articles placing Morocco under the protectorate of France.

guaranteeing respect of the natives' religious convictions and the prestige of the Sultan, providing for the military occupation of certain points by the French if deemed necessary, and defining the powers of the French Resident-General and the basis of financial re-organisation.

Breaking through all traditions of the Moorish Court, the Sultan insisted on signing the Treaty in person after the seal of the Empire had been affixed by the Hajib, or Minister of Justice. Although the Hajib was ill in bed on Saturday, he was made to get up, says the *Matin's* special correspondent at Fez, and, bearing an inkstand, a new pen, and the State seal, was escorted with great pomp to the presence of the Sultan, with whom were M. Regnault, the French Minister, and El Mokri, Moroccan Minister for Foreign Affairs.

In the evening the Sultan, who was in the best of humours again broke traditions by making his *début* as an after-dinner speaker at a grand banquet which he gave at the palace to the French Mission. There was a French menu, with champagne, and M. Regnault asked the Sultan if he would allow him to propose His Majesty's health. The Sultan smilingly assented, but reproached Ben Chabrit, one of his *entourage*, with not having remembered this important formality and with having allowed His Majesty to be caught unaware.

M. Regnault made his speech, and then, to the amazement of Moors and foreigners, the Sultan responded. He remained seated, but otherwise his impromptu speech, in which he remarked that he was unaccustomed to public speaking, was worthy of the best European traditions. After dinner, the company took coffee in an adjoining room to the strains of a royal orchestra and the French *Tirailleur* band. Yesterday the Sultan invited M. Regnault and the French Army officers to a falcon hunt, which was a great success.

(FROM THE "MORNING POST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, April 3

The *Matin* publishes to-day an interview with Mulai Hafid, who is reported to have insisted on the importance of France pursuing a policy of friendly persuasion. "Of course" he said "France is a powerful nation and could impose the new *régime* by force, but the result would be that she would only assert her dominion by inspiring terror in the people. This method of procedure would cost her dear in men and money."

The Sultan declared that to ensure success France must utilise the Maghzen as her intermediary without delay. The Maghzen, he said, would be guided by the French Government, but, thanks to its knowledge of the customs of the country, it would be able to avoid much friction. France had already proved her generosity and her sympathy with Islam, and it was for this reason that he considered that he was acting not only in the interests of his country but in conformity with the words of the Prophet, who said that everything was right that made for the welfare of Mussulmans.

With regard to the attitude of the Moroccans Mulai Hafid is described as saying that the Arabs proper who dwell in the plain would soon recognise the advantages of the new organisation as the tribes of the Shawia had done, but that the Berbers of the more *taïfas*, who had never acknowledged the authority of any Sultan, would only accept the French *régime* under compulsion. "It is for this reason," he concluded, "that I repeat the task which France is undertaking is a task of organisation and of patience, and can only be the work of time."

Paris, April 4

The full text of the Protectorate Treaty, signed by the Sultan of Morocco, is published here to day. An analysis of its provisions has been already published. The first clause states that the French Government and the Sultan "have agreed to establish in Morocco a new *régime*, entailing such administrative, judicial, educational, economic, financial, and military reforms as the French Government shall consider it desirable to introduce into the territory of Morocco." The protection of the Mussulman religion is guaranteed, and "a reformed Shereefian Makhzen" is to be organised.

The position of Spain and that of Tangier is summed up as follows: "The Government of the Republic will come to an agreement with the Spanish Government as to the interests which belong to this Government, in view of its geographical position and its territorial possessions on the Moroccan coast. Similarly, the town of Tangier will preserve the special character which has been recognised as belonging to it, and on which its municipal organisation will be based."

The second clause empowers the French Government to occupy with its troops, "after giving notice to the Makhzen," such portions of Moroccan territory as it may consider necessary, while the third clause promises the Sultan and his heirs the support of France, in case of any danger threatening the Throne.

The word "Protectorate" occurs only the fourth in clause, in which it is stated that in the measures necessitated by the new Protectorate *régime* will be promulgated on the proposal of the French Government by his Shereefian Majesty or by the authorities to whom he has delegated this power."

The fifth clause deals with the powers of the Resident Commissioner-General, who will be the Sultan's sole intermediary in all foreign relations. In particular he will be charged with the settlement of all questions concerning foreigners in the Shereefian Empire.

The sixth clause provides for the representation of Morocco abroad by the Diplomatic and Consular Agents of France, and the seventh for a financial reorganisation, of which the bases will be decided by common agreement, and which will guarantee the rights of the creditors of the Shereefian Empire, while enabling the Treasury to collect its revenues regularly.

In the eighth and last clause the Sultan undertakes to contract no loan of any kind without the authorisation of the French Government.

The *Debats*, in examining the Treaty in detail, remarks that its first and second clauses have obviously been influenced by the Franco-German Agreement of last November. It regrets that the organisation of a reformed Shereefian Makhzen should be included in its provisions, inasmuch as it should be the object of France to replace the authorities of the Makhzen by honest and competent officials and to extend by degrees the zones in which, as in the Shawia, it will be possible to organise a regular administration with the invaluable co-operation of the military element. After approving the clauses relative to the Spanish zone and Tangier, the *Debats* concludes, "There is every reason to hope that after the dangerous vicissitudes and troubles, due in the main to the blundering policy of the two last Cabinets, the international settlement of the Moroccan question will, thanks to the wisdom and firmness of M. Poincaré, be accomplished to the honour, if not to the complete satisfaction of France."

(FROM THE "PAUL MALLÉE" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Madrid, April 5

The final scenes connected with the passing of the "Empire of the Setting Sun" have been almost ludicrous.

At the last moment Muley Abdul Hafid has appeared to hesitate before signing a document which handed over Morocco lock, stock, and baggage to a European nation. His scruples, so we are told in Madrid, were overcome by the intercession of one of his official wives, daughter of his Minister, El Mockri. The latter, it should be remembered, has borne the brunt of the long-drawn-out negotiations in Paris since the Act of Algeciras.

Thus France has accomplished through Mulai Hafid's intercession what she never could have obtained from his elder brother, Abdul Aziz—the Sultan's signature conceding a Protectorate.

Hafid is not without his misgivings regarding the effect that the publication of the news will produce throughout the Empire. He has already tried to throw on El Mockri's shoulders the blame for all that has happened since Algeciras authorised French intervention in certain circumstances. A stormy interview is reported to have taken place when the Minister arrived at Fez to prepare the French Minister's reception. At the end of the quarrel Hafid said to El Mockri: "Remember El Roghi! Would to God I could treat you in the same way!"

It will be recalled that El Roghi was paraded through Morocco in a cage, and conveyed to Fez, where rumour says he was burnt alive.

For the present the Sultan professes great friendship towards the French Mission, and in a speech from the Throne expressed his belief in the future of his country and the benefits which would be conferred by French protection.

The proceedings wound up with a day's sport, in which M. Regnault saw how falconry is practised at Fez, a sport which, if we are to believe Dumas, began to decline in France about the time of Louis XIV.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND COLLECTION IN INDIA.

Name of place	Name of per son in charge of the Fund	FOR WEEK'S PROGRESS						PROGRESS UP TO DATE				REMARKS
		Amount collected	Amount Forwarded	To whom for- warded and through what Agency	Amount collected	Amount Forwarded	Amount collected	Amount Forwarded	Amount collected	Amount Forwarded	Amount collected	
Kasab (Sind)	Seth H. A. Haran	Rs. 63/-	A. 12	Rs. 3/-	A. 6	M. O. Charges.	Rs. 16,599/-	A. P.	Rs. 313,931/-	A. P.	Rs. 313,931/-	

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

A telegram to the *Daily Chronicle* from Constantinople on the 26th states that the Italian bombardment of the Dardanelles destroyed Kumkaleh Fort, killing 300 Turks.

Chartering business in consequence of the closing of the Dardanelles continues disorganized. A number of vessels en route for the Black Sea to load grain have been diverted elsewhere. Indian rates, in particular, are higher in consequence.

In the Duma, M. Sazonoff, Foreign Minister, delivered his maiden speech. He said, that the basis of Russian policy remained the French Alliance, assuring the peace of the world. The understanding with Britain had borne the best fruit. Russia also held fast to her traditional friendship with Germany. M. Sazonoff welcomed Lord Haldane's visit to Berlin as he welcomed every effort to improve Anglo-German relations.

He laid stress on the friendly relations between Russia and Italy. Russia, he said, did not see any danger of a general conflict in the Near East in Italian conduct in the Turco-Italian war. The bombardment of the Dardanelles was not accompanied by acts showing that Italy had departed from her idea of restricting operations and so did not affect the interests of neutrals. The closure of the Dardanelles had materially affected Russian commercial interests, and Russia had remonstrated at Constantinople.

Turning to Austria, M. Sazonoff said that, notwithstanding the strain to which Austro-Russian relations had been put, both Governments had succeeded in furthering the interests of peace by laying down guiding principles to be observed in the event of interests clashing. M. Sazonoff did not anticipate any immediate result from attempts to mediate in the Turco-Italian war. He regretted that the Cretans were attempting to bring about union with Greece by revolutionary methods. The Powers had determined, if necessary, to take stronger measures.

In conclusion M. Sazonoff said, there was no danger to peace in the near future.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 30th - The Foreign Minister has informed the Ambassadors that the Porte regrets that it is unable to comply with the request to re-open the Dardanelles in view of the possibilities of further attack by Italy, unless the Powers granted the security of the Straits.

The position is regarded as serious by diplomats.

The Porte has replied to the Russian Memorandum of the 2nd instant asserting its treaty right to close the Straits and claiming that Turkey is the sole judge whether the Straits are menaced.

At question time in the House of Commons to-day, Mr. Mark Sykes suggested, that a local armistice should be arranged between Italy and Turkey in regard to the Dardanelles and so give an opportunity for the egress of detained ships into the Mediterranean. Mr. Acland said that Sir E. Grey had consulted the Powers regarding such a temporary measure being resorted to if the channel were not opened soon.

Reports received from Aden by last mail state the blockade of Hodeida by Italian warships has now extended to Sabiha Camarana and the Farsan Islands. It is also said that an Italian warship is now going to blockade Korsudah which is the principal port of Ossir. According to news just received from Périn by the Petum Coal Company's steamer two Italian cruisers are now again bombarding Dhuhah which is some distance from Mokha and also Shaikh Said which lies on the Straits Bab Al Mandab.

Reuter wires from Smyrna on the 30th - The local steamer *Texas* struck a submarine mine yesterday evening at the entrance to the Gulf of Smyrna. The ship sank and 140 were drowned.

A message to the *Times* from Constantinople on the 30th states that 99 foreign merchantmen are now detained in the Dardanelles and the neighbouring waters. The value of their aggregate cargoes is estimated at four millions sterling. It is said that the vessels laden with maize may have to discharge their cargo owing to danger from heating.

Reuter wires from Vienna on the 30th - Count Von Berchtold, Minister for Foreign Affairs, addressing the Hungarian delegation to-day delivered a pacific speech emphasising the unchanged character of the Triple Alliance. It would be the Government's sincere endeavour to cultivate good relations with Great Britain now that the misunderstanding which had arisen for a moment over the annexation of Bosnia had passed away.

With reference to the Dardanelles he pointed to Italy's assurance at the beginning of the war that she intended to maintain the

status quo in the Balkans and he had every reason to believe that Italy would not depart from these assurances. In the meantime Government had intimated to the Porte that they hoped that the Dardanelles would be re-opened as soon as imminent danger was over.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 30th - The estimates of loss of life on the steamer *Texas* vary. It appears that many were injured by the explosion.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Acland announced that Government was very much concerned at the loss to shipping owing to the closing of the Dardanelles. Sir Edward Grey had made urgent representations with a view to reaching an arrangement for freeing traffic. It was impossible, Mr. Acland said, in time of war to protect neutral commerce from all loss or to procure compensation in all cases, but Government would make every effort to prevent further loss.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 1st that the Cabinet decided to re-open the Dardanelles, reserving the right to close them again in case of necessity.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 1st - While a tug was inspecting the buoys in the Dardanelles, it fouled a mine and was blown to atoms. Four officers, twelve soldiers and the crew were drowned. The disaster has created a profound impression and subscriptions have been opened in aid of the families of the victims.

The Vah of Smyrna reports on the 2nd that the battery fired two blanks, warning the steamer *Texas* that she was deviating from her proper course, but the vessel took no notice. Consequently seven shells were fired, dropping round the *Texas*, which then struck a mine and sank in two minutes. The Military Commander says that 69 were drowned and 15 injured.

In the House of Lords, Lord Newton asked if the Government had addressed any representation to Italy on the subject of the closing of the Dardanelles?

Lord Morley, in reply, said he did not deny the disastrous situation in the Black Sea and the Dardanelles. The Government had been in constant communication with the Turkish and Italian Governments with the result that, after no unreasonable length of time, considering the difficulties of the Porte, the Straits would be re-opened. It was unreasonable to ask the Government to prescribe the limits in which Turkey and Italy should carry on operations. That would be going beyond anything ever conceived in international law or diplomatic usage. The Government had thoroughly performed the duties of a neutral Power. Lord Lansdowne asked if it was true that the Porte would only re-open the Straits if Italy promised not to re-attack the Dardanelles? Lord Morley replied - "That assertion is quite inconsistent with the words used to the British Ambassador."

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, March 31

The Sultan has conferred the Grand Cordon of the Osmanieh Order upon M. Tcharykoff, the retiring Russian Ambassador, and the First Class of the Nishan-i-Shefakat Order upon M. Me. Tcharykoff. The Ambassador will leave Constantinople to-morrow.

Cairo, April 1.

Edhem Pasha, hitherto Turkish commander at Tobruk, has arrived at Cairo. His Excellency is not in good health and intends to stay in Egypt some time, but hopes ultimately to return to the seat of war. He left his post about a fortnight ago, travelling hither by way of Sollum, where he embarked for Alexandria. During his absence the command at Tobruk devolves upon Nazim Bey.

The Turkish commander takes a most optimistic view of the Turkish position in Tripoli and Cyrenaica. In the course of conversation he informed me that at present the total number of Turkish troops engaged at Derna, Tobruk, Bengazi and Tripoli is 10,000, and they are assisted by some 300,000 Arabs. The latter, who have in many cases brought their wives, are under the orders of their respective sheikhs, to each of whom a Turkish officer is attached. All possess rifles and ammunition, taken to a great extent from the Italians. They are fired by an implacable spirit of revenge against the Italians; consequently few prisoners are taken. Edhem Pasha estimates the number at less than 100. With their present stock of provisions the Turks reckon that they are

able to hold out for a year at least, but in addition they have been favoured with exceptionally good crops.

While paying the highest tribute to the behaviour and courage of the Italian officers, the Turkish commander has but a slight opinion of the men, while an enormous quantity of ammunition is expended by the guns of the fleet with very little effect. Much use is apparently made in reconnaissance of aeroplanes which drop bombs; recently one of the bombs narrowly missed Edhem's tent. On the other hand, the Turks succeeded in bringing down an Italian aeroplane at Bengazi a few days ago. For some time past little beyond skirmishes has taken place at Tobruk, where the Italian and Turkish lines are 12 kilometres apart. The Turco-Arabs are said to be longing to fight, and in hopes of bringing about a battle Edhem recently sent a letter to the Italian commander taunting him with inaction.

During the past six weeks the position of the invaders at Tobruk has been rendered more difficult in consequence of a scar, which appears well founded, that poison has been thrown down the artesian wells which have been sunk. The Italians there are said to be now obliged to bring all the water for animals and men from Italy. The hot days are at present relieved by fresh nights, but the approaching summer is looked forward to by the Turks as an additional weapon on their side.

In regard to Senussi assistance, Edhem Pasha states that camels and horses have been sent to Kufra to bring the Sheikh el Senussi to Jaghbub, but it is not known whether he has left.

Enver Bey's wound appears to have been very slight, and the Turkish commander at Derna is believed now to be in the best of health.

Shortly after his arrival at Cairo Edhem Pasha paid a visit to Lord Kitchener.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN")

The *Avanti* reports from Piacenza that an anti war demonstration took place in the chief open space there, got up by the reservists of 1889, who are just being mobilised. The men shouted "We want to go to our homes! Down with the war! Down with Tripoli!"

The Tripoli correspondent of the *Fassische Zeitung*, writing on April 4, says that gladness and jubilation reign in the Turco-Arab camp at Funduk Ben Gasir on account of the arrival of a numerous delegation from Tunis bringing with them money, provisions, arms, and ammunition which have been collected in the Regency.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT)

Salonika, April 27

With all customary pomp and sacrifice Djavid Bey, Minister of Public Works, this afternoon laid the foundation stone of the long-awaited central station. It is anticipated that the station will be completed in two years.

In private conversation, the Minister stated that he hopes speedily to complete arrangements for the construction of the line to the Greek frontier.

It is evident from Mail news that Italy made an attempt to force the Dardanelles with the object of bombardment, Constantinople immediately. Before the House of Commons rose one night in Mail week, Mr. Lloyd George made the following statement: "A telegram received from His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople states that he is informed by the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs that an Italian squadron attacked the outer parts of the Dardanelles and the Minister states the action is still continuing. Telegrams received from Constantinople state that Turkish forts replied to the bombardment which lasted two and a half hours, and that the Italian fleet afterwards sailed away with one ship put out of action. Owing to this action on the part of Italy, while the Powers were awaiting the reply of Turkey to peace proposals which they invited three days ago, the Turkish Government has liberated the mines in the Straits which are now closed to all shipping."

A Constantinople telegram asserts that the Turkish losses are only one soldier wounded and one horse killed.

News from Turkish Sources.

(Specially translated for the Comrade.)

(FROM THE "RUMELI.")

Salonika, 31st March

The Committee of Union and Progress has been upbraided on all sides for not having effected a great revolution in all the Departments of the Ottoman Government immediately after it took the reins of power in its hands and not having built Rome in a day. But even assuming these charges to be true, cannot all that the members of the Committee are doing in Tripoli to-day be a sufficient explanation of even the blackest sins of a political party?

What devotion can be more acceptable than self-sacrifice for a patriotic cause, and not only to man but to God also, who loves nothing more than justice. When the Italian ironclads had first opened fire in pursuance of a brigandage in the shape of war, what was every Ottoman seeing but wild visions of despair? But now the meaning of those visitors is the victory of the victim and the depression of the aggressor and the aggrieved. Have not the members of the Committee in the main been the instruments of this change, who were but till yesterday called the betrayers of their nation and the enemies of their country? When the war was declared Enver Bey left Berlin with these words—"Europe will presently be surprised to have a new experience of the Ottoman spirit and Arab valour," and now he seeks the justification of his boast in the Ottoman camp at Derna. The reader may remember that immediately after the declaration of the war that famous member of the Committee, Ah Fethi Bey, had started with a party *via* Tunis. It was rumoured that he had been stopped by the French Government, but after a few days he was seen in the theatre of war and with his arrival there occurred a decided turn in the course of the war. Like him Omar Naji Bey, Mustafa Kamal Bey, Nuri Bey, Abdul Karim Bey, Osmar Bey, and several other prominent members of the Committee continued reaching the seat of war one after the other, and it is they who have by their doings thrown the world into amazement. The story of the difficulties that they had to encounter in reaching Tripoli and of the strange ways they have had to adopt in saving themselves from detection or capture will be considered as one of the wonders of the twentieth century. Although the enemy is the virtual master of the sea and the doors of Egypt and Tunis are closed, still there are hundreds of Ottoman officers and members of the Committee of Union and Progress in Tripoli at the present time.

Mr. McCullagh and an Italian Duellist.

MR. FRANCIS McCULLAGH, the war correspondent whose exposure of the barbarities of the war in Tripoli caused some stir at the end of last year, has been challenged to fight a duel by the poet Marmetti, the leader of the Futurists.

The duel will not come off.

A few afternoons ago a motor-car with the poet and two other men in it was driven up to Mr. McCullagh's solitary house, which stands in an isolated spot on the Surrey Downs, quite three miles from the nearest police station. Mr. McCullagh was busy at the time on his forthcoming and frank book, "Italy's War for a Desert."

The three men approached the house and told the maid they wanted to see Mr. McCullagh. Descending from his study upstairs the war correspondent found his visitors in the hall. Said one, who afterwards proved to be the correspondent of an Italian newspaper, speaking in French: "We have some very painful business with you." "Let us discuss it inside, whatever it is," answered Mr. McCullagh in the same language, and he led the way into the drawing-room where all seated themselves.

No sooner inside than Marmetti, a tall, well-set-up man, produced a copy of *The Nation*, pointed to an article, and asked Mr. McCullagh, with a threatening air, if he wrote it.

"I did" was the reply.

The poet seemed to have expected a denial. He repeated the question several times, and meeting with the same answer each time jumped suddenly to his feet and began tearing about the room, waving his hands above his head and saying fiercely, "I must have a duel with you."

"Don't you agree with the things I have said in the article?" asked Mr. McCullagh.

"I don't," said Marmetti, and he went on to deny that Mr. McCullagh had ever been in the oasis at all during those terrible events, which he described in his own language and words as "il-dramma sinistro della repressione" (The sinister drama of repression). The oasis, by the way, is not more than a quarter of a mile from the only hotel in the town, the Hotel Minerva, where all the war correspondents stayed.

The war correspondent invited the poet to write to *The Nation* explaining his point of view. Upon this Marmetti threw *The Nation* to the ground, stamped on it, and said there was only one way to answer the article. He left no doubt of his meaning that Mr. McCullagh was to expiate his offence in a duel.

The third man, who proved to be a well-known Futurist painter, chimed in "If you don't fight a duel," he said, "we shall attack you now."

Mr. McCullagh for a moment thought wistfully of the Browning he brought back from Russia (he bought it during the revolution there). It was in its case in his study upstairs. But his ready wit came to the rescue and he began to dissemble.

"This is not the right way to go about arranging a duel," he protested. "You ought to have sent some friend to me, and

I would have named a friend, and they could have discussed the matter together."

Marinetti threw down his card with his Milan address printed on it and the name of his London hotel in pencil.

Marinetti's last words, uttered with the air of a villain in grand opera, were "In any case we shall meet again."

The Futurist painter ground his teeth. Mr. McCullagh rang the bell. The maid, alarmed out of her life by the hullabaloo of men speaking in loud and angry tones and in a tongue unknown to her, opened the door for them.

Next day Mr. McCullagh called at the hotel. Marinetti had left London.

"It was a pathetic incident," said Mr. McCullagh yesterday to the *Daily Sketch*, "because they made such asses of themselves. But there is a serious side. It was an attempt to extend their war censorship to England."

"Some people think that there is a temptation for war correspondents to rush into print with atrocity stories but it is quite the other way about. It is to the interest of journalists to have free entry into every country and to be greeted in friendly manner by all the local correspondents and local associations of the Press. But in this case it would be dangerous for anyone who has criticised the Italians to go back to Italy, and some correspondents have been expressly warned never to attempt to come back. The actual expression used to one distinguished German correspondent who criticised in quite a moderate way their method of conducting the campaign was 'You must not show your face in Rome again'."

"This war is a war largely brought about by Futurists and Impressionists, and that is why it has been so gigantic a failure. In the early days of the campaign you couldn't throw a stone in Tripoli city without hitting a Futurist or an Impressionist. They were acting as correspondents for Italian newspapers."

In spite of this dramatic warning Mr. McCullagh means to say what he knows in "Italy's War for a Desert"—*Daily Sketch*.

Turkey and Peace Proposals.

TURKEY'S attitude with respect to the overtures made to her with a view to ending the war in Tripoli is outlined in an interview which the *Daily Chronicle's* special correspondent at Constantinople recently had with Assim Bey, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs :—

"I will tell you, and you can tell the world," said the Turkish Minister, "why Turkey has been unable to make peace. Speaking on behalf of my country and of the Government, I say no one regrets the outbreak of this war more than we do. We regard it as a blow to civilisation and to human progress. Turkey, unjustly and wantonly attacked, relies upon the moral support of the people of Europe, being content to leave her cause to their impartial judgment. When I took office, the conflict had already begun, and Turkey had a powerful and unscrupulous enemy gripping at her throat."

"Some critics abroad are beginning to ask why we did not consider the Italian proposals and attempt to conclude peace. It is because the conditions submitted for our acceptance, as a preliminary to any discussions, were impossible and dishonourable. No Cabinet of to-day or to-morrow could ever entertain such a proposal as that embodied in the formal recognition of the annexation of Tripoli. Any Turkish statesman who gave ear to such a proposition would richly deserve whatever punishment his betrayed country thought fit to inflict upon him. This is why, as far as Turkey is concerned, peace at this moment is impossible. The Italian conditions preclude it. We do not wish for peace at any price. If I may point out to the Italian Government and the Italian Parliament, countries are not conquered by Royal decrees of annexation."

"I speak in no angry or provocative sense towards Italy, her Government or her people; but I say frankly she is in an *impasse*. If she seeks a way out and be sincerely desirous of peace the decree of annexation must first be torn up. After this pourparlers between the Governments of the two countries will be possible. The Great Powers have been very sympathetic towards Turkey, but even they cannot compel us to make peace against our will, and to accept terms which would cover us with shame and dishonour."

"I say to the civilised world, on behalf of Turkey, we are ready to treat with Italy, but it must be on an honourable basis. It is our ardent wish to be permitted to work in peace for the regeneration of our country. Turkey needs repose and tranquillity, but she has not been allowed to enjoy it. No one can truthfully say that Turkey has ever waged an aggressive war or coveted an inch of territory belonging to her neighbours. When our national prospects looked the brightest, we were suddenly attacked. The

Turkish people have not, and never will, lose courage or hope. The Italians may imagine that our existence is at an end; but, if so, they are grievously deceiving themselves. Our people are patient, united, and determined in the present war."

"Turkey as a nation has not yet begun to fight. I regret that a nation like Italy, with her splendid past and her heritage of civilisation, should have committed such an act of brigandage as the invasion of Tripoli. Italy now threatens to take sterner measures, and to carry the war into European Turkey if we continue to resist her unlawful and preposterous demands. Let Italy continue to bombard our fortified and defenceless town, let her, if she dares, attempt the passage of the Dardanelles. Let us admit the impossible—that she forces the Straits and even bombards Constantinople. What then? When she presents her dishonourable conditions afresh we will fling them back in her face. For never! no, never!" added His Excellency emphatically, "will any Turkish Government accept them."

"Turkey has no fleet, it is true; but she has an army. The day Italy invades our European provinces we meet on equal ground. Judging by previous Italian campaigns, we need have no fear of the result of the encounter when her army meets ours. No Italian soldier who sets foot on the soil of European Turkey will ever leave it again unless by permission of the Turkish army."

"We have our faults, as have all nations, but our bitterest enemy never charged us with lack of courage. We have been accused of being an unenlightened race, and the enemies of progress, as recognised in the West. This is one of the reasons why Italy felt compelled to annex Tripoli. What enlightenment, and what progress does she talk of implanting in Tripoli? Can it be those which prevail in Calabria and Sicily? With our slender revenues and poor resources, we have done our best to regenerate the country and to build up a strong and enlightened nation."

"How do our attempts compare with those of Italy? Her splendid resources and vast revenues have been devoted, not to the moral uplifting of the masses of Calabria and Sicily, but to the raging of a war and conquest more shameful than the civilised world has ever before seen. This is the nation that has undertaken to carry the blessing of civilisation into a Turkish province. We need no Italian civilisation. We respectfully recommend her to try it on her own people at home. Turkey has been magnanimous to the Italian subjects in Turkey. I wish I could say that Italy treated ours equally as well. Any nation worthy of respect would not dream of suggesting harsh and dishonourable terms to a valiant and unbenten foe."

"I want to make it quite clear to Europe and to the world in general why we cannot listen to the Italian demands. We are sworn to protect and maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The cession of Tripoli is a religious as well as a national question. Were we to hand over Tripoli the Khalifate, in the eyes of the Moslem world, would become a thing of derision something that stood for the betrayal of the cause of Islam. In justice to our country, our people, and to that army which is so nobly fighting the invader, we cannot discuss the cession of a Turkish province. What is more, we will not. This is our final word on the subject."

"What would the English people say if its Government engaged in a war in one of its distant possessions and with its army still unbeaten and the rest of the empire unconquered handed its possession over to a foreign Power? This is our position to-day. This war is a great danger to the peace of Europe, but that is entirely the affair of Italy. Europe must judge her accordingly. As Italy has sown, so must she reap. We have the greatest sympathy with the Italian people. In speaking thus, I do not do so in a vindictive and bellicose spirit, or with the intention of wounding Italian national pride. I speak fearlessly and firmly, as I hope to act fearlessly and unfalteringly, because I believe it to be the duty of my country."

"In the future, as in the past Turkey relies on the right and justice of her cause to ensure her the support and sympathy of the civilised world. With her own trusty sword she will defend her shores, her liberty, and her national integrity, now seriously menaced. War is a terrible evil. Attacked as we were, we would have been detestable cowards, unworthy of the Osmanli name, if we did not defend ourselves. Turkey has been much touched by the disinterested sympathy of representatives of certain Great Powers which proffered friendly counsel with a view to ending the war. I can only say, now, as the Turkish Government has said from the beginning, in reply to these overtures: 'We thank you, and are very grateful. But please do not suggest to us terms which you yourselves, as men of honour, would be unable to accept on behalf of your respective countries.'

Situation of the Italians.

REUTER'S representative has had an interview with Mr. G. F. Abbott, who has been with the Turkish headquarters in Tripoli since December last. Mr. Abbott left the Turks on 15th March, and after

an adventurous journey on foot, in the course of which he was lost in the desert, was robbed by Arabs, and finally imprisoned by an Arab garrison, reached London by way of Tunis. Mr. Abbott said:

"I have spent about four months with the main Turkish and Arab forces in the desert round the town of Tripoli, with a view to writing a book on the war. When my work is published the world will hear a good many things it will find hard to believe; for the Italians have, as I have discovered since I returned to Europe, succeeded in creating an entirely false impression as to the real situation. Meanwhile, I can only give you a brief summary of my own impressions.

"Had the Italians followed up their occupation of the town of Tripoli by a vigorous advance along the coast and into the interior, I have no doubt that they would have been able to possess themselves within a month of all the territory as far south as the Ujbal (mountains). The Turks had lost their prestige among the natives by evacuating the capital. The Arab recruits had deserted them *en masse*. The Arab population was ready to submit to the invader without striking a blow. Indeed, in several places, like Azizia and Zenzur, which now are Turkish camps, they had hastened to hoist the white flag. For a few weeks the small Italophile party of influential natives in the town of Tripoli had it all their own way. No resistance seemed possible. Unfortunately for themselves the Italians missed the psychological moment. As is clear from their subsequent behaviour, they had come to Tripoli prepared to annex and not to conquer, and they wasted their time in changing the status of the country on paper instead of occupying it with garrisons.

"The blunder of the Italians gave the Turks and the Arab patriots time to rally. Fervid appeals were made to the population to rise in defence of their country and faith. The population responded with admirable spirit. The white flags were hauled down, and the first contingents of Arab volunteers began to arrive from the interior. Then came the massacres at Tripoli to fan the Arab spirit into fierce flames. From that moment submission became as impossible as resistance had at first seemed to be. From that moment, too, the position of the Italians has been growing weaker and that of their enemies stronger. More and more volunteers, some on horseback, most on foot, are daily flocking up from the south to fight under the Sultan's flag, and week after week I saw these warriors, who at first had little besides bravery to qualify them as soldiers, learning the rudiments of discipline and tactics and the use of modern rifles. The attitude of these men can be summed up in one sentence, which is constantly on their lips 'We shall go on fighting as long as there is one drop of blood left in our veins.' That this is not an empty piece of rhetoric I am convinced by repeated personal experience. I have seen Arabs wounded two, three, four, or five times, and each time immediately the wound was healed, returning to fight again.

"From the material point of view also the position of the Turk, has been steadily improving and that of the Italians as steadily deteriorating since the beginning of the war. At first the Turks had neither money nor provisions—a piece of bread or a handful of stale dates was about all they could find to eat, and a packet of twenty cigarettes that normally cost twopence had to be bought for two shillings. Gradually contributions from all over the Mahometan world—Turkey in Europe and Asia, Egypt, Tunis, Algeria, and so forth—began to come in, and caravans of all sorts began to cross the frontier. Even volunteers from Tunis, Algeria, and the desert beyond Chadames came to join us, shouting 'Allah yasur es-Sultan!' (God save the Sultan). The French authorities cannot arrest this stream without running the risk of a rebellion of their own subjects, so profound is the enthusiasm aroused by this last attack of the Cross on the Crescent.

"Besides help from outside, this year's rains, after four years of drought, have been of immense benefit to the fighting Arabs. I saw the desert rapidly transforming itself into a beautiful meadow under my eyes, and for some months past the flocks of sheep and goats that abound in Tripolitania have been fattening on luscious grass, with the result that I ate better mutton in the interior of Tripoli than I had ever tasted in the best restaurants of London. And that is not all. The Italians have given time to the Arabs of the various oases to till and sow their fields, and when the crops are harvested in June they will afford a supply of food that will make the forces of the Crescent independent of provisions from outside. On the other hand, the Italians, penned up in the town and its immediate environs, have, since all communication with the interior is cut off, been all this time obliged to rely entirely on supplies imported from Europe. From the point of view of health also, to one sick Arab you will probably find ten Italians, for while the former are in the open desert, the pure air of which counteracts in a large measure the causes that make for disease, the latter are doomed to breathe the polluted atmosphere of an insalubrious and congested Oriental town. All these conditions will be accentuated as the months creep on and the summer with its terrible heat and the suffocating sirocco succeeds to the comparative coolness of the spring. Had the Italians advanced during the winter when the climatic conditions were in their favour, and when, owing to the calls

of agriculture, most of the Arab volunteers were obliged to stay at home, they might conceivably have done something. The fact that they have not quitted their fortified trenches has not only made advance now impossible but has induced the Arabs to believe that the Italians are lacking in courage.

"In the circumstances the struggle, so far as the Arabs are concerned, can continue indefinitely. Even if the Porte is compelled by troubles nearer home to conclude peace, they declare that this will make no difference to them. 'We will never submit to this invader,' was said to me a few days ago by a venerable old sheikh of 67, and he concluded his passionate speech with a solemn appeal to 'Allah, up there,' pointing to the blue heavens above. Personally, I have seen enough of Arab valour—a gallant disdain of death such as I do not expect ever to see among Europeans—to believe in the absolute sincerity of this declaration. A similar spirit prevails among the Turkish officers. Many among them have assured me that, in the event of peace between their own Government and Italy, they will simply throw up their commissions and go on fighting."

National Unity in Turkey.

SENATOR SULEIMAN-EL-BUSTANI BEY, who is visiting the capitals of Europe and is now at St Petersburg, has granted an interview to a representative of the *Novac Premera* with whom he frankly discussed the situation in Turkey. He has no official mission, but he has seen M. Savonoff and submitted to him the views prevailing in political quarters in Constantinople. Speaking about the war, he said, "We, the Turks, will not cede a single inch of our soil, and will fight to the last drop of blood . . . Of course we have to reckon with the wishes of the Powers and should they put the question squarely we should go to arbitration and be prepared to negotiate for the settlement of the complicated business . . . We should perhaps be prepared to make economic concessions in the two provinces which form the object of the unjust aspirations of Italy, but under no circumstances will Turkey cede the Sultan's suzerainty over Tripoli and Cyrenaica. I am not speaking of the religious suzerainty of the Sultan; the whole of Europe could do nothing in this direction. I am speaking of the administrative position of the Sultan in the provinces, and I can tell you that as against Italy's usurpation in this direction we are all united and will fight to the utmost limits of our power."

"Much has been said about the internal situation in Turkey. I can tell you that in my opinion Turkey, on the termination of the war with Italy, will have to erect her a commemorative monument and celebrate her service to our country. We must do what has never been done before in the history of nations. We must glorify the enemy with whom we have fought for life and death. Indeed, Italy has accomplished within the space of a few months what we ourselves could have achieved only in the course of many, many years. Italy has united all the various nationalities of the Ottoman Empire, and has inspired them with the great idea of amity and the consciousness of their duty. Had we, the Turks, possessed a great navy we should have been in a position now to send to the African provinces a million volunteers from all parts of the Empire, who would have been ready to die for their country."

"I draw your attention to the fact that it is I, a Christian, who say all this, and therefore my words may be taken as expressing impartially the temper of the masses of the people."

In the course of a conversation with another journalist, the representative of the *Ketch*, Bustani Bey also touched upon the domestic situation in Turkey. "Europe," he declared, "knows us insufficiently. Most of her information about Turkey reaches her from unreliable sources. Every insignificant event is transformed by the European press into a fact of the first magnitude and then all the world begins to talk about reaction, anti-constitutional conspiracies, and so forth. Of course not everything proceeds in our country as would be desirable. There is no doubt that we have in our midst a handful of reactionaries who are thirsting after the restoration of the old *régime*. But where, in what country, are not such reactionaries to be found? The majority of them have long since lost the confidence of the people and are but little noticed. All the efforts of the Government are at present directed towards one end—to place the country on the path of peaceful cultural development, and, thank God, we are moving already—slowly, it is true, but still moving. Gradually the old wounds which used to destroy the national soul are disappearing, and the pretext for national feuds which caused the intervention of Europe in former times are being eliminated one by one."—*Manchester Guardian*

The Dardanelles.

TURKEY'S attitude in regard to the question of the re-opening of the Dardanelles must command the sympathy of all fair-minded people. She has replied to the Powers that she is unable to comply with their requests to re-open the Straits unless the Powers guarantee their security; and to Russia she has given a more emphatic answer,

asserting her treaty right to close the Straits, and claiming, very rightly, that she is the sole judge as to whether the Straits are menaced. In the case of any other two Powers being at war and in similar circumstances, the action now taken by Turkey would have been taken at the very outbreak of warlike operations. That the Straits were not closed at the beginning of the war was due to Italy's assurance that she intended to restrict the scope of her operations with a view to avoiding embarrassment to neutral Powers. Now that Italy has wantonly provoked the closing of the Straits, it would be monstrous for any Power to attempt to force Turkey into re-opening them without proper guarantees. The suggestion made in the House of Commons, in regard to which Mr. Acland said that Sir Edward Grey had been in consultation with the Powers, that a local armistice should be arranged between Italy and Turkey, so as to give an opportunity for an egress to detained vessels into the Mediterranean, is a reasonable one, and no doubt the Porte would agree to this. It is to be hoped, further, that Italy will offer guarantees which will enable Turkey to re-open the Straits permanently and thus put an end to a situation which can do Italy no good, and which is not calculated to increase her popularity in Europe. (*Statesman.*)

The Russian Foreign Policy.

The new Russian Foreign Minister was able to take a very optimistic view, from the Russian standpoint, of the situation in Europe in his maiden speech in the Duma. The French alliance, says M. Sazonoff, continues to assure the peace of the world—the understanding with Britain has borne the best fruit, Russia has held fast to her traditional friendship with Germany, and welcomes the attempted Anglo-German rapprochement while even Austro-Russian relations have successfully stood the strain of clashing interests. Stress was also laid on the friendly relations between Russia and Italy. Only Turkey and unhappy Persia seem to be excluded from M. Sazonoff's otherwise comprehensive benediction. The former has earned displeasure by the closing of the Dardanelles, but Italy, in provoking that act it must be noted, has behaved, according to M. Sazonoff, with perfect propriety. The bombardment of the Dardanelles, he says, was not accompanied by acts showing that Italy had departed from her idea of restricting operations, and thus did not affect the interests of neutrals. One does not know what further acts Italy could have committed in this respect beyond the actual bombardment, which sufficed, in itself, to produce the very natural reprisal on the part of Turkey of closing the Straits. Thus, the cause M. Sazonoff regards with equanimity, and for it he is prepared to give Italy a certificate of acquitted, but the effect, which was inevitable, produces remonstrances at Constantinople. This attitude towards the two combatants is highly significant. As for Persia, M. Sazonoff has the grace to admit that it is due to the agreement with Great Britain that no extraordinary complications need be apprehended and he attributes the unsatisfactory relations between Russia and Persia to the irreconcilability of the Nationalists towards Russia. It would be well, however, if M. Sazonoff could realise that this irreconcilability has been provoked by Russian action and that the situation in Persia would be far less satisfactory if that action had not been held in check by Great Britain—*The Statesman.*

Italian Action and Arab Sentiment.

(From a "Times" Correspondent)

Syrian Burn Journal, March 27.

For the moment the only sign of activity on the Italian side is the dropping of 10-centimetre bombs from dirigibles. Four of these airships have just passed over the Arab camp and dropped 11 bombs, with which three men have been wounded, thus doing more damage than has been usual in such cases. However, such mischief is not likely to increase, for now when they see an airship approaching, the Arabs scatter immediately. It is not by such methods or such warfare as this that the Italians will ever conquer Tripoli. Bombs dropped from the sky, even when (as often occurs) they do any damage at all, can have no practical effect upon a campaign, and do far more harm to the Italian cause than they do to the Turks or Arabs. They serve only to exasperate the bitterness of feeling with which the Arabs already regard their invaders. The former say that the Italians do not come out into the open and fight them like men, hence, they revenge themselves in these small ways. They are under the impression that bombs are forbidden in civilized warfare and that Italy in making use of them is acting in a way unworthy of a civilized nation. The voice of every Arab you meet is raised in this chorus of condemnation. It is not for me to criticize the actions or policy of Italy, but I am here to write of what I see and hear. It is well also that people should know what Turks and Arabs say and think, since whether this be correct or incorrect it foreshadows the probable course of their action and resistance.

Public opinion in Tripoli—and since the Arabs are great talkers and news among them travels very rapidly, public opinion is formed

there without a Press—public opinion in favour of Italy was not properly cultivated before the war began. Since then the actions and policy of Italians, at any rate as reported, have not been such as to repair the mistake. From Tunis to Aziziah the country rings with tales of wanton destruction committed by the Italians, of the massacre of defenceless men, the slaying of women and small children, even children at the breast. Give a dog a bad name and you may, as well hang him. Military operations may have required the cutting down of the orange and other fruit trees round Tripoli. The Arabs regard it, however, as petty revenge. As to whether the tales of bloodshed referred to are true, partly true, or wholly false, is a matter of no importance from the point of view of their effect upon the war. The point is that the Arabs believe them implicitly, that these tales have now penetrated into the ends of the desert and the Sudan, (whence reinforcements are consequently beginning to arrive in larger and larger numbers), and that they have aroused in their believers undying hatred of the Italians.

There is another very strong motive which incites the Arab to regard an Italian occupation of Tripoli with disfavour. It is the widespread belief that Italy is poor. An Italian here or in Tunis will work for as little as an Arab. The Arab is no fool in what concerns himself personally. He thinks that a people as poor as he believes his would-be conquerors to be would not respect his title to his small possessions, and would create a killing competition for him in all those occupations wherein at present he gains a meagre existence. The Arab is perhaps not much concerned with patriotism in its broader aspect. Guarantee him his reasonable freedom, the security of his wife and children, and of his little possessions, and it may not affect him greatly who rules the country. But for home and family he will fight to the last. The leaflets dropped by the Italians from their aeroplanes stating that France and England were anxious to divide Tripoli, that Italy was the greatest, the strongest, and the richest power in Europe, that she was anxious to befriend and teach the Arabs, etc., are laughed at. Among other beliefs the Arabs hold is one that the Italians themselves are far behind the rest of Europe, and many of them quite as much in need of civilization and instruction as the Tripolitans. Whether public opinion in Tripoli has been cleverly cultivated by the astute Turks, or whether it results from prejudiced imagination and chance, it is not worth while to discuss. For Turkish interests it could not have been better formed by the cleverest and best organized department in the world. It has arrayed the people like one man against their invaders, and quadrupled Italy's difficulties.

The longer the struggle lasts, the more men will flock to the Crescent from the interior. The Arab version of the massacre, and of other reported excesses upon the part of the Italians, has now travelled into the desert and the Sudan. Recruits and reinforcements, with promises of more, are daily pouring into camp. El Senussi, the mysterious Sheikh, who wields such power in the interior, has formally declared war against the Italians, inscribing his proclamation in a thousand words upon a silken banner. A small contingent of the advanced guard of the forces he is sending arrived two days ago in Aziziah—a useful looking lot of fighters—tall, lithe fellows, brown and muscular. Their Sheikh led them brandishing a naked sword. In the middle of the front rank of some 80 men marching abreast two men bore a large tom-tom, which they beat to mark time to the chant, "We are the sons of the Lion," etc., broken occasionally by a chorus of cries intended to imitate the shrieking of the women at their departure. Each man carried a rifle and bayonet. Arrived within a hundred yards of headquarters, they broke into a wild rush, and uttering piercing yells charged forward until they halted beneath the balcony from which the *Mushir* witnessed their approach. These men are now here, ready to do and die. They are soon to be followed by El Senussi's nephew with a further detachment of 3,000 or 4,000. Meanwhile, El Senussi himself is preaching a crusade against the Italians which will most certainly result in large reinforcements for the Turkish cause. The pay and rations issued to the Arabs may not be extravagant, but with them they are delighted. Few of them have ever been so fed or paid. They are having the time of their lives.

Anecdote.

MARK TWAIN did not cherish a fondness for the average office boy. He had an idea that the genus was insufferable, and invariably when the humorist saluted forth into some business-office there was immediate armed hostility between him and the boy. One day Mark went to see a friend at his office, and the office boy on guard, in icy tones, said:—

"Whom do you wish to see?"

Mark mentioned his friend's name.

"What do you want to see him about?" came next, snappy the boy.

Mark Twain immediately froze up, and then with a general smile he said:—

"Tell him, please, I want to ask his hand in holy matrimony."

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

A message to the *Times* from Teheran on the 1st states that serious disorders have occurred at Kerman and that the opponents of Government are threatening the town.

Reuter wires from Teheran on the 1st that by virtue of the powers conferred on the chief of police by the Cabinet to arrest the opponents of Government, sixteen persons have already been arrested. They include Suleiman Mirza, democratic leader in the last Majlis. This action interprets the desire of the Government to prepare for the election of a pliant Majlis.

A message to the *Standard* on the 26th from Ahwaz states that Lord Lamington's camp at Alar Korshid has been pillaged by Bakhtiari brigands. Colonel Williams, who accompanied Lord Lamington, lost everything he possessed including his medals.

Lord Lamington has arrived at Isfahan. He requests Reuter to contradict any exaggerated reports that may have reached London concerning a trifling robbery in his camp at Alar Korshid. He leaves for Teheran on the 30th instant.

Trouble has been brewing for some time between the Bakhtiaris and the Sheikh of Mohammerah. The former have now seized Shushtar against the Sheikh's wishes.

The Persian Minister in London presided at a lecture on the literature of Persia by Professor Browne at University College. Professor Browne said that one of the most remarkable things in Persia was the sudden appearance of an admirable press. The style and tone of these papers were excellent.

M. Sazonoff in his Maiden Speech in the Duma said that the situation in Persia, thanks to the agreement concluded with Britain, should not cause any extraordinary complications. Unsatisfactory relations between Russia and Persia were due to the irreconcilability of Democratic Nationalists towards Russia. He assumed that the present Persian Cabinet, with Anglo-Russian support, would succeed in pacifying the country. The question of Turkish occupation of Persian territory could be decided at The Hague if the Frontier Commission at Constantinople did not agree.

Reuter is informed that the Persian Government has resolved to reassemble the Majlis at the earliest opportunity, but before ordering elections the Government considers it necessary for the welfare of Persia, and in the interests of good relations with Foreign Powers, to remove the Extremist element from the Democratic Party whose action is not consonant with patriotism at a time when Persia desires to be on friendly terms with Britain and Russia, and when the united action of all parties is necessary. These Extremists will be released after the elections. The Government also intends to create a Senate in accordance with the Constitution.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, April 5

I understand that the British pronouncement regarding the withdrawal of troops from Shiraz and Isfahan definitely states that it will take place after two months if the tribes show a friendly disposition and the Gendarmerie promises well.

A complete calm now prevails at Meshhed.

(FROM THE "DAILY NEWS" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Odessa, April 6

It now transpires that the purport, or one of the objects, of the autograph letter recently despatched by Mohammed Ali (the ex-Shah) to the Tsar by the hand of his Russian adjutant, Captain Khabaev, was to obtain permission and a safe-conduct for his wife to make a brief visit to Teheran in order to see her eldest son, the reigning Shah.

No reply has as yet been received to this request. The ex-Shah's wife remains here with her consort and two younger sons, boys of about 9 and 12 respectively.

The Odesski Listok to-day states that it has authority for the announcement that Mohammed Ali, with his family, will leave here for England about the middle of May.

(FRGM "THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

The International Socialist Bureau at Brussels has issued some fresh documents on the Persian question. We reproduce the following account of Russian proceedings at Resht from the Berlin *Populist*:

"M. Nekrasoff, the Russian Consul-General (at Resht) appointed the notorious reactionaries Musakhir-el-Mulk and Hadji Mirza Riza to act as intermediaries between the Consulate and the population. Musakhir-el-Mulk rules in the name of Russia and visits the Consulate every evening in order to give in his report and to receive instructions. When M. Nekrasoff began sending his false reports to Teheran in order to mislead public opinion in Europe, a number of Persians waited upon the British Consul, Mr. Rabino, and the Ottoman Consul, Khalid Bey, requesting them to communicate the true facts to their respective Governments. The detailed report of the deputation was approved of by the British and Ottoman Consuls, who gave the Persians the assurance that they had already informed their respective Governments of the true state of affairs and would continue to do so in future. The Russian Consul-General got wind of the action of the two Consuls and sought to procure false documents showing that they were intriguing against Russia. He caused some of the prisoners under arrest to draw up a statement charging the British and the Ottoman Consuls with inciting the population against the Russians."

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, April 8.

I have reason to believe that the Porte has called the attention of the Persian Government to the recent attacks on Ottoman Consulates in Persia, notably the attack made by partisans of Salar ed-Dowlah on the Consulate at Siba, near Kermanshah, and requested it to take prompt and energetic steps to safeguard Ottoman interests.

St. Petersburg, April 9

An official communiqué on Persian affairs is issued here, which, after contradicting at length various Press reports, declares that Russian policy in Persia has only one aim—the earliest possible termination of the disturbances which are so unfavourable to Russian economic interests and threaten to lead to further complications.

A number of telegrams from the Russian Minister in Teheran are appended giving an account of the internal situation in Persia and the recent actions of the ex-Shah. (Reuter.)

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

St. Petersburg, April 10

The Foreign Office has published extracts from diplomatic and consular despatches from Persia showing the utter hopelessness of Mahomed Ali's attempt to recover the Throne. The publication has been called forth by a recent interview published in the *Narodnaya Vremya* with the ex-Shah's brother alleging that Mahomed Ali abandoned the attempt solely on account of pressure from St. Petersburg and that without such interference his success was assured. The *Narodnaya Vremya* for some months past has been criticizing M. Sazonoff's policy, especially in Persian affairs. The campaign was the result of the uncertainty and doubt produced by Russia's attitude during M. Sazonoff's absence and gradually led to considerable bitterness, which should after to-day's publication be eschewed with profit to both sides.

From the British point of view the communiqué affords further gratifying evidence of Russia's straightforward determination not to support political adventures in Persia.

The Desecration of Meshhed.

To the Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*.

Sir,—To the abominable deeds wrought by the Russians in Tabriz and Resht must now be added their wanton desecration of the most venerated sanctuary in Persia, that of the Imam Riza at Meshhed, which for more than a thousand years has been one of the holiest shrines of the Shi'a Muhammadans, and to quote the expression employed of it by Major P. Molesworth Sykes, the British Consul at that place, "the glory of the Shi'a world." The buildings of the shrine, which no unbeliever's foot might profane, and in particular the great gilded cupola, were famous for their beauty, while the library and treasury had been enriched with invaluable treasures by the piety of many generations of devout pilgrims and worshippers.

About the same time that the Russians began to pour fresh troops into Tabriz and Resht, at the end of last year, they also sent a number—1 think about 2,000—to Meshhed, and since their arrival the Russian Consul-General, Prince Dabija, like his colleagues at Tabriz and Resht, has been eagerly seeking a pretext for active intervention. As the Persians carefully avoided affording any reasonable pretext, he proceeded to create one, using for this

purpose an adherent of the ex-Shah named Ydsuf Khan of Herat, who spent his time partly in sanctuary at the shrine and partly at the Russian Consulate, with which he was in close touch throughout. Having collected round him a number of other mischievous, he finally succeeded in creating some considerable disturbance, whereupon the Russians, having disarmed the Persian police (*nasmasya*), assumed complete control of the city. In this they were apparently aided by the Governor of Khurasan, Rukn-ud-Dawla, whom the Persian Government wished to dismiss, but the Russians would not allow them to do so.

On Saturday, March 30, the Russian troops surrounded the shrine and about two hours before sunset opened fire upon it. About sunset they forced their way into the mosque, driving out, killing, wounding, or arresting those who were in sanctuary there. They also arrested the custodian (Mutawali Bashi), who is the representative of the Crown within the sacred precincts, but afterwards released him. The number of Persians killed is not accurately known yet, but forty or fifty bodies have been already recovered. As regards the sanctuary itself, the great rupas and most of the shrines, dormitories, and other buildings have suffered grievously from the cannonade, while all the doors have been or are being broken down. The courtyard of the mosque is full of Russian soldiers and Cossacks, whose horses also are stabled there, and of the precious things with which the munificence of many kings and great men of past time had endowed the sanctuary many are missing or destroyed. We must go back six centuries to the savage Mongol invasion of Persia by Chingiz Khan to find a parallel to these acts of vandalism and violence, or to the earlier devastations of the Ghuzz Turks, of whom the poet Anwari wrote in words singularly appropriate to the present time :—

'The mosque no more admits the pious race
Constrained, they yield to beasts the holy place,
A stable now, where dome nor porch is found
Nor can the savage so proclaim his reign,
For Khorasan's criers all are slain,
And all her pulpits levelled with the ground'

General Yermoloff, the conqueror of the Caucasus, is said to have boasted to the then Shah of Persia that he was of the race of Chingiz Khan and equal to him in ruthlessness, and this evil boast the Russians are still doing their best to justify. There is nothing astonishing in this to anyone who knows the history of the Russian Government and the nature and methods of its agents. What is both astonishing and horrible is that England, under a Government called Liberal, should be a consenting party to their deeds, and that the British press with only a few noble exceptions, like the *Manchester Guardian*, should either condone or ignore the abominable deeds of that evil Government with which we are so unhappily and unequally yoked. Meanwhile the *Times*, which refuses to accept testimony or letters which do not accord with its pro-Russian policy, continues to criticise and mock the unhappy Persians, and in the same breath to assure the Indian Muhammadans that Great Britain is deeply concerned in giving all possible consideration to their religious convictions and would not willingly suffer any violence to be done to their sentiments. Unfortunately the Russian guns speak more loudly and plainly than the *Times* leaders, and are more likely to influence Muhammadan opinion as to the effects of this ill-starred entente.—Yours, &c.,

April 9.

EDWARD G. BROWNE, F.B.A.

The Reign of Terror in Persia.

The wave of indignant protest occasioned by the seizure of Northern Persia by Russia has subsided. The miners' strike has monopolised the public interest, besides this the papers have given us hardly any news of the doings of Russia for the last few weeks. Is there a conspiracy of silence?

According to reports received in Brussels, the Persians are being treated much as the Arabs were in Tripoli. They are rebels in their own country. The Russian General, Nekrasoff, has assumed the rôle of dictator; he has appointed, as governors of the different towns, notorious opponents of the National Party and tools of the late Shah. Supporters of the Persian Government are thrown into prison, and their property confiscated. Newspapers are being suppressed, and the editors flogged and imprisoned. The least suspicion of active opposition to the Russian occupation leads to imprisonment and perhaps death. All the schools founded by Europeans have been closed; the best and largest school in Tabriz is now occupied by Russian soldiers.

The International Socialist Bureau has received a letter from some Persians from Tabriz, giving the following facts :—

Up to now 280 persons have been executed, 3,000 have been killed in fighting, and 300 thrown into prison. The inhabitants do not know whether they will see the morrow, as the brigand chief, Samad Khan, who has been installed by the Russians, orders executions without let or hindrance. Eighteen hundred persons have fled

from the town and thousands of women and children are left without any means of existence. Tabriz now represents one huge prison; no one is allowed to leave, and the unarmed inhabitants are absolutely at the mercy of the brigand governor and the Russian soldiers. The prisons are full of people chained together, hourly awaiting execution.

This is but one instance of the horrors which are being perpetrated in Persia in the name of civilisation, and for which the British Government is largely responsible.

A. H. S. in *Labour Leader*.

Persia in 1912.

THERE could hardly be a more serious misapprehension than the comfortable confidence, genuine or simulated, of the British Foreign Office, that events in Persia at this crisis only affect our local interests and that we can afford to treat them as detached from our Imperial policy as a whole. The very weakness and insignificance of Persia constitute their greatest claim to our attention. Of course, we are not dealing with Persia at all. The other players in this great game are Russia and Islam, and the rest of the civilised world has gathered round the table to watch the fall of the cards with the tensest interest and sense of the importance of the issue, which we do not seem to share. There is, however, a salutary anxiety abroad in England. She does not know much about the course of events, but she is coming to understand that British affairs in the Middle East have been entrusted to unskillful hands, and that we have been used as a cat's paw in a manner to which we are not accustomed.

It is not so much that as a result of this bungling we have lost ground in Persia; it is the growing certainty that we have thereby lost weight at the council board of the world that is at the bottom of the uneasy feeling at home. And England is right. As is generally the case in the long run, the people have shown a better understanding of the essentials of the case than the Foreign Office. Manifestly it is our national standing, not our interests in Persia, that should be our first concern. But that is a very different thing from agreement with the Foreign Minister when he assumes the augur's mask, and mutters platitudes about the superior claims of wider Imperial policy, the plain man is asking whether those claims could not best have been satisfied by strong and farsighted action in regard to those very interests in Persia. In announcing the impossibility of reconciling the two, the Foreign Office has merely announced its inability to grasp the movement of affairs in the Middle East.

The protection of our Indian position and the maintenance of friendly relations with all Mohammedan peoples have been postulated as the primary aims of our Asiatic policy. It surely need not be explained that the efficiency of our Asiatic policy as an essential of our existence is second only to our supremacy at sea, a principal with which our Indian dominion can never come into conflict. What, then, is that wider policy that calls for the sacrifice of our Asiatic interests? It does not exist, and it is disingenuous to make such an appeal to the credulity of Englishmen.

The maintenance, ultimately, of Persian independence and, for the moment, of our equal voice in the guidance of its affairs—for just so long as may be necessary and not for an hour longer—is directly necessary for the material prosperity of India, and as her guardian we have no right to assent to anything less. If the underlying motive of the present series of graceful concessions to Russia in this matter is a conviction that British and Indian interests in Persia and her trade routes are not worth defending, and if the policy of maintaining buffer states is to be abandoned by us, at least it is right that such pronouncements should be openly made in Parliament. Short of such a declaration, the House of Commons can hardly acquiesce in these prolonged and secret communications, of which the course is punctuated by another and yet another assent on our part to the encroachments of a Power that is not in the least concerned with either our Indian dominion or the vindication of our good faith with Mohammedan countries.

The immediate requirements of India in this matter are obvious enough. What is not perhaps so clear to English eyes is the importance to us of keeping faith with Islam. We have little to complain of in the general attitude of Mohammedans towards ourselves, and it would in particular be an act of foolishness as well as ingratitude to forget the unwavering loyalty of our Moslem subjects in India during the stormy months of 1906, 1907 and 1908. But this patience has its limits, and it seems that those limits are being approached. The Moslem is beginning to wonder whether it is merely want of will that is at the root of our continual acquiescence in the aggressions of European States. He is becoming suspicious that it is lack of power as well.

There is at this moment a means whereby Persia may escape from final servitude and at the same time render us a service of which it is difficult to estimate the importance. If the English Government encourages her to do so it can be done. If she does not, Persia has become a mere antiquated memory—*PEACEFUL LANDS* in the *Daily Telegraph*.

Persian Foreign Trade.

Writing before the decision of the Persian Government to accept the Anglo-Russian Note, the Teheran correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* discusses the probable commercial effects of the installation of Russia in Persia. "As the Anglo-Russian Convention," he says, "in spite of the promise of the 'open door,' completely excludes third parties, all non-Russian commerce will soon feel the consequences and perceive that Persia has virtually become a Russian possession. Even as it is, her favourable position as a neighbouring Power gives the commerce of Russia certain advantages over that of other countries. But Russia will in addition find enough opportunities for so manipulating freight rates as to strengthen her privileged position still more. One already hears rumours to the effect that Russia will in the future allow goods up to a weight of ten poods (360lbs) to enter Persia at postal rates—naturally when coming from Russia. On the other hand, constant difficulties are being placed in the way of postal packages coming from other European countries, though they all have to pass through Russia. The greatest danger, however, threatens from the revision and increase of the Customs tariff. As Persia stands in need of money such an increase is indeed inevitable, but the coming tariff will certainly be made still more disadvantageous to European countries than the present tariff is, and it will be made entirely to fit in with Russian needs. As an example, it may be mentioned that vodka, a Russian spirit, which comes almost exclusively from Russia, pays only four krons per three kilos, whereas kummel, a German spirit which is scarcely if at all manufactured in Russia but is little different from vodka, pays 12 krons for the same weight."

The writer then draws attention to the unceremonious way in which Russia is already making herself the economic mistress of Persia. He points out that by the treaty of Turkmanchate of 1828, which forms the basis of the commercial relations between Persia and Russia, as well as other countries, no foreigner may acquire in Persia real estate except a dwelling-house or a place for offices and business. In no circumstances, however, may foreigner acquire landed estates. The Russian Discount Bank has never been very scrupulous in observing this law. Whenever estates which were held by it as mortgages on loans advanced to their proprietors had to be sold under the hammer it invariably acquired them through men of straw—chiefly Persian or Armenian employees of the bank. Only a short time ago it discarded all pretence whatsoever, and has been openly acquiring land and houses wherever it could get them. "As the Persian Foreign Office," the correspondent adds, "has been sanctioning these acquisitions, the surmise is gaining ground that in the Note in which she demanded the dismissal of Mr. Shuster Russia also demanded, and obtained permission to acquire landed property," and he suggests that the other Governments might do worse than inquire in St Petersburg whether their subjects could also be granted the same privileges, or whether it is restricted to the Discount Bank.—*The Manchester Guardian*.

Sir Edward Grey on Persia.

II.

In other words, England and Russia, hitherto rivals or confederates in preventing Persia from making moral or material progress, had composed their rivalries, and combined together in the far nobler task of assisting rather than of impeding the regeneration of Persia. And what they had undertaken would be faithfully observed and carried out.

One is inclined to rub one's eyes when reading afresh these phrases after the lapse of four years. Time has its revenge, and no revenge could be more complete or more highly charged with bitterness than that which has overtaken these professions. We know that those circles which, after all, determine Russian policy construed the Agreement in a totally different manner to that in which it was viewed by our own Government. They had acquired "rights" in Persia under the Convention. The pound of flesh was theirs, and they determined to eat it. "What we have undertaken will be faithfully carried out." The words sound like mockery at the present time. We have been pulled over the line and pulled into the quid with all Asia looking on.

But a ray of light commences to penetrate the gloom. Not in Persia, it is true, but over here. For the first time in our recent history public opinion in England, and especially among the Liberal party, is becoming interested in foreign affairs. The Persian question is mainly responsible for this healthy revival. The disasters which have overtaken our policy in Persia are realized, and what they forebode for our future is appreciated.

Let us, however, return to the date of the signature of the Convention. We have seen that the Secretary of State for India made a special appeal in his speech, delivered five months later, to the "Amir of Afghanistan and other potentates," who were given to

understand that what we had undertaken would be faithfully observed and carried out. Why was this appeal made? Because the consent of the Amir of Afghanistan to the terms of the Convention relating to his country was necessary in order to render them operative. Five months had elapsed and this consent was not forthcoming. Lord Morley expressed his conviction that within a given time we should obtain the Amir's acceptance, and his solemn assurances of good faith on the part of our Government in observing both the letter and the spirit of the Convention were calculated to hasten the event. Four years have now passed since these assurances were given; but the consent of the Amir remains as distant as ever. Who will blame him after what has happened in Persia?

I have alluded to the misgivings with which the Convention was regarded in England. They were shared by the Persian Government, and feeling ran very high in the bazaars and places of public discussion in Persia. The Convention was regarded as a betrayal by Great Britain and as a league between Great Britain and Russia for the destruction of Persian independence. Strong speeches were delivered in the *ayyamans*. There was a moment when the danger of a popular rising against Europeans was felt by the Legations to be imminent. It was in such circumstances that the British Minister, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, penned his now famous communication to the Persian Government. It was circulated throughout Persia on September 14, in Persian. It was translated by Professor Browne, first in the form of a pamphlet and later in his book on the Persian Revolution.

The despatch began by stating that information had reached the writer that the report was ripe in Persia that the result of the Convention concluded between England and Russia would be the intervention of these two Powers in Persia and the partition of Persia between them. It went on to remind the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs that the negotiations between England and Russia were of a wholly different character, and that the Special Envoy of the Persian Government, who had recently visited both St. Petersburg and London, had received from the Foreign Ministers of both Powers explicit declarations as to the objects aimed at by their respective Governments in Persia. It proceeded to inform the Persian Government of the substance of the conversations which had taken place between Sir Edward Grey and the Persian Special Envoy and also of the substance of M. Isvolsky's declarations, officially communicated to the British Government. Sir Edward Grey had explained to the Persian Special Envoy that he and M. Isvolsky were completely in accord on two fundamental points. Firstly, that neither of the two Powers would interfere in the affairs of Persia unless injury were inflicted on the persons or property of their subjects; and, secondly, that negotiations arising out of the Anglo-Russian Convention must not violate the integrity and independence of Persia.

The despatch went on to quote from observations made by Sir Edward Grey and from the declaration given to the British Government by M. Isvolsky. Sir Edward Grey's observations were practically identical with those contained in the passage of his speech of February 14, 1908, which I have quoted above. The object of the Convention, so far as Persia was concerned, was to prevent both Powers from interfering in Persian affairs and so to enable Persia to effect her own regeneration. M. Isvolsky's declaration, included the following important statement: "This Agreement between the two European Powers which have the greatest interests in Persia, based as it is on a guarantee of her independence and integrity can only serve to further and promote Persian interests, for henceforth Persia, aided and assisted by these two powerful neighbouring States, can employ all her powers in internal reforms." The Spring Rice despatch concluded with the following summary: "From the above statements you will see how baseless and unfounded are these rumours which have lately prevailed in Persia concerning the political ambitions of England and Russia in this country. The object of the two Powers in making this Agreement is not in any way to attack, but rather to assure for ever the independence of Persia. Not only do they not wish to have at hand any excuse for intervention, but their object in these friendly negotiations was not to allow one another to intervene on the pretext of safeguarding their interests. The two Powers hope that in the future Persia will be for ever delivered from the fear of foreign intervention, and will thus be perfectly free to manage her own affairs in her own way, whereby advantage will accrue both to herself and to the whole world."

Now, anyone who will take the trouble to compare the language of this passage with that of the passage which I have quoted from Lord Morley's speech of February 17, 1908, will not only note the similarity of the argument, but will also be able to appreciate its true import. It amounts to this: England and Russia, having come to an agreement as regards commercial concessions in Persia, and being firmly resolved to maintain the integrity and independence of the country, would no longer have any excuse for interfering in Persian internal affairs. That was the official construction of the true meaning of the Agreement at the time when it was signed.

The Comrade.

It was the constitution placed upon it, not only by our own Government, but by that of Russia. The word of honour of Great Britain was given to the Persian people that this was what was meant, and what would be observed. "What we have undertaken," again to quote Lord Morley's phrase, "will be faithfully observed and carried out."

The events of the last four years have signally belied these professions, given in the name of our own Government and in that of Russia to the Government and people of Persia. It is, to say the least, a serious reflection upon our diplomacy that the terms of the Convention itself were not made more clear, and that so much should have been left to official declarations received from the Russian Government. When you are dealing with a Government like that of Russia, which is scarcely master in its own house, you cannot be too particular in drawing out the text of an agreement. You are contending, and the Russian Government is contending, with powers behind the throne, in Russia, who often determine the course of policy, and whose proceedings are as equivocal as their conscience is dull. If you elect to sup with the devil, you must sup with a long spoon, and you must take every precaution which your ingenuity can devise to prevent your fingers from being burnt. However, the Convention is there, and so is the official interpretation. Mr Shuster has told us that it was principally his sincere belief in the good faith of those who signed and promulgated that document that finally decided him to go to Persia.* We know how that good faith has been kept as regards Mr. Shuster. Our future task must consist in requiring strict observance of its terms and interpretation by both the signatory Powers.

I have taken the trouble to set out at length this all important page in the history of the Anglo-Russian Convention. Had it been forgotten by Sir Edward Grey when he delivered to the House of Commons his amazing speech of February 21 last?† On December 14 he had informed the House that he had never seen the Spring-Rice despatch. It was elicited that the Foreign Office did not even possess a copy of it. What is the explanation now given of these

* Speech to the Persia Committee, January 29, 1912, published in Pamphlet No. 1 of the Persia Committee, London, 1912.

† See the Official Report in Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, vol. xxiv., No. 6, 1912.

WAR CARTOONS

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extraordinary omission? That this was a *Document drawn up by the British Minister in an unofficial form*. "On the face of it you can see," said Sir Edward Grey, "that it is in *unofficial form*." The British Minister regarded it as so unofficial that he did not send it to me at the time, and that is why I never saw it. A few days after he had drawn it up, instructions were sent by me from the Foreign Office as to the explanation which was to be given to the Persian Government of the Anglo-Russian Agreement. Those instructions were the official authoritative explanation. They were given some days after that unofficial document. They were accepted by the Persian Government." The instructions sent from the Foreign Office are contained on p 48 of the Blue Book, Persia No 1, 1909. The communication to the Persian Government which was based on these instructions does not appear in the Blue Book at all. That it was accepted by the Persian Government, as Sir Edward Grey stated in the debate, has been shown by subsequent question and answer to be inaccurate.* The Persian Government merely received the communication, and made no comment upon it. Now, if we turn to these instructions, we find that they contain a declaration which was obviously calculated to allay Persian suspicions. It is as follows: "The two States have, in signing the Agreement, steadfastly kept the fundamental principle in view, that the independence and integrity of Persia should be respected absolutely. The sole object of the Arrangement is the avoidance of any cause of misunderstanding on the ground of Persian affairs between the contracting parties. The Shah's Government will be convinced that the Agreement concluded between Russia and Great Britain cannot fail to promote the prosperity, security, and ulterior development of Persia in the most efficacious manner." Here we have, at least, an admission by Sir Edward Grey in 1912 that the maintenance of the independence and integrity of Persia was the fundamental principle which underlay the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907.—H. F. B. Lynch, in the *Islamic Quarterly Review*.

(To be continued)

* See Official Report of Answers to Questions in the House of Commons, 29th February 1912.

Summons for Disposal of Suit.

(Order V., rules 1 and 5,
of Act V. of 1908.)

REGULAR SUIT NO 103 OF 1912
In the Court of the Additional Munsif, Fyzabad
Rahman Khan, Son of Jawahar Khan resident
and Zamindar of Moosa Jaganpur Pargana
Mangal District Fyzabad Plaintiff,

versus
(1) Ashiq Ali (2) Ata Ullah, and (3)
Badlu, Defendants.

To

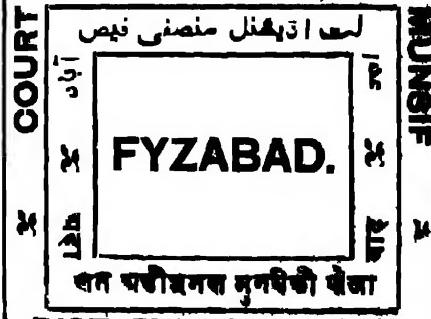
(1) Ata Ullah, (2) Badlu, Sons of Bechan Khan
Sharma, Shopkeepers, residents of Moosa Jaganpur,
Pargana Mangal, presently residing in Rangoon
at Fary Bazar, Burma Country

WHEREAS the plaintiff has instituted a suit against you for Rs. 42-4-0 you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person, or by a pleader duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions on the 17th day of May 1912, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim; and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that day all the witnesses, upon whose evidence and all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence. Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court
this 23rd day of April 1912.

By order,
DEEP PRASHAD,
Advocate.

OF THE ADDITIONAL



Summons for Disposal of Suit.

(Order V., rules 1 and 5, of Act I. of 1908.)

REGULAR SUIT NO. 168 OF 1912
In the Court of the Additional Munsif, Fyzabad.

(1) Ram Prasad, (2) Ram Ausab, son of Ram Chandra,
(3) Ram Saran, minor under the guardianship of Ram
Prasad, residents of Moosa and Pargana Mangal, Tahsil
and District Fyzabad

versus
(1) Zain Uddin (2) Muin Uddin, Defendants.
To

(1) Zain Uddin, (2) Muin Uddin, sons of Qasim Uddin,
occupation Zamindar of Moosa and Pargana Mangal,
Tahsil and District Fyzabad, presently residing at
Rangoon

WHEREAS the above-named plaintiffs have instituted a suit against you for Rs. 35/-, you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person, or by a pleader duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions on the 17th day of May 1912, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim; and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that day all the witnesses, upon whose evidence and all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence. Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this
23rd day of April 1912.

By order,
DEEP PRASHAD,
Advocate.

طلسم هوش رہا



طلسم هوش رہا ایک مشہور کتاب
جس میں عجیب و غریب انسانے
مذکور ہیں — ایک زمانہ میں اس
کتاب کا بھی چھپا تھا — لاظرین اس
انسالوں کو پرہنگ محرج بر ترجیح کر
تھے اور ہے ساختہ اس کے مصنف کو
داد دینے تھے کہ وہ کہا ہاتھیں داغ کے
لکالی میں ۱ متر د، تو نقطہ انسانے
میں تھے اب اصلی چیز ملا جائے کیجئے۔
زریونوں رکارڈ پر صندھ بھائی ۲ دو
گالوں کے ۶ چھوٹے کالے ہے میں اور
چھوٹوں کالے حسب معمول مرغ
میں، میں درپیش میں اذر میں —
ایک زرنیونوں رکارڈ پر مشہور
گویہوں کے مقبول کالے اور ۶ چھوٹے
کالے اور قیمت صرف ۱۰ روپیہ۔
مارے لہڑاں بیجوئی کے ساتھ
ان طلسی رکارڈوں کے منتظر تھے
اور مارے ایجاد فکھا پر لٹھا
کر دے تھے — اب آپ کی ضیافت
طبع کے واسطے یہ حاضر ہیں — ان
کا نون کی بیجہ مالک ہے اسلئے فوراً
خرید فرمائے۔
اس صہیت کے اردو رکارڈوں کی
فہرست ضمیمہ تازہ ترین گالوں
لہلاب ہے۔ کون لہیں جالتا کہ مضمی
جان۔ محمد حسین۔ جالکی ہائی۔
ایتے اپنے الدار میں سبیول ٹھاں
رام ہیں — میر قاری عبد الباری
صاحب ایک مقدمہ میں بزرگ میں جتوں
لے ہوئے ذوق و غرور میں کیفیت صور
حضرت غوث العظم عبد اللہ اور گیلانی
علیہ الرحمۃ کی ٹھاں میں ۲ دو فریزوں
کا نون میں — ان کے سلسلے سے لشکر
پر ہوا اگر پوتا ہے — بنا جس کو
گندہ مارنوں کے کالے تو ایسے یعنے
مرٹ میں کہ اس کی تعریف لکھیں
کس ضرورت میں لہیں — طلبی
رکارڈ کو ضرور سلیکا ورک آئی
صرحت میں دیں۔

الم .. تھر

دی گریموں کمپنی لیمیٹڈ
برسٹل پکس نمبر ۳۴ کیلی

A O O
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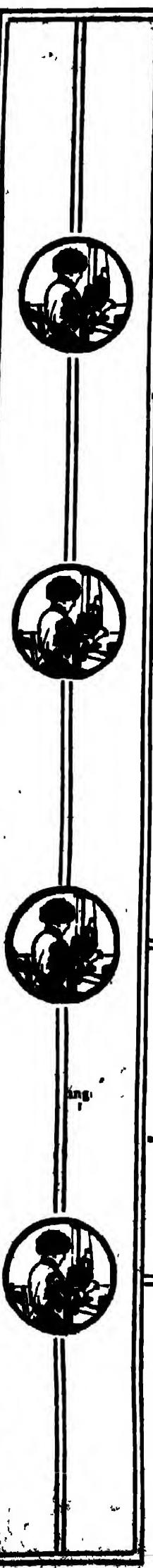
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They only live who dare!

—Morris.

Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 19. Anna 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, May 11, 1912.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1.

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pared to answer them. But he would ask a question in return. Mr. Balfour had said there was no exact parallel with the Transvaal. But the Transvaal had been mentioned not as an exact parallel, but simply to show that the prophet of evil was not always right even when he was the leader of the Opposition. He would ask Mr. Balfour was there ever a parallel for the British Empire or for a monstrous over-concentration of business in the Commons? The present system had been proved to be unworkable. Devolution was required not for Ireland alone and the present plan was admittedly not complete. The Bill did not lay down a pattern of a federal system applicable universally to the United Kingdom. Perfect similarity was unnecessary. He admitted the Ulster difficulty, but if Ulster defeated the solution proposed, it would be impossible to continue the present state of affairs. Some other solution must be found to free the Commons and to put the control of Irish affairs into Irish hands. Sir E. Grey believed, however, that the present animosity in the different parts of Ireland would disappear when for the first time they had a sense of joint responsibility.

On the recommencement of the Home Rule debate in the House of Commons on the 7th, Mr. Austen Chamberlain denied that the Bill was a remedy for congestion in the House of Commons, which, he said, would have continually to thresh out questions settled in Dublin with the added complication that the action of the House of Commons would mean the reversal of the decision of the semi-independent Irish Parliament. The military danger, added Mr. Austen Chamberlain, was profound and the financial danger great. He was not prepared to advise others to run the danger which he in England did not share, but if Ulster resisted then public opinion in England would not allow Ulster to be drawn on. "You will have your Bill," said Mr. Chamberlain, "and then go and wreck yourself in the storm you have caused."

Mr. Samuel, replying for the Government, defended the financial provisions of the Bill. It was only just, he said, to provide for a deficit at the outset. When the Irish revenues increased the deficit would be covered and then the case would be reopened, and Ireland would be given larger financial control. Mr. Samuel said he was glad that Mr. Austen Chamberlain had repudiated the frenzied appeals of Ulster to resort to violence. He declared all the larger arguments had been in favour of the Bill and only the petty ones against it.

Mr. Robert McMordie, Mayor of Belfast, said it was absurd to belittle the movement in Ulster to raise an army. The trouble would start before the Bill was enacted. Every man in Ireland able to afford it possessed a rifle or a revolver. There were a hundred thousand revolvers in the hands of the Unionists in the north of Ireland, while the Nationalists had between two and three hundred thousand.

The most notable of the other speakers on the Home Rule question were Mr. Neil Primrose and Mr. William Gladstone, both of whom supported the Bill.

China.

Sir Edward Grey dealt specially with the advantages of the Bill in collecting the Imperial Parcels of the post and collection of business. A reply to Mr. Balfour's questions, he said, would require extensive historical research and be frankly said, he was not pre-

The Comrade

said that nobody wished to infringe upon the independence of China in any way. If China borrowed money, it was for the leaders and Government concerned to fix conditions affording proper security.

Tibet.

A Mongolian pilgrim reports that there are two Tibetan political parties in Lhassa, one favouring the Dalai Lama's return and the other against. Even if the Dalai Lama returns to resume his powers there will be civil strife and dissension.

The Kambas, who come from a different stock, are at loggerheads with their Tibetan leaders. The former are only fighting for revenge for the deaths of their parents at the hands of the Chinese soldiers under the late Chao-er-Feng, and to safeguard their business interests, while the latter are fighting for the cause of reinstating the Dalai Lama.

The circumstances surrounding the struggle for independence in Mongolia and Tibet, he said, are quite different. Mongolia is backed up by Russia, whereas Tibet cannot get any assistance diplomatically or financially from Great Britain, because the hands of the British Government are tied by treaties between Russia, China and herself. The neighbouring Powers must take the neutral stand under Treaty conditions or involve themselves in international wars over the white elephant of China.

Only one-half of the Lamas in Lhassa monasteries attended the annual general synod, whereas in previous years at least 97 per cent. have been represented. It was considered expedient by the powers that only half should attend, the others remaining in their respective Lamaseries to resist Chinese attacks.

The Chinese in Lhassa, he continued, had little to fear yet, as they had any amount of supplies, with the exception of firewood, which they easily obtain by dismantling houses. He spoke of the vigorous measures adopted by Tibetan guards at important passes for searching travellers, irrespective of nationality, for Chinese letters.

The Dalai Lama has no official news regarding the result of the sortie, except that there is a daily fighting going on in Lhassa.

A new phase in the situation at Lhassa has come to light. It may be remembered by those familiar with Tibetan events before the expedition that the Dalai Lama had his Regent punished so severely that he died and his property was confiscated. It appears that this regent's "incarnation" (a boy of ten named Tengayling) has been re-instated, by the Chinese. The Tibetans say that Tengayling's friends are now actively helping the Chinese at Lhassa. This throws some light on the groundless rumour circulated lately regarding the death of the present Regent. The truth is that the Chinese have tried to depose him so as to appoint their own nominee, Tengayling.

Referring to the recent contradictory reports with regard to the situation in Tibet, the *Times* hints that the irresolution of the Dalai Lama and his continued lingering at Kalimpong are due to the report of the advance of a strong Chinese relief force on Lhassa from Batang. The *Times* fears that if the relief force succeed in reaching Lhassa, there will be severe reprisals. rebellious Lhassa has not to fear Chinese troops alone but also the Eastern Tibetan tribes whom the Chinese are said to have raised. The *Times* says that the chief responsibility rests on the unhappy refugee at Kalimpong whose intrigues and breaches of a treaty brought a British force to Lhassa and paved the way to the substantial restoration of the Chinese suzerainty. If the Tibetans will not now accept the domination of China, we can do nothing to help them, says the journal. If, on the contrary, they succeed in emancipating themselves from Chinese control, we will certainly not repeat the involuntary aid given to China by the Lhassa expedition. "We went to Lhassa to redress our own grievances, not to destroy the qualified independence of an ancient and not unkindly race."

Baghdad Railway.

Mr. Asquith replying to a question in the House of Commons said: Britain was carrying on negotiations with respect to the Baghdad-Basra Railway with Turkey who in return for compensations elsewhere had bought out the Company from this section subject to certain conditions relative to German participation.

Orissa Tenancy Bill.

The Legislative Department has issued the following Press communiqué:—With reference to certain statements made at the recent meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce in connection with the Orissa Tenancy Bill, the Legislative Department is authorised to state that the decision of His Excellency the Viceroy to withhold his assent to the Bill as passed was solely due to obvious political and administrative considerations. The Bill was passed by the Bengal Legislative Council at 1 p.m. on the 27th March and was brought on the same day for His Excellency's assent immediately before his departure from Calcutta. In view of the contentious nature of the Orissa Tenancy Bill, of the opposition raised to it in Council by the representatives of Bihar and Orissa and in view of the fact that in four days time the Province of Orissa would be separated from Bengal and would become incorporated in a province

that is shortly to have a Legislative Council of its own capable of dealing with its own provincial legislation in accordance with the requirements, the Viceroy in consultation with his constitutional adviser decided to withhold his assent to the Bill and to leave to the newly formed Government of Bihar and Orissa the task of passing such legislation as might be necessary to meet the local needs. The decision of the Viceroy was at once communicated verbally to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal with the reasons upon which it was based. The action of the Viceroy in this matter is not without precedent.

Afghanistan.

The latest news from the Khost Valley confirms the report that the Mangals are massing for an attack on Fort Matun where the Afghan Governor is shut up with 500 troops and some tribal levies. The Mangal Lashkar is put at varying strength from five thousand to fifteen thousand and its attack was to have been delivered on the night of the 2nd instant. Other tribes in the Valley have shown a disposition to negotiate with the Governor, but they were unable to do anything in face of the determination shown by the Mangals as there is still no sign of relief columns from Ghazni or Logar.

No news has yet been received of the attack which the Mangals were said to have planned upon Matun fort in Khost Valley.

Indians in Canada.

A message to the *Times* on the 8th from Toronto states that at a mass meeting of Sikhs in the Sikh Temple at Vancouver, an appeal was despatched to Lord Crewe to prevent the deportation of the two Sikh ladies with their children as ordered by the Dominion Government and declaring that the deportation was a gross breach of Imperial unity. The women should have sailed last week on the steamer *Monteagle* but Counsel applied for a "Habeas Corpus," declaring that the arrest of the women by Immigration officers was illegal on the ground that the husbands having secured domicile the wives had also acquired domicile.

Moslem University.

At a recent meeting of the Committee held at Aligarh it was announced that H.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, in addition to his donation of Rs. 5,00,000, had made an annual grant of Rs. 12,000 to the Moslem University Fund. H.H. the Nawab of Janjira has made an annual grant of Rs. 1,200. These grants raise the total amount promised to Rs. 45,26,428-6-10. Of this sum Rs. 14,98,402-6-8 have been actually collected, making with the capitalised value of the grants mentioned above and the interest accrued, a total of Rs. 29,00,125-5-10. The expenses of the Committee up to the 28th April amounted to Rs. 34,476-13-0.

Shia Conference.

The All-India Shia Conference has been registered under Act XXI. of 1860, and the Sixth Sessions will be held on the 18th, 19th and 20th October 1912 at Patna.



Anecdote.

In his entertaining book, "Patrollers of Palestine," the Rev. Haskett Smith tells the story of a Bedawi who was much puzzled by the appearance of a "New Woman" who, with a rabble of cheap tourists, turned upon the banks of the Red Sea, garbed in a knickerbocker suit and double-peaked cap. The unsophisticated descendant of Ishmael was informed by the dragoman of the author's party that this apparition was "a female soldier," and as such he in turn explained the prodigy to his friends. Some of the pictures in the cinematograph display at El Obeid given on the occasion of Lord Kitchener's recent visit gave rise, it appears, to similar doubts in the native mind, which were solved in much the same fashion. The African World films of the King and Queen's visit to Port Sudan and Sinkat were highly appreciated; so were those representing the consecration of Khartum Cathedral. But in regard to the latter pictures the natives could not make up their minds what the surprised figures were. Were they women, or were they prisoners? A sheikh settled the question by declaring that they were representatives of the British Army!

Once at a dinner Henry Ward Beecher told his sister, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, that her "Uncle Tom's Cabin" had been translated into Italian by a monk; and that a letter full of admiration had been received from him in which he stated that if he could kiss the woman who wrote the book he would die happy. Mr. Beecher then added:—"Well, I sent him a portrait of you, Harriet, and nothing has been heard of him since."

TETE À TETE



LAST week we published a letter of the Hon Messrs Mazhar-ul-Haque and Sachchidananda Sinha contradicting the statement which we had published in our issue of 27th April that they

Fugitive Pilgrims of Assurance. had gone "on a fugitive pilgrimage of assurance to Cuttack on the suggestion of His Excellency the Viceroy." So far as our present information goes, His Excellency did not suggest such a journey, and we do not know how to express our deep regret that we should have been led to publish incorrect information relating to anything which His Excellency had or had not done. And that regret is made all the deeper now that His Excellency's name has to be mentioned in the course of a controversy of such a character. But it is obviously impossible for us to avoid this now because two men—"these were honourable men in their generation"—have seen fit to deny the statement which they had themselves made. Their contradiction seems to have been sent to us for publication in sheer desperation, and after a good deal of racking of legal brains. The issue of 27th April must have been in their hands on the morning of the 28th, and the contradiction was drawn up and posted to us on the 1st May, evidently as a last resort. That tells its own tale, but we shall not labour that point as our lack of legal training has made us hopelessly incapable of splitting hairs such as the *Biharī* loves. (*Vis à vis* the distinction drawn between giving assurances to and seeking the co-operation of the *Urijas*.) To us it is enough that one of the honourable gentlemen should have made to us the statement that we published. Although we are much humbler than this brace of Imperial Councillors, we do not think we need go about in search of evidence to corroborate our own and to rebut the contradiction. Nor did we do so. But a correspondent, whose name we do not publish, sent us unasked a communication for publication in which he stated that he had heard from another honourable gentleman that not one but both the Imperial Councillors had made the identical statement to him also. We have verified this, and publish both the corroborating statements in our correspondence columns. Two other letters are also published, and they come from gentlemen of the same profession as Messrs Haque and Sinha, and it cannot now be said that this evidence is less reliable than the unsupported *spur d'ivis* of the Imperial Councillors. This does not leave even the loophole of a misunderstanding on our part, and the two honourable gentlemen stand condemned of action which we can leave our readers to characterize. We have no desire to pry into the motives of such an action. But it seems that when it was not His Excellency who made the suggestion—though we ourselves see no harm in the Viceroy making such a suggestion, and, in fact, consider that His Excellency would have been well advised in desiring to cement in this manner the various parts of a new province which he has created—His Excellency's name and position were abused by the two representatives of Bihar merely to enhance their own importance. As plenipotentiaries of His Majesty's representatives in India they could make a *babu* show in Behar and Orissa, and the value of such "titles" cannot be ignored when elections are nigh. But whether they did this for its own sake or with an eye on the main chance at the polls, there's no getting rid of the ugly fact that they did this, and—what is there is a more serious matter—for once they have been caught! They stand there in the pillory before the rude gaze of the publics-by, and they will need all the dignity that at least one of them tried to show so profusely on the Council Chamber to avoid looking extremely foolish and ridiculous. "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright."

We ARE glad that our subscribers and others are responding to our call for the *Handardī* Debentures zealously; but there are many yet who have not sent in their formal applications, and we would request them to do so without delay.

The form of application was published in the issue of 27th April and copies are also being sent out under separate covers to all who had promised informally. The reason why we are in a hurry is that orders cannot be placed for the Press unless deposits amounting to Rs. 17,500 have been duly received by us. That sum has not yet been received. We shall close the list immediately after having received that amount, and thereafter call in the balance from the applicants.

By THE death of Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Nazir Ahmed, L.I. D., passes away one of the giant figures of Urdu Literature who by their great intellectual labours have helped to span the gulf between the old order of things and the new. Born,

and bred in the lap of a society whose hopes and fears, and intellectual and moral standards, were essentially cast in the mould of ancient culture, he grew up to see the final extinction of its political power and the sudden shifting of horizons in art, literature, politics, thought and social purpose. The impact of two different cultures invariably lets loose immense revolutionary and destructive forces. The men who happen to be born into this welter of things undergo a severe test of character and intellect. The weaker natures spend themselves in fury and pass away into silence. Those, however, who are cast in the ampler mould, whose intellect is capacious and whose character strong and virile, speedily rise to the occasion and confidently go forth to ride the storm. Delhi, the home of ancient culture as well as its tomb, has been justified of her children. The message of Sir Syed Ahmed has become the message of hope for 70 millions. Amongst those who preached that message far and wide, and brought it home to the rich and the great, the poor and the lowly, Dr. Nazir Ahmed held a pre-eminent position. Nature had endowed him with extraordinary gifts of the mind; and his vast learning, ready wit, a wide range of dialectical powers, a facility of thought and utterance that was as remarkable as the style in which it was cast, and a complete mastery of language made him a great power in popular assemblies. When his indignation was moved he was never very sparing of epithets, and his opponents had reason to dread his rollicking wit and the sledge-hammer of his phraseology. Dr. Nazir Ahmed was not merely the platform missionary of a new intellectual movement. He was also a poet of some merit. But above all he was an author of great eminence some of whose works have become the classics of Urdu Literature. No student of Urdu can think without great delight and admiration of the works he must have read more than once, of "Taubat-un-Nasoh," "Banaz-un-Ne'sh," "Mirat-ul-Urus," "Roya-i-Sadiqa" and others, most of which break new ground in Urdu Literature, and everyone of which owes its inspiration to a propagandist who is yet a literary artist, breathes the spirit of change and gently takes the reader out of the traditional ways of thought into new vistas of hope and endeavour. They are not exactly what is termed the modern novel, for the missionary is only too apparent. But they have laid the foundations of the serious Urdu fiction, which has unfortunately not yet grown into an independent art. These works have secured for their author a permanent niche not only in Urdu Literature but also in the hearts of the woner of India. Dr. Nazir Ahmed rendered a great service to the Moslem community by translating the Quran into idiomatic Urdu. The translation has some defects of style, the expression in some place lacking the dignity of the high theme, but it has on the whole served a useful purpose by making the Word of God accessible in easy language to the Indian Mussalman who cannot understand Arabic. Dr. Nazir Ahmed was one of the oldest trustees of the Aligarh College. The Muhammadan Educational Conference is much indebted to him for its early success as an institution of educative value. In the Punjab his influence has been great and he had become a name to conjure with. He was one of the few survivors of the gallant band whom the late Sir Syed Ahmed had inspired and who have since then spent their lives in the service of their community. He was a great intellectual link between the present and the past. His career summed up not simply an influence but a type. His passing away, laden with honours as well as years, is a great loss to Urdu Literature and scholarship, to the Moslem community and, in fact, the whole country. He spent his years in the forefront of battle and made use of his gifts to the full. He may not have initiated any new idea himself, but he gave to the teachings of his master a powerful popular expression. We offer our heartfelt condolences to the family of the deceased.

FOR reasons best known to itself, the Reuter's agency refrained from supplying even the broad details of The Meahed Outrage. The Meahed Outrage to us in India; and it is only through the papers received by the English mail that the full enormity of it has been brought to light.

It appears that the disturbance which the Russians attributed to the intrigues of the followers of Mohamed Ali was in reality created by the Russian troops who had marched in force into Meshed. Immediately after their arrival, they began to practise the familiar methods of terrorism to overawe both the officials and the inhabitants. The people naturally took fright; the bazaars were closed; there was a general cessation of business; and the disorderly elements of the population were encouraged to acts of lawlessness. The Russians took the law into their own hands and began to disarm the population. Even the Government police and officials were forced to surrender their arms and the constituted authority was torn up by the roots. These acts of coercion naturally gave birth to a deep feeling of resentment, and some of the more patriotic and courageous Persians began openly to say what they thought of the Russians. And when they found they were in imminent danger of meeting the fate of their Tabriz compatriots, they took sanctuary in the shrine of the Imam with many others who had fled thither for their lives. The Russians, thereupon, trained their Maxim guns on the sacred building and began the bombardment of the "Glory of the Shia World" and an object of reverence to Mussalmans of all sects. These are the main facts of the outrage which has sent a shiver of horror throughout the Islamic world. The myth about the ex-Shah's followers was quite worthy of Muscovite genius, and its grim humour could not be lost on those who still remember the incidents connected with Mohamed Ali's escapade, particularly the story of the "the mineral waters." Some of the English papers, notably the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, have written strongly in condemnation of the Russian atrocities in Persia, and even the *Times* cannot find it in its heart to justify the bombardment of what it calls only an "ancient historical building." In reply to the protest of the London Moslem League, Sir Edward Grey said that he fully realised the gravity of the Russian action and had made representations to the Russian Government on the subject. We wish his representations would bear fruit. If Persia has to know no peace within her own borders, if her subjects are to bear continuous indignities and maltreatment and witness the most shocking outrages committed against all they hold most dear by the most brutal and tyrannical power in modern history, the sham of integrity and independence may well be torn aside and the country partitioned, that the sufferings of the people may cease.

A couple of months ago it was our painful duty to draw the attention of the Government to the Hoti-Mardan case. We had not rushed to impetuously formed conclusions, but had confined ourselves to a statement of the facts of the case as disclosed in the Bombay High Court. As for comments, we contented ourselves with a lengthy extract from the judgment of Mr. Justice Davar, who had presided at the Bombay Criminal Sessions. In fact, although we were aware of the judicial "aside"—which was as severe a comment on the methods of the Northern India police and general administration as any agitator could make—we refrained from publishing it. We believe we were right in considering that this was enough so far as the case itself was concerned, though the Chief of Hoti-Mardan and his many friends would have liked our dilating on this and making severer comments on our own behalf. Very strong, and, *prima facie*, very plausible insinuations had been made against the local authorities, but we did not feel inclined to go into all that. We wrote at the time that "there are not wanting those who suggest that it was the independence and manliness of this important and extremely rich Chief which actuated the local authorities to humble his pride and shower great indignities upon him", but we added that "in the absence of accurate data we shall not discuss such suggestions at all". We were, however, led to ask that if such a person as the Khan of Hoti could be treated in this manner, "what chance is there for a less fortunate, a humbler and a poorer person who has only a limited number of legal practitioners in the Province to choose from, and whose fate is in the lap of the same District Magistrate of Peshawar who ordered this cruel arrest?" We then deplored the system of rigorously keeping down the number of legal practitioners in the N.W.F. Province and of licensing them on payment of a fee as if they were members of a criminal tribe let out on parole. We also showed our disapproval of the Sirga system of doing justice—or injustice—when there is not enough evidence to sustain a prosecution in a law court where alone legal practitioners can defend an accused person. As we were surprised at the total lack of response to appeals for the Turks, Arabs, and Persians, as contrasted with an unusual and sudden enthusiasm for an Islamia College for English education—which we heartily approved, as we had always done before—we stated that "judged only as symptoms, these facts disclose a state of affairs that is not without its dangers." We knew that discontent in the Province was acute, but that it was sinking deeper daily,

ground because even the few outlets for its coming to the surface had been rigorously closed. We, therefore, wrote:—

This reminds us that while a flood of agitation swept over the land after the Partition of Bengal, and its revocation too has left to a heated controversy, nobody seems to mind in the least, another and an earlier Partition carried out by Lord Curzon which is still unrevoked. One would have thought that when the Government of India was in a revoking mood, this Partition too should have been annulled. But, then, there was no agitation against it, for it was the very first consequence of this other Partition that the voice of criticism should be hushed. We refer to the separation of the North-Western Frontier Province from the Punjab, and to the regulations which govern the sturdy, if also unlettered, men of Peshawar and its neighbourhood. Agitation of the familiar type there could be little among such people. But the laws which govern them, and still more the procedure, authorized and unauthorized, which has undisturbed sway in that region, preclude the possibility of frontier grievances providing food for thought at our breakfast tables. If any violence is heard of, it is generally attributed to the temper of the Pathan and the fanaticism characteristic of his faith. And that we go on believing that all is for the best in the best possible of all frontiers, that God is in heaven, Sir George Roos-Keppel is on earth, and all is well with that part of the world. Thugs cannot be allowed to drift in this way, and although we think that the Punjab itself is far too bureaucratic, that its Judiciary has not as judicial a temper as it should have, and is too dependent on the Executive, which is itself too autocratic, and possesses a police which needs considerable reforms, we nevertheless believe that the time has come when it should be seriously considered whether it is not desirable to annul this Partition and re-unite the frontier to the Punjab.

We are conscious that we have yet much to learn of the temper of officialdom in the N.W.F. Province, and it was our intention to acquaint ourselves more intimately with the conditions by a visit of some length. But it is clear that Sir George Roos-Keppel, for whom we have always entertained great respect and regard, knows nothing of the temper of Eastern India, its politicians and its Press. We are such modest sinners ourselves in agitation that in the presence of some of our contemporaries we have to be ashamed of our moderation. Among the tigers of Bengal we roar as gently as any sucking dove. But it seems that in spite of "aggravating" our voice so we have frightened the ladies of the Frontier out of their wits, and if Bottom the Weaver was a good prophet as well as a perfect actor-manager, we fear the Frontier authorities "would have no more discretion but to hang us." We have hitherto had on our subscribers' list practically every member of the Government of India and head of a Local Government, and in most cases these eminent personages subscribe for the *Comrade* privately in addition to receiving copies for use in their offices. We hope we are not snobbish in saying all this, but we would be something less than human if we did not feel gratified at this token of appreciation of a journal yet in its infancy. We do not despise the few shekels that come our way in this manner. But taking into consideration the peculiar circumstances of India, it has to be remembered that journals conducted by Indians in English are meant much more to advocate the popular cause at the bar of their rulers than to educate the people themselves, and that being the case, we are much more gratified at the inclusion of a high official among our subscribers because it gives us a chance of being heard, than because another twelve rupees get into our till. Sir George Roos-Keppel has been a subscriber of the *Comrade* since the paper was started in January, 1911, and it is needless to say we have been grateful to him for having given us an opportunity of reaching him in this manner. But a few weeks after the publication of our comments on the Hoti-Mardan scandal and the unrevoked Partition of the N.W.F. Province, we received a letter informing us that we should discontinue sending him the paper. As he had already paid in the subscription for the whole year, we wrote back asking if the paper should be continued for the remaining 8 months of the year, for it was against our rules of business to refund subscriptions for the unexpired period. To our great surprise we hear now that "the Chief Commissioner does not want the paper and will forego the subscription already paid in advance." Now, this clearly shows chagrin, and we heartily regret it. But the blow was not such that the little dignity which we hope we possess could not have helped us to endure in silence. Twelve rupees more or less do not matter, or we would long ago have applied to Sir George for some of the largess he used to distribute to papers in his own Province. In our Province too we have never hankered after the loaves and fishes of the State, and strongly opposed the system of doles when the *Sulav Samachar* righteousness was first published to the world at the expense of the general taxpayer. But in the first place, we regret that in this case we have not even the consolation of dignity, for we would ourselves *try* officials to read our views in the interests of our clients, and we cannot afford to lose a hearing. In the second place, we feel it to be our duty to speak out against the waste of public money, even if we be the gainers, and even if it be only to the extent of Rs. 8-1-2 $\frac{1}{2}$. Had Sir George Roos-Keppel decided to forego any sum paid out of his private pocket, we should only have laughed at his tactics. He would have benefited us when he intended to hurt us. But it is the Chief Commissioner of a Local Administration that does so, and we should like to know who authorised him to play tricks and *try* officials to pay Rs. 8-1-2 $\frac{1}{2}$? The paper will be ordered by the *Comrade* and paid for out of the taxes which we and our clients

George Roos-Kepel to show his pique at our and their expense? We hope the Cerberus of Finance would take note and ask Sir George to refund the money out of his private purse. As for criticism of the administration of the Province, we have yet a good deal to say, and as the Mathias of the Frontier has rigidly closed his ears, there is no reason why the sleigh bells should not jingle as lustily as the law permits. Lord Morley has made us familiar with the phrase "sun-dried bureaucrats," but Sir George Roos-Kepel would amend it and would have us call them "thin-skinned." If they are all that sort on the Frontier, we would suggest their borrowing some of the pachyderm of us journalists. Our toughened hides have often to serve us just as well as a bomb-proof shed serves General Caneva.

IT HAS been said that coming events cast their shadows before, but in the world of diplomacy the act comes first, while the motive emerges out of the shadowland afterwards. We were told the

The Projected Trans-Persian Railway. We were told the other day that the Persian Government needed strength and unity and that for the purpose of strengthening its hands it would summon a sufficiently accommodating Majlis by "removing" the extremists. We were left to surmise in doubt and could not grasp the inwardness of this fresh move to create sham forces of democracy as yoke-fellows of a pliant Government and harness them to the coach of State. The illumination has been vouchsafed to us sooner than we were led to expect. Reuter informs us that "during the past few weeks considerable progress has been made in the preliminary work of the Trans-Persian Railway. As a result of a series of conferences of the international groups in Paris, the statutes of the Société d'Etudes have been formulated. The Société will comprise French, Russian and British groups, each providing 750,000 francs for the preliminary work." After this it becomes easy to understand why a pliant Majlis has begun to be thought of as a necessity of the situation. What Mulai Hafid has been through gentle persuasion led to do for France, a quiet Majlis free from "the extremists," is expected to do for the promoters of the Persian Railway project. The acceptance of it can be forced on an unwilling country at the point of an ultimatum framed on the Russian model. But that might give rise to unnecessary fuss, and, besides, the soul of modern diplomacy loves nothing so much as a patent of legality. Railways are unquestionably needed for the development and efficient administration of a backward country. It is only the questions of control and safety in time of war that constitute the real issue. Were this not so, an under-sea tunnel would have bridged the English Channel long ago, and saved two nations the worries and sea-sickness of a wretched crossing. There is very little hope that the projected Persian Railway will be left in the control of the Persian Government; and under the circumstances the Persian patriot who still cherishes hopes of his country's freedom will be pardoned by the *Englishman* if he fails to welcome a railway, controlled by a foreign syndicate and absolutely independent of Persian authority, traversing Persia from one end to the other and reducing her to complete bondage and impotence. "Responsible opinion in Persia," says the *Englishman*, "is probably cognisant of the fact that there is now no question of the violation of the integrity of Persia, and the Russian and British Governments have more at stake in the railway than Persia itself." We may, however, remind our contemporary that there is not much of the Persian "integrity" left to be violated. The railway will take away the little that has been accidentally spared. After that "the stake" will indeed be divided between Russia and Britain, and the British "stake" will, of course, be heavier by as much as India is worth.

THE unfolding of the Italian scheme of "conquest," mad as it is in its futility, has not even the saving grace of method about it. The pirate fleet is busy creating fresh sensations every week to save

The Occupation of Rhodes. the face of the Italian Government and supply diversion to the already distracted populace. The "conquest," in the meantime, has met with a grievous check in Tripoli. The senseless expenditure of shot and shell on the Turkish coasts, the Ferdinandea adventure, and now the heroic landing of troops in Rhodes furnish an instructive commentary on the fate of the Tripolitan city, delivered as it was with the object of "vindicating the prestige of the Italian arms" and "wiping out the stain of Adowa." The stain abides, however, to have grown thicker and no amount of base bootlganism in the Aegean can wash it out. The occupation of Rhodes cannot alter one jot the reality of the situation, nor, in effect, in the least the determination of the Ottoman Government to preserve at any cost the integrity of the Empire. The vital parts of Turkey are out of the reach of any hostile blow; and will an Italian army ever land on Turkish mainland with any prospect of returning home alive. The temporary loss of Rhodes adds, therefore, means nothing to Turkey, although it would keep the entire Indian Division locked up in a distant island, which will have to be fed from Italy, and will thus add to her already

enormous financial burdens. The Turkish garrison, 3,000 strong, has retired into the hills with abundant supplies of ammunition, and will conduct guerilla warfare to give some exercise to the army of occupation. The island of Rhodes has played a conspicuous part in ancient and medieval history. It lies 10 miles off the coast of Asia Minor towards the north-east of Crete. It has an area of 560 square miles and a population of 30,000, mostly Greeks, with the exception of 8,000 Turks and 2,500 Jews. The physical features of the island are mountainous a chain runs across its whole length, rising 4,000 feet above the level of the sea. The mountainous regions are finely wooded and endowed with countless streams. The history of the island goes far back into the Hellenic antiquity. It was famous for its art. The ancient Persians captured it in 490 B.C. but lost it to Alexander 150 years later. The Colossus of Rhodes, a giant statue of Apollo executed in bronze, that rose astride the mouth of the harbour a hundred feet high, was destroyed by earthquake in 220 A.D. On the fall of Rome the island formed part of the Eastern Empire, but was soon after conquered by the Arabs. The Knights of St. John of Malta recaptured it in 1310 and held it till 1522, when the Turks, after a vigorous siege of 6 months, took possession of it. It has ever since remained a part of the Turkish Empire. But whether it now remains Turkish or not, Tripoli will not be Italian, and if the Italian navy is distributed in this manner over the seven seas, that is just what the Turks desire to drive the Italians on the coast of Tripoli and Cyrenaica into the sea.

A CORRESPONDENT has supplied us with a detailed list of the grievances of the Sub-Registrars in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. In the first place, he says there are few prospects in the Service,

Sub-Registrars in the U.P. the chances of promotion being very scanty and limited. Out of the 202 posts, there are only 13 carrying a salary of Rs 100 or upwards. It would, therefore, be a rare good fortune for a man who starts at the lowest rung of the ladder to retire on a salary exceeding Rs 70 per month, even though he succeeds in putting in full 30 years' service. Promotion to higher grades is not regulated by a time scale, but entirely depends on chances few and far between, i.e., when some vacancy is caused by death or retirement. Then, again, we understand that officers of the position of the Sub-Registrar are not allowed peons or punkha coolies, are provided with shabby accommodation, and are even grudged the use of decent furniture and stationery. Last of all, we are told, the rules hold them responsible for the safe custody of the records, while the moharrirs working under them have free access to those records without sharing the responsibility. All these grievances, can be easily removed if only the authorities take them into consideration. As regards the first, the most serious grievance of all, it is indeed necessary in the interest of the efficiency of the Service and to secure the contentment of the officers of the Registration Department, that their prospects as regards pay, grade and promotion should be regulated by more generous rules framed with a view to make the Service much more attractive to men of honesty and ability seeking a decent livelihood.

It seems that in publishing a fortnight ago our article on "Behar and the Beharier" we have given mortal offence to our contemporary of the new Province. In the three consecutive leading articles in the issues

of 3rd, 4th, and 5th instant, which occupy about eight and a half columns altogether, no portion of our article of less than two columns has been left untouched and uncondemned. But the main attack has been directed against our publishing the statement made to us by one of the two honourable gentlemen that the Hon. Messrs. Mazar-ul-Haque and Sachchidananda Sinha went to Orissa at the suggestion of His Excellency the Viceroy. This one little statement has, for obvious reasons, enraged their defender in the Press so much that it has attributed to us "ill-will and rancour" towards Mr. Mazar-ul-Haque, and because we did not mention among those prominent men of Behar whose influence is likely to be directed to the "continuance of those happy relations which kept the Hindus and Mussalmans united," the name of any person of whom the Psalms say, "the words of his mouth were smoother than butter, but war was in his heart," it has accused us of ignoring the "strenuous labours of Mr. Sinha in the cause of our province," and of believing that "he has had no more to do with Behar affairs and her public life than the man in the moon." For these offences judgment has been pronounced against us in more than eight columns of the *Beharier*, and it would be as easy to say who is the judge and who the accusers as it was in the days of the Star Chamber. The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau. We are accused of having lost our reason: of being "insolent," "malicious" and "scandalous"; of harbouring an "ill-disguised feeling of envy"; of "casting dirt" and "throwing mud"; of "patent vulgarity" and "latent mischievousness." According to the writer—or writers—we have been "grossly defamatory," and even "ungentlemanly," have been "circulating gross calumnies," and are "not likely to stick at trifles in tarnishing reputations." Reference is made to "the *Comrade's* grossly libellous statement—quite in

keeping with its policy and line of work," and to our "usual habit of misstatement—we had said almost habitual disregard of truth." We do not know why this statement was qualified and whittled down to such venial proportions, for the writer, or writers, —who seem to have no better memory than that of the class to which they refer—had already said that "if liars had not—as the proverb has it—short memories, the *Comrade* would not have written as it has done." After this, who would wonder if we have been responsible for "a tissue of insinuations . . . the like of which one may look for in vain even in the most discredited and disgraceful paper." As the *Bharsee* says, "that the *Comrade* should have stooped so low . . . is quite characteristic of the depth of meanness and low level of scurrility to which it is capable of descending to serve its nefarious ends." We do not know if it is Jacob or Esau, but whosoever the writer of these articles may be, the smell is not "as the smell of a field which the Lord hath blessed." It is more like the smell of a field at a particular season in the agricultural year, and we apologise to our readers for this outrage on their olfactory nerves. Our only reason for culling these fragrant flowers of vituperation and presenting them with this posy of Billingsgate phraseology is that we wish to explain why we intend to offer no reply to the *Bharsee* so far as we ourselves are concerned. It has boldly challenged us in these words:—"The *Comrade* has traded too long on the assurance that those attacked by it will not perhaps care to teach it a much-needed lesson. It will be greatly mistaken, however, if it fancies that we are going to adopt such a course." We do not know how it was possible for us to make such a mistake, for even when we had once ventured to reply to the adverse comments of an amphibious contemporary that is edited from Behar and published from the United Provinces, the *Bharsee* felt it to be its duty to commence an attack both fore and aft. Its editorial columns began the fray, and were followed by a writer signing himself "Bottom." We know not whether this *nom de guerre* was selected for some self-confessed affinity to the Weaver of Shakespere's creation who, at least once in his career, was "marvellously hairy about the face," "could munch your good dry oats", and declared in a musical mood that "good hay, sweet hay, hath no fellow." Whatever the motive for the choice of such a choice name, we must confess what had then emanated from "Bottom" had not made us devoutly wish for the repetition of the "much needed lesson." We have no language equally malodorous wherewith to reply to the batteries of the *Bharsee* and confess ourselves silenced. We can conceive the baresark rage in which men may tear men to pieces with their teeth, but a dog that bites a man is not bitten back unless rabies take effect. In any case, we trust our constitution is strong enough to withstand the contagion. But even if we were to think that our readers wish us to treat the matter differently, all that we have to do is to bring before them the last of the many ineffective shots of this worthy imitator of Italian bombardiers. The *Bharsee* says of us in its last friendly effusion "If but our contemporary had the saving grace of humour," etc., etc. Need we say anything in our defence—after that? We have only to repeat the words of our irresponsible and hedonistic colleague, Mr. Gup, who wrote of certain critics from Behar— "This is an age of revivals, so our revolutionists have resurrected the Whipping Boy, and the first of its kind is my dull and staid companion, the *Comrade*. When I am frivolous—and when am I not?—'tis my comrade that's whipped for want of dignity. When my wee little sting bores its way through hides too pachydermatous to mind being whipped even with scorpions, it is my Whipping Boy that has to feel the lash for a lack of suavity. When I am drunk with joy at the passing stupidity of men, it is my stable companion that is dug in the ribs with the spurred heel for want of sobriety. When I laugh at their follies and flourish, some Cassius with a lean and hungry look turnz round and tells the world that my *comrade* is devoid of a truly healthy liberalism. When I refuse to tolerate the cant of the sanctimonious, it is the other rascal that is declared to be without catholicity of outlook. But these worthies mistook the identity, and while praising me for a judicious sensibility, have diagnosed in the *Comrade* an utter absence of sanity of judgment. As Bovril said to the Bull, 'Alas! my poor brother' . . . I mistake not a grimace for humour nor think that wit and malice can sleep in the same bed. I laugh and thrive, the world enjoys it, but when the cap fits, ridicule leaves a wound where indignation, however righteous, would succeed no more than water on a duck's back or a pellet on the hide of a rhino. 'No kind of power,' said Macaulay, 'is more formidable than the power of making men ridiculous.' He who has it owes it one part to himself and three parts to the man who is the butt of his humour. Ridicule is the best test of truth, and those whose dignity or humanity, patriotism or wisdom shrinks from this test, only show that the cap and bells which are a misfit for the fool just fit their pates." Our offence may be the unconscious exposure of a successfully advertised fraud, but it is certainly not what our accusers say. The reference to Cross Benches, or the relation of Jodhpur to contemporary history would better indicate the direction of our sins. If not, seek it, gentle reader, in those intricate mathematical calculations that show the *exact height of modesty!*

The Comrade.

The Hon. Law Member and Ourselves.

As we have said elsewhere, we cannot enter into a controversy with the *Bharsee* when it has seen fit to use language which we would be wholly untrue to ourselves to imitate. We do not fear that any person for whose good opinion of us we care would be likely to draw from this any conclusion adverse to ourselves. In any case, we do not mind being misjudged occasionally, for none can always avoid it. But where others besides ourselves are concerned, we owe it to them no less than to ourselves to give no occasion for a misunderstanding. After this deplorable exhibition of themselves we have little regret that the two honourable gentlemen from Behar who went on a fugitive pilgrimage of assurance—or on some other mysterious errand—to Orissa have been quite unconsciously exposed. But they or their defenders need not have gone out of their way to besmirch the name of the greatest Beharee of our times for whom our respect, regard and—need we confess?—affection, are only too well known, and to none more than to the *Bharsee* and its honourable *protégés*. We have to rub our eyes and pinch ourselves to make sure we are not in the midst of a nightmare when the *Bharsee* wishes to exculpate the "less exalted people" among its Directors by accusing us of "circulating such gross calumnies" against the Hon. Law Member. However, there is no gainsaying that this grave charge has been made in all seriousness, and howsoever painful it may be to us to make him the subject of any controversy, we have no choice but to prove that we have the same respect, regard and affection for him to day that we have always entertained in the past.

We had never felt that he needed constant expression of these feelings, nor has aught occurred to make us feel so now, and we believe his own desire must always be to be considered as merged in the Government of which he is a distinguished member. At the public dinner at the Calcutta Town Hall on the 18th February, 1911, at which his many friends, English, Hindu and Moslem, entertained him, he struck that note in saying that "he is first and above all a Minister of the Crown," and considering his antecedent public life, of which the outstanding quality was his absolute freedom from racial and religious bias, which was testified to on that occasion by the participation in honouring him of more than 150 gentlemen of many races and creeds, he was pre-eminently fitted to undertake the grave responsibilities of a Minister, and specially of an Indian Minister of the Crown. Having indicated that sufficiently at the time, we studiously avoided further references to his personality. Until recently, the only occasion on which we had to refer to him was only a fortnight after this public dinner when we felt compelled to correct a grave error of the *Madras Times* which had said that the Law Member "is against the principle of Separate Electorates." We then reproduced in parallel columns his scheme of Moslem representation and that of the Right Hon. Mr. Amer Ali to show that he was never against Separate Electorates, and that he was in no way opposed in principle in this matter to "the orthodox views of the Moslem League." But we had been careful enough to preface our remarks with the statement that "for five years at least party politics had no poles asunder." "He may have been wrong," we continued, "or he may have been right, in this or that particular, as the leader of the Moslem community; but that chapter is now closed and no purpose can be served by referring to his opinions of some years ago when he was bound to consider certain questions from a point of view different from that of a Minister of the Crown."

We have had since then no occasion to change this view, and it is our firm belief that he is incapable of conscious injustice to any class or community, and it never occurred to us that when dealing with public questions he had the least temptation to favour his province or his co-religionists. But the *Hindustan Review* of which the Hon. Mr. Sinha, one of the *protégés* of the *Bharsee*, is both Proprietor and Editor, did not evidently think alike and published in its editorial columns a statement which it would take the *Bharsee* some time to justify or explain away. It wrote:—

If the Partition of Bengal is to be modified, it can only be with the consent and co-operation of Behar, on such conditions only as will commend themselves to the leaders of public opinion in that province. The Government of India are not likely to do anything now which would alienate the sympathies of the representatives of the nearly 30 millions of Beharees—that too with a Beharee Law Member in the Council."

While writing on the subject of the Partition Day Meeting, we wrote in this connection as follows:—

"May not the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal, who have now tasted, like Behar, the joys of a majority for the first time, say precisely the same thing when pressed for their views? As for the likely reply of the Government of India, although we do not think the *Hindustan Review* to the Law Member would easily command time to him, it is some consolation to think that he is not only a Moslem but a Mussalman as well."

Since then His Majesty's Announcement at Delhi has changed the situation as far as Behar and Eastern Bengal are concerned. But that has not altered our opinion of the Law Member's character and action in the least, and it is, in fact, our belief that his determination to give no occasion to anyone to suspect him of prejudice or pre-dilection might have made him hesitate in the Council Chamber of the Executive before suggesting the incorporation of Behar as a separate Province had none of his colleagues proposed that measure before it became necessary for him to do so. In spite of this, the *Bcharee* most unwarrantably and, of course, untruly, attributes to us the suggestion that "the Law Member exerted his influence to secure 'Behar for the Beharees' at the expense of the Mussalmans of East Bengal." We do not know whether the *Bcharee* claims or does not claim "to be a well conducted journal," but in either case we are constrained to repeat its own words and say that "never did a more heinous calumny find place in a journal." In discussing the situation created by the incorporation of Behar, Orissa and Chhota Nagpur into a separate Province in the issue of the 27th April, we said in passing.—

"Beharees are no doubt sure that what has secured to them their good fortune is nothing less than their own character of sturdy loyalty.... Well, we have a suspicion that if Behar is lucky, some other Province is also intended to be jealous. But however Behar may have secured her separate existence, it depends upon the Beharees what use they are going to make of such existence."

Behar had all along mourned her being yoked to Bengal, and we should not be surprised if one of the evil results of this much deplored and deplorable association has been that the *Bcharee* has learnt a little of the methods of the *Bengalee* in dealing with quotations from the writings and speeches of people that it sets itself to criticise. For, although it has not altered our words, as the *Bengalee* did in the case of the Nawab of Dacca, it has skilfully eliminated the portion of our remarks which we have given in italics, and has itself italicised the single word "howsoever," which, isolated in this manner, loses most of its significance. But to say that this is done "to bring out into relief the implied suggestion that the Law Member exerted his influence to secure 'Behar for the Beharees' at the expense of the Mussalmans of East Bengal" is an assertion which we had rather leave uncharacterised. The Law Member has never been mentioned in the whole article in this connection, and even Serjeant Busfuz who could twist "Chops and Tomato Sauce" into a declaration of love, would have envied the legal luminary whose subtle brain discovered this "implied suggestion" for his inventive genius.

To leave no doubt about our meaning we have only to quote a paragraph from our leading article on "The Recent Changes and the Indian Member" in which we have explicitly showed the chain of reasoning of which the last link was the separation of Behar. We then wrote as follows—

All that we are permitted to know is that the Government of India found discretion to be the better part of valour and sought refuge from Bengali agitation and the consequent bureaucratic repression in the flight to Delhi, that they knew only too well that the transfer of the capital would mean a terrible recrudescence in Bengal of the agitation and anarchy that were only just subsiding; that the reunion of Bengal alone could prevent this, 'tis a mere reversal of the policy of Lord Curzon would be too great a triumph for the Bengalis and too great a humiliation for the Government, while creating a province too big to be well administered; that this could be prevented, and the fear of the Government saved to what extent, by making Behar a separate province and adding to it Orissa and Chhota Nagpur; that the triumph of the Bengalis, who are discontented, would be tempered by the greater triumph of the Beharis, who are sturdy and loyal, and that their sorrow would be drowned in the greater sorrow of the Mussalmans, who are only loyal and contented. This chain of reasoning is indeed so well linked together that once the flight to Delhi was decided upon no other conclusions could have been possible except those arrived at by the Government of India. We are not, therefore, able to guess what the Law Member, or any other Member of Council, has done for the "loyal and contented" Mussalmans.

The same remark applies to the case of Behar and it shows clearly enough that the Law Member had no chance of betraying an undue partiality for Behar, even if he had the least desire to be partial to her.

As regards his share in recommending all these changes to His Majesty, we had received from a writer signing himself "Azad" a communication which was meant to test our impartiality in dealing with one for whom we had always been known to entertain the warmest regard, and we published it in due course. The writer said:

While bowing to the Imperial Decree . . . you have successfully dissected and laid bare the hollowness of the principal arguments contained in the now memorable State documents in favour of the amendment of the partition of Bengal. There is, however, one point about which you have been strangely silent so far, and that is the part played by the Hon. the Indian Member of His Excellency the Governor-General's Council. I take it that this gentleman was selected for his present post not only for his legal acumen but also because he was a representative Indian in close touch with the ideas and aspirations of his countrymen. He could not, therefore, have been ignorant of the arguments and facts so ably marshalled in the *Compte*s against the unsettling of a settled fact and the injury that this act is bound to cause, not only to a large section of His Majesty's subjects, but also to the hitherto unshaken reputation of the British Government for keeping its word when once recompensed to a people. It will be simply unacceptable to suppose that he was not cognisant of all this. But if he was cognisant of it all, why is there no indication in the despatches published that the above point of view was passed before the Council and successfully defended against the probable onslaught of the rest of his colleagues?

We published this communication most reluctantly, but we did it all the same, for we could not have otherwise easily avoided a suspicion not only of partiality] on our own part, but—what was far worse—namely, a possible suspicion of partiality to Behar on the part of the Law Member, which the *Hindustan Review* had no doubt suggested. But even while publishing that letter we wrote :

We are rather sorry for the Law Member, for it is not customary here, as it is for Cabinet Ministers in England, that individual members of the Government take up cudgels on their own behalf. A member of the Executive Council in India must suffer in silence, for he cannot defend himself individually, and it is for this reason perhaps that individual members are not generally singled out for attack.

We then added —

We are, however, chiefly concerned about ourselves, for our correspondent also tells us that we have been "strangely silent" on the subject of the Law Member's attitude. Our position is easily explained. In fact our correspondent has already explained it for us. When the Government of India has been criticised by us as a whole it is clear that the Hon. the Law Member has not escaped scot-free. We certainly expected and still expect from him a good deal more than his colleagues, whose knowledge of India cannot be half as intensive as his own, even if it be regarded as equally extensive. To that extent his share of blame must be greater, for he cannot plead ignorance as easily as his colleagues, though we have yet to discover a bureaucrat who publicly relied on that plea and acknowledged, like one ex Minister of England, his "colossal ignorance of India". These considerations appeared to us to be too obvious to need emphasis. But if "Azad" thinks it necessary for us to admit all this, we can have no hesitation.

After this, we referred to Mr Ali Imam's position as a Minister of the Crown on which he had rightly laid stress soon after taking over charge of his new post, but we added that "we trust the Indian Member of the Council will not fall into the opposite error of regarding himself as nothing beyond a limb of the bureaucracy which with the best of intentions, knows, alas, so little of what passes in the heart and the brain of India." We added that Mr. Ali Imam must have known that not all the communities of India, including the Moslem community, would like every one of the recent changes. We added

If the supposition that he did not know this cannot be correct, one of two things must have happened. *He may either have considered the case of the Mussalmans of Bengal and Behar too weak to merit his support, or he may have consented to his colleagues' scheme with the assurance that some "compensation" would be offered later on to the Mussalmans as well.* We do not know which of these suppositions is true, and have no means of knowing either.

Surely this must give the quietus to any such suggestion as the "heinous calumny" that Mr Ali Imam was partial to Behar at the expense of Eastern Bengal. No third alternative is possible after this for the *Bcharee* to father on us. In fact, the Mussalmans of Behar are explicitly mentioned as likely sufferers from the recent changes, and even if we could so far forget the character of Mr. Ali Imam as to accuse him of undue partiality to Behar, we could not possibly have been presumed to suggest that he confined that partiality to the Hindus alone in that Province. Far from suggesting any evil motives to the Hon. the Law Member, we, as Indians, felt elated at the clear proof that had been given, both by Mr. Sinha and Mr. Ali Imam, of the fact that they acted in the position of the Law Member in a manner for which nobody could suspect them of partiality towards their own community. But we realised the lurking danger that in consciously trying to appear just to other communities a well-intentioned man may possibly become unconsciously unjust to his own, for we believe such unconscious injustice is not rare. Few lawyers like to practice in their own father's and other relations' courts, for while a man in the responsible position of a judge is almost invariably immune from unduly favouring his relations' clients, the same thing cannot be said of the chances of his applying an unduly rigorous test to their cause. We had, therefore, brought our article to a close with the following suggestion —

To the Hon. Law Member we wish to say only one word and no more, and we trust we may say this without casting the least reflection on his character or actions. Lord Minto rightly said that a strong man was he who was not afraid of being called weak. It is our belief that, similarly, a just man is he who is not afraid of appearing a partisan.

We apologise to our readers for having reproduced so much of what we had previously written, but this has been forced upon us by the tactics of the *Bcharee*. It has quoted in support of its interpretation of "howsoever" what purports to be a compact extract from our leading article, for the usual typographical indication, viz., dots did not separate the various extracts. As a matter of fact, the first sentence in the extract is only part of a sentence, with both its head and tail lopped off, and separated from the next sentence of the quotation by more than a long paragraph. The second sentence has suffered the same mutilation; but in this case more than two solid columns intervene between it and the sentence that follows. However, this is nothing to the interpreters of "howsoever." What is so highly diverting is the obvious anxiety to appear to be entirely fair to us. They have taken pains to mangle and mutilate our words "lest some may think that we have not correctly interpreted the attitude of our contemporary towards the Law Member or strained a point in applying the implied reference to him." Verily, "mischief and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other." Speaking of *Ostello*, Coleridge said "Schiller has the material Sublime to produce an effect; he sets you a whole

town on fire, and throws infants with their mothers into the flames. Shakespeare drops a handkerchief, and the same or greater effects follow." The *Bahree* or its protégés prefer the material Ridicule. They excel even Shakespeare and create a greater effect than Schiller's conflagrations and atrocities—they only interpret "howsover," and, lo and behold! the world is on fire.

Morocco.

II.

Last week we traced the history of Morocco down to the end of 1906 when the final ratifications by the Powers of the Algeciras Act guaranteeing the independence and integrity of Morocco were deposited in the Spanish Foreign Office. Happy indeed is the Eastern nation that has no foreign politics, but those who know, in the light of later experience, what the guarantee of European Powers means, know only too well that no nation could escape foreign politics after such a guarantee. In the case of Morocco, her fate overtook it very early in the journey, for owing to the providential murder of a Frenchman, Dr. Emile Mauchamp, in Marrakesh, on the 19th of March 1907, Ujda was occupied on the 29th of March by the Algerian troops of France, the French Government declaring it to be its intention to hold the town until satisfaction had been given to its demands. Needless to say Ujda was never evacuated. As Thrasymenes has truly said in the Socratic dialogue in the *Nation*, from which we quoted extensively last week, "these private dangers are the very seeds of Imperialism." But here was a rich harvest reaped no later than ten days after the sowing.

Although Raisuli had been removed from the governorship of Tangier after a Franco-Spanish demonstration off Tangier, his tactics still continued, and in June, 1907, he captured Kaid Sir Henry Maclean, a British instructor to the Moorish army and colonel of the Sultan's bodyguard, who had gone, as he thought, to receive the submission of Raisuli. He had to be ransomed by the British Government after a detention of seven months, on payment of £20,000—a sum which was subsequently refunded, to the extent of £15,000 by Raisuli himself, the balance being paid by Mulai Hafid. As the British Government had no territorial ambitions in Morocco, it is significant that in spite of the Kaid's capture by Raisuli no portion of Moroccan territory was seized pending the satisfaction of British demands. Who can say after this that the code of European diplomacy is not elastic?

But neither the capture of Sir Henry Maclean nor the killing of Dr. Mauchamp were of the same importance as the next "private danger" that gave to the sowers of the Imperial seed of France within a year the bumper harvest of the whole fertile region of the Shawia in Morocco. That was the Casablanca incident. A French company had received a concession to build a dock and had run a railway to a quarry a few hundred yards beyond the town walls, passing through a Moorish cemetery. But whether it was carried through the cemetery or not—for it has been disputed—it was carried in such close proximity to the cemetery as to cause great offence to the Moors and warnings of the probable consequences of a continuation of the work were uttered some days before any disturbance occurred. Trouble was feared, but who will say that it was not invited? The tribesmen of the hinterland, less used to the cavalier dealings of the Europeans in the coast towns, were naturally excited by the reports that a Moslem burial ground had been desecrated, just as the Europeans in Calcutta would be excited if they believed that the Circular Road cemetery had been desecrated. On the 30th July they attacked the workmen and killed seven of them, one being a Frenchman. Another account puts it at nine, of whom three were French. What followed would long remain impressed on Moroccan memories and goad the Moors to revenge, even though Europe—which knows of no massacres except those for which the ex-Sultan Abdul Hamid was alleged to be responsible, and no atrocities except those associated by it with the name of Bulgaria—has perhaps by now consigned them, along with the more recent atrocities in Tripoli, to the limbo of things obsolete and long forgotten. It must be remembered that ten or twelve years ago about a score of Italians were massacred in New Orleans, killed in the open streets. Referring to this massacre, Mr. Cunningham Graham writes: "Did Italy rise in her majesty and declare war on the United States? She cooed as gently as a sucking dove, got no redress at all, and kept her somewhat mouldy powder as dry as circumstances allowed her, to fire it off to-day in Tripoli." But that is not the way in which the integrity and independence of an Eastern kingdom can be safeguarded. Mr. Bensusan, writing in a recent issue of the *Contemporary Review*, says: "To be sure the Bashas of the town arrested the murderers, and undertook to hand them over to justice, but at the critical moment, when excitement was still running high, the French warship *Gabriel* arrived off the port, and her commander saw glory within his grasp. So he bombarded the defenceless town of Casablanca, soldiers were landed, and the proceedings, as described to me by eye-witnesses, were of a kind that are better left unprinted here. Naturally, it became necessary to punish the Moors for objecting to the desecration of their burial grounds, and com-

peiling the commander of the *Gabriel* to cover himself with glory, and the campaign, which will be well remembered, followed. Europe saw with satisfaction how hundreds of wicked Moors, who endeavoured to stop the French advance, met with the inevitable fate of those whose cause is not supported by modern armaments." The cruiser bearing the significant name of *Gabriel* bombarded the town on the 5th August, after the tribesmen who had killed the workmen had practically departed. The culprits had thus escaped while the innocents suffered. But the confusion resulting from the bombardment gave to the disorderly elements of the town and among the neighbouring tribes an opportunity too good to be missed, and a general pillage was the consequence. On the 7th August the French troops arrived and took further revenge on the town for the murder of one or two Frenchmen by the tribes. A writer of clearly pro-French sympathies writes that "before order was restored, nearly every inhabitant had been killed or wounded or had fled, the dead alone numbered thousands. The European colony was, however, saved." Among the killed were Jews, women and children.

But this was not enough to vindicate the dignity of modern civilization and the mock Christianity of a godless nation. A large force, landed under the excuse of "protective police," first under General Drude, and later under General D'Amade, began a campaign against the Shawia tribes, and it was not till June, 1908, that the country was subdued, in spite of the army numbering at one time 15,000 troops. A single instance would suffice to give an idea of the manner in which civilization conducts her civilizing missions sent out to reform barbarism. One of the French columns which penetrated the interior in search of trouble, and well provided with artillery, one day saw at a distance of three or four miles a large body of "the enemy," and gradually closed in, meanwhile pumping incendiary shells into them. Instead of "the enemy" it proved to be a peaceful assemblage of country Moors, keeping a religious festival at a Zawia or shrine of a saint. The result was that some 1,500 men, women, and children were killed and wounded for no reason whatever! An attempt was made to keep this piece of news out of the Press, but was not quite successful, and the fact is on record. The writer of pro-French sympathies from whom we have already quoted, writes that the action of France "aroused the fanaticism" of the tribes of Tafilalt and those dwelling near the Algerian frontier. Considering that in Europe it aroused nothing but sympathy for France and the workmen killed at Casablanca, we do not know if the world should not change its feelings towards "civilization" and "fanaticism" and learn to detest the former and admire and emulate the latter. Well, the "fanaticism" of the tribes was aroused, and in November Beni Snassen crossed the frontier and were not reduced to submission for long. Another outbreak occurred in April, 1908, when a French column in the Gour District, west of Tigg, was surprised. In that and a subsequent engagement the French casualties were over 200. French and Moorish Commissioners were then appointed to preserve order along the frontier.

But while the civilizing mission of France was thus engaged, the Government of Morocco was passing through an even more eventful period. On the 10th August, 1907—with a fortnight of the horrible bombardment of Casablanca—the Ulama of Marrakesh declared Abdul Aziz to be deposed and declared for his half brother, Mulai Hafid. Abdul Aziz was supplied with funds by the State Bank, and went in September to the seaport of Rabat—as his sturdier brother now proposes to do—at the head of an army. There he was visited by the French Minister, and naturally appealed willing to grant every French demand provided that France supported him against his brother. This situation was not without its difficulty for France, for on the one hand, there was an opportunity here for obtaining from a Sultan reduced to such complacency all that French diplomacy had so long worked for, but, on the other hand, it was not an easy matter even for France to fight against a Sultan fully supported by the Moorish tribes. The decision of France was worthy of an astute diplomacy. "A loan was forthcoming, but no military assistance, save that some of Abdul Aziz's troops were taken by a French ship to Matagan." While desultory fighting between the supporters of the rival brothers was proceeding, Hafid was proclaimed Sultan at Fez on 4th January, 1908, and entered Mequinez in the following May, and Fez in June. Aziz, for once exerting himself, started from Rabat in July for Marrakesh, with a force of 4,000 troops. On the 15th August, he started for the final march; but hardly had his force started when it was assailed on all sides, whereupon the tribesmen deserted him, and the "regulars" ran away. Three days later Abdul Aziz found refuge in the French lines at Settat, and at last accepted a pension from Hafid, and was assigned a residence in Tangier. That town, which is greatly under foreign influence, was the last to acknowledge Mulai Hafid, and did so only on the 3rd August. He had sought foreign recognition since January, but it was only now that he obtained it, Germany, for obvious reasons, being the first to recognise him. It accordingly circulated the Powers on the 2nd September, and France and Spain asking for guarantees in reply, were assured by Mulai Hafid that he

would respect the Act of Algeciras. Early in 1909, all the Powers had recognised him. But to-day, after the brief space of three years, it is his turn to recognise the Protectorate of France, and he discovered a year ago that the first to violate the Act of Algeciras was the very Power which had made the recognition of him as Sultan dependent on his guaranteeing its inviolability!

When diplomacy had done its work for a time, high finance had an innings. When the campaign of France against the tribes came to an end, she presented a bill of costs to the very man whom she had least desired to see on the Moorish throne. Someone must pay for the massacre of thousands of innocent Moors, and as France could not be expected to do so, it must be Mular Hafid. He had no money, but the financiers were ready to lend if the assets were valuable enough. As Mr. Bensusan well says, "If the borrower can't pay, he must give more assets, until at last all that is worth is in the hands of his creditors, and while he is being sold up, the Press of Europe reads him a solemn lesson upon the dangers of improvident finance." The result was that concessions were given to France and some to Spain. The latter led to some trouble with the Riffians to which we shall presently refer, but it is worth remembering that French money was behind the Spanish enterprise. Its failure led to what would surprise most readers who do not know how cosmopolite is high finance. This was a union of France and Germany. We shall leave Mr. Bensusan to tell the story of this strange coalition. He says —

High finance was displeased by the result of the Melilla campaign. Nasty and vulgar things were said in the papers about the people who were pulling the strings, and there had been none of those superlative profits that helped financiers to bear up manfully against the shameful abuse of those who lacked their capacities and opportunities. The next move on the board was a union of French and German financial interests. Messrs Krupp and Messrs Schneider joined hands, there was a Franco-German arrangement (February 1909), and out of it was born the Union of Moroccan Mines. The ostensible purpose of the Franco-German agreement was to define French and German interests in Morocco, to disavow the intenting of creating "economic privileges," and generally speaking to do what is right to all men. Moors, of course, excepted. It was a noble arrangement, putting an end at once to Franco-German suspicion and Franco-Spanish finance. The Sultan advised the great Kaisers that they must put no obstacle in the way of hard-working European prospectors, who travelled all over the country searching in the interests of civilization for the copper, gold, silver, galena, iron, nickel manganese, and antimony in which Morocco abounds. The prospectors toiled hard for their masters. Great progress was made. It was reported that a great part of the Moors were cowed and were admitting the Infidel to break open the sacred soil of their Fatherland. The time was approaching when the Union of Moroccan Mines might hope to approach the investing public, and bring the last blessings of civilization, the mining camp, and its accessories to the poor, benighted Moors.

That is the history of the Franco-German coalition in Morocco, and it is pretty significant of the omnipotence of Capital. That lesson has once more been taught by the settlement of the question opened by the visit of the *Father* to Agadir, but before we come to that we have to narrate the story of the Spanish enterprise near Melilla. The fortress of Melilla and the country round for a radius of three or four miles had been Spanish possession for many generations, but otherwise the occasion of the outbreak closely resembled the events at Casablanca. Here, too, there were concessions, one Spanish and the other French, but both backed by French capital and Spanish grandes, and one of them manipulated by a Scot. They conceded mining rights in the mountains, ten or fifteen miles away. But there is some uncertainty about the validity of these concessions. The tribes here do not recognise the right of the Sultan at far off Fez to dispose of their property, and if the gift was made by Er-Roghi, nicknamed El Hamara, who had rebelled against the Sultan, the Sultan was just as much bound to respect the concession as Charles II would have been if Roh Roy had leased out the Highlands to someone for shooting. However, the companies were formed, the capital collected, and the railroads to the mines begun. When the rails had been laid for five or six miles, the tribesmen of the Riff, having themselves rebelled against Er-Roghi, set upon the workmen in July 1909, and killed five of them. This seed of Spanish imperialism, however, fell on the stony soil of the Moorish Highlands, and did not bear the same fruit as the French seed in Casablanca. A body of Spanish troops sent up into the defiles of Mount Gurugu, close to Melilla, was driven back with heavy loss, and Spain sent out half a lakh of troops, equipped for a regular campaign, under General Marina. Mr. Nevinson read a paper on Morocco before the Nationalities and Subject Races Conference, held in London in 1910, in the course of which he said:—

Never in the course of a wandering life have I seen such ineffectual waste of stores, ammunition, time, and even life, as during the Melilla War. It surpassed the waste of the South African War, not in extent, but in being even less effectual. After prolonged hesitation and delay, the Spaniards did, nevertheless, succeed in pushing forward along the desert beaches of a salt lagoon, in destroying a small town, in occupying an undefended fortress, and in placing outposts at various points which may possibly assist them in holding the Peninsula when the tribesmen of the Riff attack again. That being accomplished, the campaign was allowed to fritter out, chiefly owing to the extreme unpopularity among the Spanish working classes. That unpopularity was, indeed, to myself the one hopeful, and promising point, in the whole business. The

unwillingness of the reserves to be embarked for a war undertaken for the benefit of *concessionnaires* and other capitalists, chiefly foreigners, proved how little trust Imperial aggression can put in the citizen army. Spain, it is true, professed other objects—its joint exercise of "protective police" with France and the possibility of converting the salt lagoon into a harbour. But, as in South Africa, the real occasion of the war was the mines and the interests of the capitalists. The outbreak in Barcelona, which followed upon the calling out of the reserves, showed that there may be a limit to the patience of the industrial classes when they are required to pay for such a cause as that with their taxes and their lives. And this is why I think we may derive some element of hope from the rather futile little campaign. As at Casablanca, we can trace in it the ordinary steps by which the modern Powers threaten nationalities and reduce races to subjection—the concession, the plea of trade interests and civilization's call, the pretext of police, the expedition of vengeance, the occupation of territory. Everything was complete in miniature, except that in this case the occupation will probably collapse for want of strength to maintain it. But that thousands of working people actually refused to serve in such a cause, and that the greatest and most progressive city of Spain rose in rebellion rather than remain subservient to the dictates of capitalists, Imperialists and the religious orders whose interests were thought to be deeply involved—those are facts which we who stand for nationality and freedom may well regard as full of encouragement and future hope.

Mr. Bensusan has well summed up the sequel of the internal troubles of Spain consequent on the failure in Morocco. He wrote in the *Contemporary* —

The strong man, Señor Maura, saved Spain from revolution, and in the confusion that prevailed, consigned to gaol his clerical friends by shooting Francisco Ferrer, who had been very rudely outspoken on many occasions, and had been proved beyond doubt to be endeavouring to educate the rising generation in Spain. Had he been allowed to live and to educate financiers yet unborn might have found even more difficulty in sending other people to fight their battles. A firing-party in the trenches of Montjuich averted thus unspeakable calamity and a cat of royal whitewash was applied to the rather tarnished reputation of the court martial.

What the result of the Melilla campaign was Mr. Nevinson has well indicated. These troubles practically ceased in November 1909, and if it pleases Spain or Europe to think that the Riffians were then reduced to submission, they may do so with pleasure. Only, we know that trouble still arises in the Moroccan Highlands, as on the Afghan border, and that Spain has not got even those means which we in India possess of dealing with it. The Riffians owe even less allegiance to the Sultan at Fez than the frontiersmen owe to the Amir of Kabul, and it serves no purpose to draw from these troubles the conclusion that the Central Government is inefficient. This much is, at any rate, certain, that Er-Roghi was defeated by Mular Hafid's army and was captured in August 1909. He was paraded in the streets in a cage and tortured brutally. That brings us to the end of the first year of Mular Hafid's reign, and the sequel, with which we shall deal next week, will show how feeble is an Asiatic autocrat when it comes to a fight with European diplomacy, even if it be Republican. To those who say that what Persia wants to-day is a strong Asiatic autocrat of the old sort, used to a little blood-letting, and not a brand-new European Constitution with a Mejjiss, we can point out Mular Hafid and assure them that in his tortures and his vices he out-rivals the most determined despot of mediæval Asia. Yet, is Morocco any more independent than Persia and freer to seek out its salvation in its own way?



Verse.

Sonnet.

I DOUBT if Heav'n has anything more fair,
Nothing on earth is half so fair as she,
Or sweet, or half so warm, or womanly
Not in Sicilian plains, or far Cashmere,
Hesperian fields, or blue-viewed Nilgiri,
Bloomed bud, or ripened fruit of richer hue
Than on her sunny face and forehead free.
No lethal weapons in her armoury
She keeps, or barbed words of gall and rue ;
But kindly wit, and eyes of heav'nly blue
For winged glances ; witching smiles for friends,
With many a nameless way of winning them,
On her chaste bosom glistens not a gem,
Her precious woman's heart makes rare amends.

* WASITS.

CORRESPONDENCE



Fugitive Pilgrims of Assurance.

To THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—I see that Messrs Haque and Sinha have sent contradiction to your paper to have made statement that they had gone to Orissa on the suggestion of His Excellency the Viceroy. I do not know what is the truth, but the Hon. * * * * during conversation had spoken to me that the above hon. gentlemen had personally spoken to the Hon. * * * * that they went to Orissa on suggestion of His Excellency the Viceroy. I hope the Hon. * * * * will enlighten us as to the truth of the matter.

PATNA.

[We publish this letter exactly in the form in which we have received it, except that we have given to the writer a *nom de plume* instead of publishing his real name, and that we have substituted asterisks for the name of the honourable gentleman whom he cites as a witness against the Hon. Messrs. Mazhar-ul Haque and Sachidananda Sinha. We received this support absolutely unasked, and in order to assure the readers of the truth of this piece of evidence we inquired from the honourable gentleman who was stated to have received exactly the same information as we had received whether it was so or not. He writes to us in reply as follows —

" . . . You ask me to let you know as to whether the Hon. Mr. Haque and the Hon. Mr. Sinha had spoken to me that they had gone to Orissa on the suggestion of His Excellency the Viceroy. The plain answer to this is that they had told me so. And as I did not consider these statements to have been made to me confidentially I had made reference to them incidentally while talking to some of my friends . . . I do not quite see why I should consult anybody when I have simply to state what I know to be a fact and to tell what I know to be a truth." — Ed., *Comrade*]

II

To THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—I rubbed my eyes when I read the contradiction by the Hon. Messrs. Haque and Sinha of the statement made by you in the previous issue of the *Comrade* that they had visited Orissa at the suggestion of His Excellency the Viceroy. I could not for my life understand the reason of this contradiction, as, firstly, I did not see anything wrong in the Head of the Government of India suggesting to the hon. members to take certain steps which would result in a better understanding between the different elements of the New Province, if in his view their visit to Orissa was likely to further that end. Secondly, the statement that their visit to Orissa was at the suggestion of His Excellency was made to me by one of the hon. members just a few days prior to their now famous tour. I fully remember the time and place when and where this statement was made to me, and I shall let you have the details, if necessary, later on.

A. B. C.

III.

To THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR — I have read with considerable surprise the contradiction sent to you for publication by the Hon. Messrs. Haque and Sinha in connection with your statement that they had gone to Orissa to assure the Oriyas on the suggestion of H. E. the Viceroy. I very distinctly remember that the Hon. Mr. Haque repeated the same statement to me and I have been told that he did the same to others.

X. Y. Z.

Essays : Indian and Islamic.

To THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—Kindly publish this brief reply to S. Khuda Buksh Sahib whose letter appeared in your last issue.

He asks the question, "Was not Christ crucified?" The answer is "No". It seems to me that he has quite forgotten that the Quran denies the crucifixion of Jesus. He does not appear to know that several early Christian sects emphatically denied that their Saviour was killed. In the Gospel of the Apostle Barnabas it is explicitly recorded that Jesus was not crucified, but that he was taken up into heaven by the ministry of four angels, and that it was Judas Iscariot who was crucified in his stead.

The Ebionites, a numerous body of early Christians, denied that Jesus suffered on the cross, and asserted that he had flown away to heaven.

Basilides taught that Jesus was not crucified, but that a metamorphosis took place between him and Simon the Cyrenian, who was crucified in his stead.

To his second question, "Can anyone in his senses deny the indebtedness of Islam to Judaism and Christianity?" my answer is "Yes." I am in my senses and I deny it. True, the Prophet came to restore the religion of Abraham, the "Friend of God," but Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian. Christian writers admit that the Prophet could neither read nor write. They also acknowledge that he had never read the Scriptures. Rev. Geo. Washburn, D.D., says "There is no satisfactory evidence that up to the time of his announcing his prophetic mission he had interested himself in Christianity." Palmer says "There is not the least evidence in support of the accusation made against Mohammed by Christian writers that the greater part of his revelations were due to the suggestions of a Christian monk." Now if the Prophet had instructors is it likely that he would have dared to declare before them that the doctrines and laws which he had received from them were revealed to him by God?

There were no Jews in Mecca. The Jews of Medina were his inveterate and bitter enemies, and they would not have failed to expose him had he been their pupil. These facts compel me to believe that the Quran is an independent revelation of God's will, as it claims to be.

I trust the learned barrister will admit the fairness of my contention.

D. A.

Cobbwebs.

To THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,

Mentioning Mr Cobb's inability to go to Abu owing to ill-health, you say that his promotion was the reward of "strenuous sedition hunting." It is only fair to both the Government and Mr. Cobb to say that the latter had already officiated as Agent to the Governor-General in Central India in 1909 (to the best of my recollection), so whether or not he indulged in the delicate pastime of sedition hunting, it was his *hqg* to go to Rajputana or Central India on the next vacancy.

"TRUTH."

[We are sorry if we have been wrong in suggesting even remotely that Mr. Cobb's promotion was due to sedition hunting. According to our Correspondent his sedition hunting seems to have been its own reward. How like virtue! — Ed., *Comrade*]



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Amount received during the week

Amount previously acknowledged

64 15 0

15,716.12. 6

TOTAL RS. 15,782 12. 6



The Council

BY THE HON MR GUP

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please."

--As You Like It

March 1st.

Once more SIR GUY's day, and what a favourite he must be with the ladies, for the Visitors' Gallery entirely choked with them. But in the midst of them all sat the Son of Iran who had come to the Council, not like the ladies to see SIR GUY's "Annual Review" of all sorts of figures, but to witness Viraj Thakera's collision with the Railways about their rates.

But before SIR GUY's Review commenced, there were some interpellations, and many a question was popped in sight of the ladies. The CROSS BENCHER asked for statistics of the minor indiscretions of the Frontier, such as raids and murders, and drew the attention of Government to the Confessions of a Chief Commissioner. Asked if Government had taken any steps, and if not, whether any were contemplated. THE UNDESIRABLE ALIEN promised the statistics as soon as such a hefty cartload could be brought from Peshawar to Calcutta on the Grand Trunk Road of the Imperial Council, and, with regard to the confession, announced to the Council that as a mark of sincere appreciation for Bengal, best displayed in imitation, that confession had subsequently been retracted. The fault, said SIR ROOS KEPPEL, did not lie with the Police. (Has not a High Court just awarded them a diploma for goodness and gentility?) It is "the system which compels the police to interfere in petty cases in which the State is not really concerned" (Who said Hoti-Mardan?) With regard to the unsuitability of the present law, proposals are under consideration for its amendment to meet local requirements. (Presumably the procedure has already been amended "to meet local requirements.") But will the law be extended to the Bombay High Court to prevent the Judges from misunderstanding the true meaning of a Benevolence and the real motives of a Grant?

In reply to another question from the CROSS BENCHER about the abolition of any posts on the score of economy, SIR GUY named a few supernumeraries and sinecures, but hotly challenged the statement that the abolition was due to economy. Bless your souls, that isn't economy at all. Wait till we disband a Company of Indian soldiers when NIKHALSAIN SAHER's Kumati has reported, and then add five Regiments of Europeans!

Another question from the same source was asked requiring a statement of cases from Behar decided by the Calcutta High Court. The statement laid on the table disclosed what a litigious lot the Beharees were. Well had Sa'adi said of them,

میں کوئی بھرپور نہیں مل سکتا لیکن بھرپور کوئی بھرپور نہیں مل سکتا (If the Man of Behar eats half a loaf, the other half goes in charity to the Barrister.) Only, the "other half" was the "better half," and dashed well buttered too, and at present it underwent a marvellous transubstantiation in the journey from Patna to Colcoota, reaching its destination in the form of a juicy *Rasher-rollo*.

The MILD HINDU asked how BOOTLAIR SAHEB would spend the Durbar grant of 50 lakhs "for truly popular education." BOOTLAIR SAHEB explained, and in explaining gave mortal offence to MILKANDROY MAJOR. Europeans and Anglo-Indians were to get 3 lakhs out of this, and to include Imperial Cousins among the common "people" was to mix up Titans with Pygmies.

When MILD HINDU asked SIR GUY what steps had been taken to fulfil his promise of retrenchment, the latter explained that just as the law maker is above law so his department was exempt from retrenchments. All the same, there was a saving of 2 lakhs made just to please the MILD HINDU, and it would be followed by increase of expenditure of several lakhs, once more to please this quite contrary person, by strengthening auditors and accountants with Plasmon biscuits and Sanatogen. As for the other departments, the MAN AT THE WHEEL had said for the Home Department that it was still considering the possibility (?) impossibility) of economies under the cognate heads of Convict Charges at Port Blair and the C.I.D. PORTER of the Education Department had naively stated that it had not been found possible to effect any substantial economy, as if any one wanted it there, and as if even if everyone had wanted it, his inflating colleague would have agreed to it. P. W. D. GORDON showed that in Irrigation none wanted retrenchment, but in Civil works a few lakhs would be saved. WISEMAN, GORDON; not a word about New Delhi! SAC-SARFI MACLAGAN had effected the saving of a lakh himself and promised the saving of a crore on behalf of his successor. THE RAILWAY SLEEPER convinced the Council that in bad years nothing could, and in good years nothing should be saved. BERTHOVEN contented himself only with a few semi-quavers, and THE UNDESIRABLE ALIEN stated they had done what they could even before he came on the scene, but he would save them something even if it was only a bit of small change. With Russia thundering at our gates economy was a consummation devoutly to be wished and even more devoutly to be avoided. ST VINCENT said "Van possumus," for he controlled nothing but his own salary and his chief's, and one of the two he wished to increase. But the best was GROVER the captain's captain. From 31 crores they had reduced the Military expenditure to 30 crores 71 lakhs and 50 thousand, and he couldn't see how India could be safe after that. Perhaps NIKHALSAIN SAHER might do it by removing the revolver from under the Government pillow. SIR ALI BABA, K.C.B., had explained that on Sunday evenings after tea and catechism, the Supreme Council generally met for riddles and forfeits in a snug little cloak-room parlour, and once it was asked "Can an army tailor make a Commander-in-Chief?" Eight old heads were scratched and searched but no answer was found. No sound was heard save the seething whisper of champagne ebbing and flowing in eight old heads. Outside, the wind moaned through the rhododendron trees, within the Commander-in-Chief slept peacefully. He felt the awkwardness of the situation. An aide-de-camp stood at the door hiccupping idly. He was known to have invested all his paper currency in Sackville Street; and he felt in honour bound to say that the riddle was a little hard on the army tailors. So the subject dropped and "one of the most beautiful articles of social upholstery in India" was preserved for the MILD HINDU to sit upon in the next generation. To-day the question is asked "Can an Army Councillor unmake the Commander-in-Chief?" And eight heads are again scratched and searched. Though the heads are not so very remarkably old, little else is changed. The seething whisper of champagne ebbing and flowing comes from the heads of the Cherubim as it came then from the heads of the Seraphim. K. of K. could bear no brother near the throne. The Army Council may not very possibly bear the throne itself. NO-MORE-KAY, and then—no more NO-MORE-KAY. May he too not go to the

bourne from which even Commanders-in-Chief do not return? And then the spirit of a thousand Beethovens may sob and wail in the air, as SIR ALI BABA had said; dull cannon may roar out their heavy grief; silly rifles may gibber and chatter when this pretty piece of social upholstery is consigned to the box-room; and the cocked hat—yes, what of the cocked hat? May it not adorn the pate of "ASIASTICUS" of the *National Review*, the panegyrist of C. of K and the sworn enemy of K of K, and instead of following him as Nemesis, ride on his cranium with the mockery of revenge?

At last SIR GUY rose to present the Financial Statement. Once more the baby born was a boy, and a fine healthy one too. Mrs. Camp leant over the bannisters and declared to the expectant relations below "No change." Describing the intervening worries, SIR GUY said that "in the middle of August the outlook was gloomy in the extreme"—because there was not a speck of cloud on the horizon! Then came "the dramatic change";—how like the works of the Government are the works of God!—"it was also a striking lesson of how narrow is the line in India between plenty and want." Yes, living is very cheap in India, and dying is just a little cheaper!

Thereafter SIR GUY, turned an Academician for the nonce, sketched the "main features" of the *India's Wreaths*. Very pleasant, indeed, and with just a nice bow window in the figure formed out of a surplus of 4½ millions sterling. Dealt with the well worn theme of Opium, and proved how he had avoided the Scylla of "vicarious righteousness" on the one hand, and the Charybdis of "selfish obstruction" on the other. But so long as Chung was unrighteous, he too would be selfish, and would ask her to pool the profits of unrighteousness. That was "satisfactory and honourable to both sides." Accepted the suggestion of the ASSASSINS of Bagdad, of sending less opium to non-China ports, with a modification, after having rejected it summarily last year. Truly the plant of non-official gardeners is a biennial product. The first year it looks sterile, but the next year it bears luscious fruits. SIR GUY mentioned the name of the Hague in this connection, and people wondered who, what and where it was, till someone mentioned that it was the anemic angel which Europe had killed almost at its birth. Proudly declared to the Council that they had no need of such a sickly saint, for "our domestic control of the use of opium in India is not a matter in which we required international assistance"—a declaration that greatly delighted the representatives of a Talugdardon that subsists on opium and official favour. But explained that he tolerated the Conference because its end, both at the first, and now, was and is, to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to the Government of India, to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time the Supreme Government's pretty form and its awful pressure in the Cabinet of Nations. "It enabled us to lay before the Powers a narrative of the unselfish policy which India had followed." The latest edition of the financial code of morality says, "But when thou doest alms, do it out of the wage thou earnest out of another's sin, and let them left hand clap thy right so that I may know what thou doest in the way of righteousness." Narrated the strange story of the profits increasing with the decrease of unrighteousness, and stated that just as the windfall last year had gone to Education, it would go this year to the sister grace of cleanliness. Howing to BOOTLAIR SAHIB, said that he would find the money and honourable colleague would have to find the justification. NO-MORE-KAY wondered when the turn of the third grace would come, and looked wistfully towards Republican China and the D-I-only-knows-what Persia.

Coming to the ordinary revenue, triumphantly stated that the excess over expectations was 3½ millions—an excellent method of disguising over-taxation to pay off old debts and pile up new ones. After distributing the largess, turned to ordinary expenditure and showered a saving of less than a million, a quarter of which had been made possible by the inability of the Local Governments to spend in full their grants for education and sanitation. Thrifty L. G.'s, to be sure. Most of the balance was due to the reduction of the Opium establishment. The least thriving poppy plants were first weeded out, and now the tallest poppies were being lopped off with pruners. This year the Behar juice too was soupy and therefore less expensive. Verily Behar is distinguishing itself more for insistence than consistency.

Then came the turn of the Budget for 1912-13. Here SIR GUY deprecated the desire to prophesy, and yet appeared in the guise of a prophet. Verily Allah is one and SIR GUY is the most prudent of His financial prophets. There's always "a moderate margin of safety" to begin with, and a surplus of 4½ millions to end with. SIR GUY neatly balances revenue and expenditure at the outset, and by the time the customer has reached home, lo and behold one scale is lower than the other, and it is SIR GUY that has had full measure and overflowing. Coming to Delhi expenditure, was frankness itself, and said he had no estimate yet of the cost. But forgot to mention whether it was still inconceivable or not that 6 crores may be exceeded. Mentioned the three ways of financing New Delhi. "The first, and in some ways

the most attractive (On the 25th of August, 1911, it was in every way the most everything) would be a special Delhi loan." Then the second and the third, and the third was of course easily the first. Thereafter, with that unvarying regard for the rest of the weary—if not fear of the troubling of the wicked—added: "I shall not weary the Council by the various considerations which decided us, with the full approval of the S. of S. (who has got printed slips saying "I approve" to save the India Office clerks labour when dealing with the Supreme Government's despatches) to adopt the third of these courses." And then with that assurance which comes of autocracy said, "It will, I believe, commend itself to the financial and commercial community of India (Who said PAUL GOOSE and ALAS-FOR-POOR JORROCKS?) By treating the Delhi operations as ordinary Capital works we ensure the greatest possible elasticity in the provision of funds" Capital way of treating the New Capital, and the elasticity only too admirable.

Turning to Provincial Finance, complained that only Burnia had been disappointing. The MILD HINDU looked at GATES and smiled viciously. But it seems that the Permanent Settlements of last year were only the shroud of Penelope, and no sooner had SIR GUY and ORATOR MESTON woven them than they began to unravel. But how guileless was Penelope in saying that "the even tenor of our way was broken by a cause which none of us foresaw a year ago" So now framed a three years' temporary settlement for the three new, or new-old provinces. But in Behar and Orissa there must be a considerable amount of initial expenditure before the province settles down to normal conditions." Yes, it will take long before Behar settles down to normal conditions after its abnormal excitement. But even in these temporary settlements, SIR GUY has not forgotten the strong point of Behar. He has reserved for himself a quarter of its net receipts from—just guess! Of course, it is Excise; what else could it be unless it was some fraction of a fine levied for the oaths of the learned. *Islam qasam*.

Man made in the image of God could well follow the example of his Creator "And God saw everything that he had made and behold it was very good." So SIR GUY strayed a little over a pleasing retrospect of three strenuous years and was satisfied. But generously as well as justly SIR GUY recognised the value of the "increased and more searching criticism" of the non-officials, because it had proceeded "not from any intention to embarrass a public servant who was honestly trying to do his duty but rather from a desire to help him to effect improvement." Naturally, at the head of the most criticised department of Government, SIR GUY could yet say that he found that criticism "temperate, suggestive and helpful", and the free interchange of views which the Council stimulated a "powerful factor for good in the financial policy of India." Dealing with the figures of the last three years showed how the revenue had grown from 69 millions sterling to 75½ millions, and the expenditure from 73 millions to 79½. An increase of six in one and half a dozen in the other. Lest some may pray for an increase of revenue, be it noted that revenue is mostly taxation! SIR GUY on percentages is delightful. An increased expenditure of 78 per cent. on Education and of 73 per cent. on Sanitation compared with less than 1 per cent. on the Army! Oh, wonderful, wonderful and still more wonderful. The twin babies had grown up in stature in their infancy faster than the patriarch in his dotage. Is not that strange, is it not passing strange? But after all, the babies are still little mites besides this Eiffel Tower of a patriarch, a paltry 3 millions in one case and 1½ millions in the other to the 20½ millions of Military Charges.

Dealing with Currency, said he was hopeful that the sovereign will push its way into popular favour. That it should, for the Sovereign had already won the hearts of his people, and by no other method than sending his Message of Hope for the Education of the masses and for the uplifting of India through the diffusion of knowledge. SIR GUY acknowledged what a noble subject of His Majesty was doing in this direction, and what a debt of gratitude India owed to the MILD HINDU for pressing to the forefront the claims of Education. But he was fortunate that he had a Viceroy now in India who wished his name to be writ large in the annals of the land for the amelioration of Sanitation and the wide and comprehensive diffusion of Education. And who will not add that SIR GUY had endeavoured by the provision of the sinews of peace and progress to second the efforts of the MILD HINDU, to support BOOTLAIR SAHIB and to give effect to H.E.'s heartfelt desire. Expenditure is still mounting up, but the ladder is not the same: "Not by costly military operations (C-in-C *frowns*), not by exaggerated railway expenditure (THE RAILWAY SLEEPER wakes up as a protest against the institution that railway expenditure could ever be exaggerated: it is its own caricature), not by wasteful extravagance in administration (SANDOW III, representing the entire creation *calours us visibly*), but by well-considered outlay on services which tend to the moral and material progress of the Indian people." ("That's me!" shouted BOOTLAIR SAHIB *cheerfully*, and PORTER and the STAFF *were added*: "And me! And me!!!")

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

In the House of Lords, Lord Newton asked if the Government had addressed any representation to Italy on the subject of closing of the Dardanelles.

Lord Morley in reply said he did not deny the disastrous situation in the Black Sea and the Dardanelles. The Government had been in constant communication with the Turkish and Italian Governments with the result that after no unreasonable length of time, considering the difficulties of the Porte, the Straits would be re-opened. It was unreasonable to ask the Government to prescribe the limits in which Turkey and Italy should carry on operations. That would be going beyond anything ever conceived in international law or diplomatic usage. The Government had thoroughly performed the duties of a neutral Power.

Lord Lansdowne asked if it was true that the Porte would only re-open the Straits if Italy promised not to re-attack the Dardanelles.

Lord Morley replied — "That assertion is quite inconsistent with the words used to the British Ambassador."

In the Commons Sir Edward Grey in reply to Mr. Molteno said that negotiations with Italy for the erection of a lighthouse at Guardafui were discontinued in 1908 owing to the difficulties raised in the course of the negotiations with the other Powers regarding the collection of dues at particular posts not in Italian territory. The Government were still hopeful that a scheme might be devised satisfactory to all the Powers.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 3rd — Dirigible balloons made a reconnaissance over the Turkish camp at Azizia, Suana and Benaden. They dropped 40 bombs with terrible effect.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 2nd. — The *Vale of Smyrna* reports that the battery fired two blanks warning the steamer *Texas* that she was deviating from her proper course, but the vessel took no notice. Consequently seven shells were fired dropping round the *Texas* which then struck a mine and sank in two minutes. The Military Commander says that 69 were drowned and 15 injured.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 8th — Admiral Viale occupied Rhodes this morning without opposition.

The Italians have landed a division commanded by General Ameglio at Rhodes. They met with no opposition.

The press in Rome is jubilant at this fresh display of Italy's ability to land troops in the speediest manner.

The press declares that the object of the occupation is to damage the prestige of the enemy and is a further part of the plan to isolate Constantinople.

The territory will be restored when Turkish troops are withdrawn from Tripoli.

The landing at Rhodes occupied three hours. The weather was calm. The Turkish garrison retired to the hills. The Porte declares that the occupation will have absolutely no effect on the issue of the war.

Italian troops have seized Lebda and routed the Turks, who lost 300 killed. The Italian casualties were small.

According to the Italian despatches, the debarkation of troops and material was accomplished in Kalitea Bay, eight miles south of the town of Rhodes and lasted from four in the morning to two in the afternoon. No opposition was encountered. The Italians immediately advanced on the town of Rhodes. The Turks were repeatedly compelled to retire on the town before the Italian rifle fire and bayonet charges. At seven o'clock in the evening, the advance was stopped, the troops being then within half an hour's march of the town. An envoy was sent to the Governor of Rhodes to demand the surrender of the town. The Governor replied that he had no means of resisting the Italians and was unable to control the garrison which retired to a plateau, on which the Italian ships opened fire. Subsequently the Italian flag was hoisted over the town.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 5th: — The Italian flag has been hoisted on Rhodes Island. Five Italians were wounded in the fighting during the debarkation of Italians. It is believed that the enemy suffered heavy loss. Fifty of them were captured, including a squad of Turkish Regulars.

The work of clearing mines from the Dardanelles has been begun. The weather is delaying the opening of the Straits.

Reuter wires from Rome on the 6th: — The Italians lost one killed and six wounded in the fighting near Rhodes. The Turkish

casualties were 23 killed and 48 wounded, while they also lost 57 prisoners. The Governor surrendered. He was given an hour for consideration and then the bluejackets occupied the town. They were well received. General Ameglio published a proclamation and took measures for the maintenance of the public services. The Italians have now landed at Tachania in the southern part of Rhodes.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 6th: — Turkish official accounts of the landing of Italians on Rhodes Island states that the landing was opposed but that the Turks were compelled to retreat to the hills, where it is expected they will conduct a guerilla warfare. The garrison is 3,000 strong, and is plentifully supplied with ammunition and provisions.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonika, April 10

Despite the acknowledged failure of previous attempts to settle the Bosnian Musulmans in Macedonia, the Government has decided to repeat the experiment. For this purpose the further sum of £T21,000 is to be spent upon the installation of immigrants in the vilayets of Kosovo and Salomka. It may at least be hoped that the Government will on this occasion make adequate arrangements for the future support of this new population, as merely to dump the new arrivals on the land and leave them to their own resources will add another terror to the sufferings of the unfortunate inhabitants of Macedonia.

With a view to prompt action against the revolutionary bands in Macedonia and Albania the numbers of the *Gendarmerie* are being rapidly increased. In addition to the mounted and unmounted men stationed in the blockhouses, which, it is intended, shall be subsequently linked up by telephone, special companies have been formed for the active pursuit of the bands. The present strength of the force in the various vilayets is as follows: — *Salonika*, 4,187; *Monastir*, 4,149; *Janina*, 2,040; *Kosovo*, 4,154; *Skutari*, 989 — a total, in all, of 15,516 men. No further steps have, apparently, yet been taken in connexion with the proposed engagement of a staff of foreign and, probably, British officers for the training of the troops.

April 11.

An outbreak of anti-Bulgar activity on the part of Serb bands is reported from the *Cazas* of Palanka, Kumanova, Koprili and Dibra. The inhabitants of Bulgar villages have been threatened with death if they continue to call themselves Bulgar, while notable peasants have been beaten and others kidnapped in order to force the Serb propaganda upon the population. Seven Bulgars who were kidnapped have been released with the aid of gendarmes.

The Bulgar Committee claims, however, that the Serb *Komitadjis* are operating in collusion with the Turkish authorities.

(FROM THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, April 14.

The new Russian Ambassador, M. de Giers, arrived yesterday, accompanied by Madame de Giers. According to the procedure recently adopted by the Turkish Government and not at all to the liking of the foreign missions neither the Imperial Palace nor the Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent anybody to greet the new Ambassador on his arrival.

Dr. Mandelstamm, the first dragoman at the Embassy, arrived on the previous evening. From a thoroughly authorised source I learn that, contrary to persistent rumours, so far as M. Sazonoff was concerned the recall of M. Tcharikoff did not involve as a corollary the removal of Dr. Mandelstamm. St. Petersburg never thought of recalling him, and even if he himself later on should resume his personal intention of abandoning his diplomatic for a university career, there is no question of his departure at the present moment.

Considering the personal relations which are known to exist between Dr. Mandelstamm and the Young Turk leaders, it is thought that his return to continue his functions with M. de Giers is a certain sign that the new Ambassador has not come here with instructions to abandon the policy of a friendly attitude towards Young Turkey, which was inaugurated by M. Tcharikoff, although it may be anticipated that his manner will be more reserved.

(FROM THE "STANDARD" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Dehebat, April 14.

In their naval operations in Tripoli the Italians are displaying an amount of zeal and an excess of force that at times is in strange

contrast to the object to be achieved. To take a recent instance, on Tuesday the Italian squadron bombarded the defenceless town of Zouagna, eleven warships taking part, and on Wednesday the bombardment was continued by fourteen vessels, the town being at length laid in ruins. When it came to effecting a landing, however, the Italians were not quite so successful, and four attempts were repulsed by a body of Turkish troops.

Part of the fleet subsequently proceeded to Bukames. Early this morning 100 Italians occupied the Galeput blockhouse, where they were besieged by the Arabs and their retreat cut off.

The following semi official statement has, says a Reuter telegram, been issued in Berlin.—“An Italian newspaper recently circulated a story in which the Emperor William was alleged to have declared to an Italian notability during his visit to Venice that if he had such an intelligent and patriotic people as the Italians he would conquer Europe. As, unfortunately, this report was afterwards published in the German press, authority is given for declaring it to be a malicious invention.”

(FROM THE “TIMES” OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, April 12

Although the local Press has lately devoted much attention to the re-organization and strengthening of the Ottoman marine, it may be doubted whether the present policy of the Turkish naval authorities is likely to contribute much to this patriotic end. Rear-Admiral Limpus, the newly-appointed Naval Adviser, recently requested the Ottoman Government to permit the members of the present British naval staff attached to the Ministry of Marine to remain temporarily under his orders after his arrival at Constantinople with the object of availing himself of their experience before selecting a new British staff. The Minister of Marine at first acceded to the Admiral's request, but has since withdrawn his consent, and the British staff will consequently leave Turkey at the end of the current month.

It is to be feared that this *volte face* on the part of the Turkish Government will add greatly to the difficulties of the new Naval Adviser, who will find himself beset by the same obstacles as those with which Rear-Admiral Sir Douglas Gamble was obliged to contend in a country where knowledge of local conditions is almost as important as professional competence and where intrigue is rife.

The tendency to political coquetry which is so marked in Ottoman Ministerial departments is likely to be stimulated by any diminution in the efficiency of the British naval staff. Nor must it be forgotten that the introduction of German naval experts by the Turkish Admiralty has been seriously considered. Contracts for this purpose were, indeed, prepared so recently as last July.

The *Times* received the following communication from the Turkish Embassy with regard to the telegram on the British Naval Staff in Turkey from its Constantinople Correspondent.

Rear-Admiral Limpus, having expressed the desire that the Imperial Ottoman Government should retain, until his arrival in Constantinople, the British officers in the Ottoman service whose contracts expire at the end of this month, the Ottoman Admiralty hastened to grant the eminent new Naval Adviser's request, while asking him to choose himself his own staff to replace those whose contracts are ending and whose services to the Ottoman Admiralty have been greatly appreciated by the Imperial Ottoman Government.

The information published to the effect that the Imperial Ottoman Government intends choosing any other foreign instructors is without foundation.

(FROM THE “TIMES” CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, April 13.

The Italian native troops yesterday morning occupied the important fortified post at Bu Kemmesh. This fort, west of the peninsula of Sidi-Ali, commands the Tunisian caravan routes and is the principal key to the frontier of Tunis. The only route of communication with Tunisia now open to the enemy is a hill track from Ghazain, passable neither for artillery nor for heavy baggage. The telegraph line connecting Tripoli with Tunis is now in the possession of the Italians.

General Caneva telegraphs.—“Yesterday morning the Italian flag was hoisted over Fort Du Kemmesh near the Tunisian frontier, while a naval demonstration was made off Zuara as our warships with landing parties were still there.

“The occupation of the peninsula of Macabex on the 10th instant ensures to us the possession of a station for our torpedo-boats in order absolutely to repress and prevent contraband in arms from the sea. The officer in command of the expedition desired to cross the Gulf of Macabex and reach the Turkish fort of Bu Kemmesh the same night, but was prevented from doing so by the state of the sea. At 11 o'clock yesterday morning, however, a company of Eritrean Askaris and detachments of sailors, engineers and guards succeeded in crossing the narrow neck of sea to the main-

land and occupied Fort Bu Kemmesh without encountering resistance. The enemy were still held before Zuara by our firing.”

A later telegram states that the landing of war material still continues despite a fresh breeze. Yesterday evening the enemy attacked Fort Bu Kemmesh, but were immediately repulsed by the Askaris and the naval artillery. The night passed quietly.—(Reuter.)

(FROM THE “TIMES” CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, April 17.

Yesterday morning the Turks attacked Fort Lombardia at Derma and were repulsed with some loss. On the Italian side one artilleryman was killed and one Alpine soldier wounded.

Lieutenant Palma has made an aeroplane flight from Tripoli to Sidi Said, making a reconnaissance along the coast. From his observations he discovered that a large number of Arabs had retired into the interior. An additional regiment of Infantry has arrived at Fort Bu Kemmesh.

Constantinople, April 18.

The Agence Ottomane publishes the following telegram despatched from the Dardanelles at 4.30 this afternoon—

“An Italian squadron, composed of 20 torpedo craft, ironclads and three transports, appeared off Kum Kaleh this morning and bombarded the outlying fort at Toprak Kaleh. The Italians fired 180 shells, of which one inflicted slight damage on the barracks of Seidal Bahr Fort. The Orhanieh and Kum Kaleh barracks were also hit, but little damage was done. Our losses amount to one soldier wounded and one horse killed. Orhanieh Fort alone replied. One Italian warship was badly hit and withdrew from the fighting line on fire.”

(FROM THE “LITERARY DIGEST.”)

The Italian papers, notably the *Tribuna*, Rome, and the *Osservatore Romano*, join in the chorus of acclamation over Giolitti's African policy. The rest of the papers follow suit. But bitter is the opposition of the Republican *Rivista Popolare*, Rome, which styles the Tripoli expedition “an act of unpatriotic piracy.” In this opinion it is supported by the Socialist *Critica Sociale*, Rome.

(FROM THE “TIMES” MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.)

The long-expected landing of Italian troops near the Tunisian frontier took place at Sidi Said between dawn and dusk on April 10, within which period General Garioni's division, 12,000 strong, was thrown ashore.

General Vincenzo Garioni is well known from his services in China. He must be one of the youngest lieutenant-generals in the Italian Army. An officer of the Bersaglieri, he joined the Staff in 1884, became professor at the War School, then Chief of Staff of the Leghorn Division and commanding officer of the 24th Infantry. After commanding the Italian troops in China he returned to Italy and was made commandant of the Parma School of Musketry and subsequently commanded a division. He has a good réputation for tact, energy, and intelligence.

The Italian Staff must again be congratulated upon the almost complete silence which has been preserved regarding the despatch of this expedition, drawn partly from Italy and partly from Tripoli. The division is composed of the 2nd and 37th Regiments from Tripoli, the latter of only two battalions, the 30th and 60th Infantry and 9th Bersaglieri with machine guns, field artillery, and four siege guns from Italy. A battalion of askaris arrived from Massowah in the Conte di Cavour in time to take part in the landing. The troops were carried in eight transports, namely, the *Minas*, *Bulgaria*, *Sanno*, *Verona*, *Riva*, *Libia*, *Tripolitania* and *Labor*. A naval division under Vice-Admiral Borea-Ricci protected the convoy. It was composed of the *Carlo Alberto*, *Marco Polo*, *Agordat*, *Castor*, *Sardegna*, *Sicilia*, *Re Umberto*, and smaller vessels.

In accordance with the pre-arranged plan, Italian warships made a demonstration and threatened a landing at Zuara, firing heavily upon the Turco-Arabs assembled at this point, whence Fethi Bey reported an Italian repulse. While this demonstration was in progress the convoy anchored off Sidi Said, about 15 miles further to the west, and the whole of the force is reported to have been put ashore by nightfall although the transports had to anchor two miles from the beach. There was apparently no opposition to the actual landing, but there is a report that a small Turkish fort, probably at Farwa or Bu Kameka, was subsequently occupied.

The landing place selected is totally devoid of resources, but it must be supposed that the plan is to march on Zuara and occupy it in order to arrest as far as practicable the contraband trade which reaches the Turkish camp from Tunisia by this route. An attack on Zuara has been long expected and Fethi Bey is not very likely to give way without a fight, but the extended reconnaissance of the Italian dirigibles in this direction should have made the Italian command well acquainted with the position and strength of the enemy's forces within striking distance. Whether this new operation will be supported in any way by a movement from Tripoli is

not yet certain, but the Italian camp at Ain Zara has been broken up and replaced by a large redoubt occupied by a couple of battalions of the 50th Regiment. General de Chaurand's 3rd Division is therefore at disposal for an offensive movement, and some demonstration or attack from this side is not improbable in order to prevent the mass of the enemy's forces from being thrown against Garion's division. It is, however, to be remarked that the Reservists of the 1888 class have now been sent back to Italy, or at least many of them have been, and that unless drafts from regiments in Italy have been sent out to replace them the strength of Italian corps will be less than before.

As for the results to be anticipated from the new move, very little can be hoped from it except increased cost unless the Turco-Arabs wreck themselves in a general action. The interception of the Zuara route will be some slight inconvenience to Nisbet Bey, but other routes further to the south should serve as well while, as for the blockade-runners, with a coastline 1,100 miles long it is not of much importance whether the Italians occupy five points or six. General Garion's operation has, however, aroused fresh raptures in Italy, and one must admire the unanimity and enthusiasm which the Italian people continue to display respecting a war of which no end is yet in sight.

(FROM THE "DAILY CHRONICLE" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, April 11.

KIAMIL PASHA has not without reason been described as "The Grand Old Man of Turkey." Now, in his 84th year, he has devoted nearly 50 years of his life to the service of his country. As a young man he was in Egypt, occupying an administrative post. The British occupation came. Unlike so many of his countrymen, who regarded British interference in the light of a national calamity, Kiamil Pasha was more hopeful, more optimistic. He studied our methods and our language, and he watched with ever-growing admiration the efforts of the little band of Englishmen who so heroically and unselfishly worked for the re-generation of Egypt. And so it was that Kiamil Pasha became an Anglophile by conviction.

His Highness received me at his konak, on the outskirts of Stamboul. The house is surrounded by a large garden. It is an oasis in a desert of desolation, since it happens to be one of the few houses in this part of Stamboul which the recent fire left undestroyed. Kiamil Pasha had just returned from Egypt, where he had passed the entire winter. On their way to and from the Durbar, Their Majesties received him on board the Royal yacht when it touched at Port Said.

The veteran statesman, after inviting me to sit beside him on the divan, expressed his deep appreciation of the signal honour conferred upon him by the King and Queen. "I had a long talk with the King," said he, "and as an old man and one who has seen a great deal, I think your King is a very able man, possessing an extraordinary grasp of international affairs and a keen, critical judgment of men and things." Kiamil Pasha's thoughts next turned to the war.

"I will tell you what I think of it," he declared emphatically. "It is a misfortune for Turkey, but it is a much greater misfortune for Italy."

"The war," he continued, "as far as I can judge, is likely to continue indefinitely unless Italy recovers her reason which she appears to have lost temporarily. The struggle is, financially speaking, costing Turkey little, but it is becoming ruinous to Italy, and in the end she is much more likely to sue for peace than we are."

The decree of annexation, His Highness asserted, was well worthy of the nation which had produced so much excellent comic opera, and of so diverting a kind. "Why did not the Italian Government," he said, "when about it, annex Constantinople too? It would have been equally logical. In my opinion it will take Italy at least 20 years to make any impression upon the hinterland of Tripoli. In the meantime much may happen."

"There is another thing," added His Highness in conclusion, "which Italy has apparently overlooked, it is this. With us the cession of Tripoli is a question involving something much greater than the mere loss of the territory involved. It would mean the end of the spiritual rule of the Padishah the recognised head of Islamism."

(FROM THE "DAILY CHRONICLE" CORRESPONDENT)

The Constantinople correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* published an interview with the Ottoman Minister of War, Mahmoud Shefket Pasha, which indicates the *non-possumus* attitude of Turkey with regard to mediation. The following are extracts from the interview:—

"There is no fence in sight. . . . We are perfectly prepared to leave to Italy the entire commercial and financial development of both Tripoli and Cyrenaica. This would be of enormous advantage to Italy. But, unfortunately for the world, Italy is completely blinded as to her own true interests, and sticks to the word

'annexation' with that fatal fanaticism which has often proved the ruin of a nation. She is blinded, and there is no genius to enlighten her."

"We cannot give up the sovereign rights of our Sultan over a great part of our Empire which is essentially Moslem. It would be different with, for instance, Albania or Macedonia or Crete with their heterogeneous international population, although we are ready to defend these, too, with our last drop of blood. The more so shall we fight for Tripoli. It is almost exclusively Arab. And I am an Arab. Shame on Italy, on anybody suggesting that we should acquiesce in Italy's annexation of Tripoli!"

Referring to the probable course of the war, Mahmoud Shefket Pasha admitted that an extension of hostilities is quite likely to occur.

"Italy has given evidence of her spasmodic mode of action . . . The forcing of the Dardanelles? The thirty-six miles of the Dardanelles are exceedingly well provided with hundreds of submarine mines of every variety and description. I have inspected the fortifications myself, and I find everything in perfect order. Let the Italians come!"

(FROM THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, April 10.

THE steps with a view to mediation, which have been expected for such a long time, were finally announced to-day. The form definitely adopted at the last conference of the Ambassadors, held yesterday at the residence of the doyen, Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, is that of an identical but not a collective demarche, each Ambassador successively and separately sounding the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Assim Bey, by means of a question of an identical nature:

This question will naturally bear upon the conditions upon which the Porte would be disposed to conclude peace. It is also thought, although the Ambassadors are very reserved, that the question will be followed by a request, couched in friendly terms, that the conditions may be formulated in the most acceptable manner.

This morning the Turkish Press devotes leading articles to the question of mediation, which leave no illusions as to the issue of the Ambassadorial efforts. The *Tanin*, the Government organ and the most faithful mirror of the opinions of the party of Union and Progress, declares that the triumph of the principles of Union and Progress at the elections means that the Government is obliged energetically to persist in resistance. It adds that Turkey is under no obligation to display a conciliatory attitude, since she is not complaining about the war or asking for mediation with a view to peace. The journal concludes by saying that the Great Powers must not be astonished by the reply which will be given to them by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, namely, that "so long as Tripolitania is not evacuated we cannot enter into peace pourparlers."

The *Jeune Turc*, also a Governmental organ, after some preliminary observations, in which it points out that it was Italy who, against all legality, attacked peaceful Turkey, and in which Italy is qualified as an "international brigand," writes as follows: "The reply of the Ottoman Government to the Note of the Powers may be considered as definite, and drafted in advance. It will consist practically of this formula 'As soon as Italy withdraws her arms from our territory and ceases hostilities against us, we will also cease hostilities against her, and be ready to conclude peace.' We do not think," the *Jeune Turc* says, in conclusion, "that it will be possible to find in Turkey a Cabinet which will dare to give any other response."

Finally, the *Yrai Gazette*, an independent journal, which is interesting, however, because its articles on foreign politics are often inspired by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Assim Bey, declares that, whatever may happen, the Ottoman nation and Government cannot renounce their rights of effective sovereignty over Tripolitania. Except after making all the sacrifices which a war involves, no Ottoman Government could assume the responsibility of leaving Tripolitania and Benghazi to be trodden by the foot of the enemy.

From information which I have personally received, I am able to add that this language is in perfect accord with the general opinion of Turkey. The officers' corps in particular is so exasperated that certain Ministers have received threatening letters warning them against entering into pourparlers with Italy on the basis of a direct or indirect cession of Tripolitania. I also know that the former Grand Vizier, Hussein Hilmi Pasha, a very influential statesman, whom the Sultan gladly consults, is also a partisan of uncompromising resistance.

(FROM THE "TIMES")

Early yesterday afternoon a report was telegraphed from the Dardanelles to the effect that firing had been heard there and that an Italian attack was feared. On every ground we should have wished to believe that the rumour was unfounded, but the message

which, we publish from our Constantinople correspondent places it beyond doubt that a serious attack has been made, and indeed, at the end of the debate last night, the news was officially confirmed in the House of Commons. The news is but a confirmation of possibilities which were brought very uncomfortably to our notice last month by the attack on two Turkish ships of war at Beyrouth. It was admitted on all sides then that Italy had not exceeded her technical rights as a belligerent, but the opinion was also very justly expressed that any extension of such tactics would create a general condition of insecurity which might do serious injury to international interests. Those considerations are not less strong to-day, and they are reinforced by the present situation at Constantinople, where the Ambassadors of the five Powers—who have already taken this course at Rome—are engaged in pointing out that the continuation of hostilities is fraught with danger to European peace, and are requesting to be informed upon what conditions the Porte would be ready to conclude the war. It is not at all in keeping with our knowledge of the Turkish spirit to suppose that these inquiries will be advanced by any further demonstrations on the Beyrouth model. Such demonstrations can have only one effect—to stimulate the warlike elements in Turkey and aggravate the difficulties which must in any case stand between the Turkish Government and the conclusion of peace.

Apart from these immediate considerations, Great Britain has ground to justify the strongest protest against any further extension of the scene of war. She has maintained the strictest neutrality between the two combatants, who are both her friends and will continue to do so. But the maintenance of neutrality cannot be held to entail the neglect of her own interests; and any policy calculated to provoke the fanaticism of the subjects of the Turkish Empire along the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean must run very gravely counter to our interests both as a Middle Eastern and as an Indian Power. It is true that war is war, and that a belligerent Power has a technical right to use all means not specifically barred by international agreement to compass its adversary's defeat, but belligerents have not seldom had to recognize that political expediency is sometimes superior to military expediency even in the actual conduct of war. The Italians have already admitted the force of such considerations in regard to the present war, and they are not less urgent at this moment than when war was first declared. The operations of Italian warships in the Red Sea have, as it is, been attended with some not negligible inconvenience to the British Government, and we cannot contemplate without the gravest misgiving any further exceptions to the localization of hostilities. If the exclusion of the Adriatic from the arena of active operations is of special importance to one Power, the exclusion of the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean is of equal importance to us. The dangers of any other course have already been pointed significantly by the situation produced in Beyrouth and elsewhere by the attack delivered there last month. We have to thank the Turkish authorities alone for preventing on that occasion an outburst against European residents which could only have had the most serious consequences for more than one neutral Power. A renewal of the danger would strain their control to breaking point, and such an emergency is one which the British Government is bound, in deference to its own interests, to do what it can to prevent.

News from Turkish Sources.

(Specially Translated for the "Comrade.")

(FROM THE "AL MOAVID" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Derna, April 30.

Last night the Ottoman troops had an encounter with a detachment of the enemy, who were obliged to retreat. There was another engagement yesterday in which three Italians were killed, while twenty of them left their rifles and several rounds of ammunition behind. There was not the slightest loss on our side. The Ottoman posts keep sniping at the enemy throughout the night, who dare not come out of their fortified positions. The only thing they do is to go on firing shells into space in self defence.

(OTTOMAN CONSULAR MESSAGE.)

Derna, April 18.

A party consisting of 30 Turkish soldiers gathered together in a place called Sidi Abdullah, towards the west of Derna, at 3 o'clock on the morning on the 16th April. Early in the morning a detachment of the enemy came forward. The Ottoman party began to fire and killed five of the enemy. The Italians, in order to help the detachment that had drifted within the range of our rifle fire, began to rain shells. At this moment the Ottoman Commander sent a reinforcement of Turkish regulars and Arab Volunteers. But before the reinforcement arrived, the enemy had retreated and taken refuge in their forts. The artillery fire had ceased.

At eleven in the morning our brave volunteers made a rush at the enemy and brought about an engagement. In the fight that ensued, our men used the same rifles which they had captured from the enemy and opened fire by bringing metrille causes into action. The fighting continued till sunset. The enemy kept on pouring a heavy fire. After dusk they retreated towards their forts. Six guns of the Italian batteries on the west sent forth continuous fire, at last, however, our guns succeeded in putting them out of action. Some of the stone walls and earthwork, which the Italians had erected for protection, were also damaged by our shells. In addition to their western batteries, the heavy artillery of eastern fortifications and the guns of their warships also took part in the fight. But in spite of their wasting 2,000 shells, they could do little damage. I am thankful to God for the safety of our forty gunners. The enemy could not even locate their position. Six of our men were wounded, one infantryman, one artilleryman, one policeman and three Arabs. The wounds are very slight.

Derna, April 18.

A small detachment of the Ottoman forces, under the command of Zakki Essendi, moved up to Tobruk and, reaching close to the fortifications of the enemy, opened fire. Three Italian gunners were killed and they fell down on the ground. Two others jumped off their position and took to their heels. We cannot say if they received any wound. The Italian fort, thereupon, opened artillery fire which was continued till 2 o'clock in the afternoon. In spite of the fact that they wasted an enormous quantity of shells, they could do no damage to us.

Derna, April 19.

Last evening a detachment of our troops lay in wait for the enemy in a place midway between the new Italian fort and Tobruk. Meanwhile the Italians were coming back to their fort and when at a distance of 100 metres from the Ottoman ambuscade, in an instant our troops opened volleys of rifle shots and inflicted such havoc and destruction on the Italians that they could do nothing but run away. The same night a party of 10 Ottoman soldiers went near Tobruk and in close vicinity of the enemy's fortifications. Immense booty fell into their hands and they brought it, as much as they could carry, into the camp.

ENVER

Interview with Marshal Mahmoud Shevket Pasha.

[Specially translated for the "Comrade."] (FROM THE "JEUNE TURC")

10th April 1914.

THE Constantinople correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse* contributes to the issue of the 4th instant an account of his interview with Mahmoud Shevket Pasha.

"Is it a fact, Excellency, that the Ministry of War has latterly instructed the bankers and chemists of the Capital to lay by in good time a big store of flour and bread and of medicines and dressing appliances? Can we draw our conclusions from this?" It was with this question that your correspondent engaged the Minister of War in a conversation which unfortunately disappoints all expectations of a near conclusion of peace.

Mahmoud Shevket Pasha replied to my question smilingly with a counter-question, "Do you really believe that the Italian fleet can force an entrance and attack Constantinople? The Capital is not at all defended on any side. It is open towards the Dardanelles as towards Bosphorus. There is not one single fortress in the city to which siege could be laid. You must however believe this—that we have taken every imaginable military precaution for the safety of our Capital and have even provided for absolutely improbable contingencies—and we have done this not on account of the Italians, but because it is our duty to do so. With this in view we have made some inquiries, for we must know once for all, how much flour there is in the Capital and how much bread we could be supplied with in case of emergency."

"Your Excellency would be aware whether the Great Powers have approached the Porte with a view to mediation."

"No, nothing has happened until to-day."

"Since the mediation has, according to appearances, fallen through, may I ask for how long could Turkey in your opinion continue the war—judging from military and financial points of view?"

"For a very long time, in my opinion, even indefinitely. Remember that the war costs us almost nothing."

"How much, Excellency?"

"I cannot tell you exactly—but our expenses are nearly 5 per cent. those of Italy and your colleagues at the seat of war will confirm this."

statement. Our troops require nothing more than the frugal meal the country supplies them with, and I wish the Great Powers could conduct a war at such little expense as ours. I assure you that the Arabs are very happy in the war which is keeping them together. They have never been so happy as to-day—for they don't need to quarrel amongst themselves for arms and provisions—but have gathered together and are fighting as one man against a foreign enemy from whom they can capture arms, ammunition and provisions."

"Very well, they are fighting for their fatherland, their Khalifa and also for the plunder of an honourable war. But are they fighting for Turkey also? And then the war Excellency, will not last eternally!"

"You are well aware how willingly and gladly the Arabs submit to the command of our officers and in what spirit of brotherhood they are fighting side by side with the Turkish troops. They are therefore fighting for Turkey also. I may tell you that Tripoli and Benghazi have never belonged more solidly to the Ottoman Empire than they do to-day. And could we now abandon these Provinces? Now—when the Italians are everywhere on the defensive and our troops invariably on the offensive?"

"Assuredly not. Meanwhile the Italians are constantly occupying sea-coast towns and the opinion is held in military and diplomatic circles, who too do not believe in the success, of an attempt at mediation, that this war can only be brought to a close by a decisive military action and not by the interminable small engagements which are of no avail. A decisive stroke can alone settle the point. We are probably within sight of it, are we?"

"They say that Your Excellency has still a War Fund of fifteen million francs at your disposal and that the Italian aviators have observed on the plateau behind Ain Zara a concentration of two hundred thousand Arabs."

The Minister of War smiled and said "If we really had so much, we would probably have thrown the Italians into the sea. The Italian newspapers have, I suppose, published all this only to justify the defensive inaction of their army. They may believe it if they like, it can do us no harm. As for this news about our War treasure, it is a baseless assertion of the newspapers."

"I return to my question, Excellency. The war will certainly not last eternally. In Europe the belief is widespread that the Turkish Government would not be unwilling to conclude an honourable peace, of course, on the basis of the recognition of the Sultan's sovereignty over the two Provinces, but also probably with the sacrifice of a small piece on the littoral. It is said that the Porte only fears that the mere mention of the word of peace might shake the warlike Arabs of Tripoli in their attachment to Turkey."

The Minister of War's eyes answered with a piercing glance in my direction and he muttered a few words in an undertone which seemed to mean "Who knows! One of the two will perhaps have to yield, or else the forces of one will make those of the other do so."

I again ventured "In my humble opinion, Excellency, the two Provinces, in spite of the valiant defence by the people, cannot be considered secure until Turkey, who does not possess a large fleet, could take her revenge by pouring in reinforcements from her army. And why does not this magnificent army march through Egypt to fight the enemy? It seems simple and is possible. Isn't Egypt Turkish territory? And isn't Tripoli Turkish also?"

The features of the War Minister contracted into a bitter smile. "Why can't we march through Egypt? You could answer that question yourself. And as for the Arabs," said the Minister—who is an Arab himself—laying emphasis on his words, "We are used to talking about our Arabs at Tripoli—but the question as to whether Tripoli will remain Turkish, interests not only the inhabitants of those parts, but the Arabs of the entire world. I must tell you that the Tripolitan war is not merely a Pan-Islamic problem but has become an international Arab problem and farther than that it would, I am convinced, be unwise to go."

"And the new Parliament? Its majority is already known. What attitude will it take up towards the questions of peace?"

"The Parliament? What has it to do with the war?"

"But I think that like all Parliaments it will have to vote fresh credit for the war."

"I have just told you that the cost of the war to us is extraordinarily little and I can pull myself out of it with my ordinary budget. The special expenses of the war in Tripoli may, at the most, demand a special credit, which will however not go beyond the ordinary cost of the provinces to us in time of peace. Any-way, it will not be far in excess of six hundred thousand Turkish pounds."

"One more question, Excellency: You entertain no fear then, that if the war lasts indefinitely, it will not cause any complications in the Balkans or in Persia? A Turkish newspaper considers that the Turkish situation on the Persian frontier is more important for the prestige of Turkey than that in Tripoli. Is it a fact that you have withdrawn your troops from the territory in dispute?"

"What the newspaper in question has said is only a private opinion. We have not withdrawn our troops. They will remain there until the outstanding boundary questions have been decided by the Turco-Persian Commission. Nor is there any Turco-Russian understanding on this point. We have simply informed St. Petersburg officially that we have no intentions of going any farther—and on this Russia has suspended the concentration of her troops. As for the peace in the Balkans, we are strong enough to ensure it in all directions and in Albania also. We have been pestled quite a long time with these Balkanic questions; they are quite all right now."

The Near East.

CLEARLY all is not well in the Near East, the alarms and excursions of the past few days are too marked to be explained away by the pacific assurances of a great news agency. Europe should be prepared for one or more sudden *coups* of the kind that added Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Austrian Empire, carried the French army from the Atlantic coast of Morocco to Fez, and still more recently brought Italy to Tripoli and troubles that have yet to find their end. There are times, and this is one of them, when the trend of a policy that seems to be obscure may be rendered intelligible by a consideration of old ambitions. If the Balkans blaze next month and the peace of Europe be broken, it will be because Russia has grasped the opportunity that time has brought within her reach and because the general condition of European politics makes the certain risk less to be regarded than the possible reward.

Granting that Russia still desires to pass through the Dardanelles, it will be seen that the risks she has to face are smaller than they have ever been. Great Britain is not apparently concerned to offer opposition to the move, it is freely rumoured that the Anglo-Russian *entente* has taken note of the question. Next comes the Triple Alliance. If Russia approaches the Golden Horn on one side, it is more than likely that Italy will approach it on the other, the Italian position is a desperate one and calls for dangerous remedies. Recent attempts to raise money have failed, and no peace can be concluded on lines that the Turk would regard as dishonourable. Quite prepared to die, he is not disposed to consider surrender when he knows that but for the enforced neutrality of Egypt he could have driven the Italians out of Tripoli. It follows, then that Italy might not oppose Russia.

The intentions of all Great Powers are ruled to some extent by the money market, and for once international finance may be a factor making for peace. Last autumn the mere rumour of war sufficed to create a commercial crisis in Germany, had not American money come to the rescue that crisis would have been acute. At present Germany might not be able to raise the money necessary to protect her interests in Turkey, nor is it clear that Russia could raise the money to attack them. Paris and London hold the keys of the war chest, and each is anxious to ensure peace. France has her hands full in Morocco for a long time to come; and this country has sufficient anxieties at home without seeking adventures abroad. There are two parties in Russia, one that seeks war, the other headed by the Tsar, that seeks peace. If conditions were normal wise counsels would assuredly prevail, as in November last, when the question of the Dardanelles became acute; but unfortunately the season is favorable to unrest. A Balkan incident can be had for the asking by those who know how and where to ask for it; and the sanctity of treaties is nowadays no more than a figure of speech. A great wave of lawlessness is passing over Europe. It is submerging all the Chancelleries; and those who look to defend any position by reference to treaties, obligations, moral rights and the rest are doomed to disappointment.

It may be thought that in reviewing possible danger to Turkey, no regard has been shown for the magnificent fighting qualities of the Turk, his unconquerable heroism, and his fine contempt for danger. There is no intention or desire to overlook these gifts; but they are seriously reduced by the all prevailing lack of peace. If Turkey had the necessary financial backing there need be no Near Eastern crisis that the Turk could not settle. But the finest army in the world marches on its stomach, and depends in its hour of trial upon modern equipment and material; and, victorious in the field, may be stricken on the Bourse.—S. L. BENUSAN in the "Morning Leader."

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

REUTER is informed that the Persian Government has resolved to reassemble the Majlis at the earliest opportunity, but before ordering the elections, the Government considers it necessary for the welfare of Persia and in the interests of good relations with foreign Powers to remove the extremist element from the democratic party whose action is not consonant with patriotism at a time when Persia desires to be on friendly terms with Great Britain and Russia and when the united action of all the parties is necessary. These extremists will be released after the elections. The Government also intends to create a Senate in accordance with the constitution.

In regard to the reported attack on Major Peterson by the tribesmen to the north of Isfahan, Sir Daood Khan Mestahas Sultanah Consul-General for Persia, in India, now in Simla, informs on the strength of an official communication he has received that Major Peterson was returning from Shiraz when he and his party met some sowars of Heidar Ali Khan at Moorcheh Khar and captured them. Some of the inhabitants of Moorcheh Khar endeavoured to rescue the sowars and an affray ensued which resulted in three of Heidar Ali Khan's men being killed or wounded. Major Peterson's gendarmes had no casualties.

An article in the *Times* calls attention to the fact that there has been little improvement in Persia and to the continued absence of a strong stable Government, and further to the recent summary arrests, for which good reasons appear to be lacking. The article refers to the painful impression caused by the bombardment of the mosque at Meshed, and regrets that Russian officers failed in the reverence expected from all civilised people towards ancient historical buildings, although, adds the article, the necessity for repressing disorder appears to have been clear. The article discusses the suggested subsidising of the Southern tribes upon the lines of the North-Western Frontier, but rejects the idea, on the ground that such an arrangement would impair Persia's authority. The article recommends waiting a little longer to give the Swedish officers a chance and afford Persia time and opportunity to regenerate herself.

A message to the *Times* from Teheran on the 5th states that two hundred armed Afghans have crossed the Persian border and that a larger incursion is said to be in preparation.

A message to the *Times* from Teheran on the 7th states that another Afghan incursion near Baluchistan is reported.

The Shiraz correspondent of the *Civil and Military Gazette* writes under date, 11th April.—The bad state of the road and the open ill-will of Kashgus to the British is responsible for Lord Lamington's decision not to visit Shiraz, at least via Bushire, and Kazeroon. In anticipation of the visit the Kavan party had built a big house at Nasrieh, fitted and furnished and gave a large dinner to the European colony and the leading Persian officials. The roads are all more or less unsafe round Shiraz and trade is much hampered thereby.

Kavan's son Nasredowlah, recently shot down a noted Arab freebooter Rezaah Khan, which action is believed will strengthen Kavan's power among the Arabs.

Three Swedish officers with one hundred and twenty men arrived a week ago bringing several prisoners taken on the road whom they intended punishing themselves, even hanging one. This aroused a storm of indignation in the city and the prisoners were handed over to Kavan. This highhanded policy will not help the Swedes to recruit the men they require for the gendarmerie. The tribesmen acting as road guards may oppose the gendarmerie unless their Chief realises that the gendarmerie is a Persian Government institution and not a foreign one.

In connection with the Indo-Persian Railway project, Mr. Johns, Engineer-in-Chief, has been able to carry the railway survey as far as Gaudar on the Persian Gulf, a distance of over 490 miles. The alternative alignments have been carefully located and their respective merits marked. His progress report is now before the Government of India. The survey party, as already announced, will recess at Quetta. The results of the survey are satisfactory, but the difficulty of water supply will be one of the difficult questions which engineering skill will be called upon to solve.

Reuter wires from Teheran on the 8th:—There is deep depression in Government circles owing to the news that Prince Firman Firma has been completely routed by Salar-ed-Dowleh, and has retreated upon Hamadan, losing all his arms and ammunition.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

A BLUE-BOOK on Persia which was published recently covers the period of the two Russian ultimatums, the dismissal of Mr. Shuster, and the Russian invasion. If it appears from the documents printed that Sir Edward Grey criticised some points—unfortunately not the most injurious—in Russia's policy rather more freely than had been supposed, it is clear also why his criticisms had, and were certain to have, little or no effect. "If the Russian Government were satisfied," he wrote on 16th November, "that they had grievances which demanded redress, they must, of course, formulate their own demands for redress, that was no concern of mine." And again, on 20th November, he "explained that the Russo-Persian dispute did not concern Britain directly." It is this constant zeal to assure Russia that her policy in Northern Persia is a matter in which we have no direct concern that has been more than anything else responsible for the discreditable history of the last few years. It is a standing invitation to Russia to do as she pleases, and she has availed herself of it. And then, when she has done so, Sir Edward Grey discovers, of course, that this principle which he has laid down is one which circumstances and public opinion in England will not permit him to follow, and as a matter of fact he does not follow it. If we are not directly concerned in Russian policy, how is it that Sir Edward Grey is found telling the Russian Ambassador that the grievance on which Russia based her first ultimatum is of "comparatively slight importance," that her case is "not very strong," that he regrets she did not withdraw her troops when the ultimatum was accepted, that he could not approve of her demand for an indemnity, that he must warn her against sending troops to Teheran, and so on? The weakness of this method of negotiating with Russia is lamentable. We tell her that her policy towards Persia is not a matter of direct concern to us and then, when she takes the hint, we discover that the "ulterior consequences" of her action may compel us to remonstrate—too late. Russia may despatch troops to enforce her ultimatum—that is her affair, but if they are to go to Teheran, then the effect on Mahometan feeling will be disastrous. As though we did not all know that Mahometan feeling has been seriously offended by the whole of recent Russian policy towards Persia, by the advance to Kazvin, the brutalities at Tabriz! Why begin only to protest when it is a question of Teheran? If we were entitled to protest then, we were entitled to do so when the policy first began which could not but have "ulterior consequences" most grave for Persia and for us. Had we done so, the course of events in Persia would have been very different.

On April 15 Mr. Morrell asked whether Salar-ed Dowleh had yet left Persia in accordance with the strong recommendations made to him over a month ago by the British and Russian Governments, and whether Salar-ed-Dowleh had definitely refused to accede to the request made to him by the Consuls, and whether there was any truth in the report that he was proclaiming himself Shah of Persia. In reply to the first question, Mr. Acland stated that the answer was in the negative. As to the second, the Government had no information on the subject.

Mr. Morrell asked whether the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had received any report as to the recent bombardment by Russian troops of the shrine at Meshed, in Persia, whether he was aware that, as a result of these operations, many pilgrims were killed and injured, the mosque itself was almost destroyed, and its gold dome demolished, whether the keeper of the shrine was himself arrested by the Russian Consul-General and the courtyards of the mosque turned into stables and filled with the horses of the Russian troops; and whether he could say what reasons were given to justify these proceedings.

Mr. Acland replied: "I have received various telegraphic reports on the subject, but as they are not all in agreement it is hard to say exactly what happened. It appears that 39 persons were killed and 56 wounded, but it is not clear how many of these were pilgrims and how many were agitators, supporters of the ex-Shah who had taken refuge in the *bard* quarters attached to the shrine. Both the mosque and its dome appear to have been struck by shell fire, but I have no information to the effect that either the mosque or dome was destroyed, or that the keeper of the shrine was arrested by the Russian Consul-General. The Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs stated to Sir George Grey that horses had been brought into the shrine; but I have no information on this point from His Majesty's Consul-General at Meshed."

The reason of the bombardment is stated to have been the necessity of clearing out agitators and bad characters who had taken refuge in the *bashi* quarters and who when summoned to surrender had refused and fired on the Russian troops. The action is stated to have been resorted to only after ample and repeated warning."

In reply to a further question, Mr. Acland stated that His Majesty's Government were in communication with the Russian Government on these proceedings.

Mr. Dillon asked whether the Government would call for a full report on these proceedings from the British Consul, and Mr. Acland replied he thought it went without saying that they would get as full a report as they could.

The Desecration of Meshhed.

The Committee of the London Moslem League have adopted a resolution recording their dismay and indignation at the bombardment by the Russian troops of the Holy Shrine and Mausoleum at Meshed and trusting that His Majesty's Government will be pleased to take such diplomatic action as may be considered expedient to prevent a recurrence of similar deplorable incidents.

The following is the reply received by the Secretary, London Moslem League, from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the representation of the Committee of the London Moslem League on the subject of the bombardment of the shrine at Meshed:—

I am directed by Secretary Sir Edward Grey to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th instant, forwarding copy of a resolution adopted by the Committee of your League relative to the recent bombardment of the shrine at Meshed. I am to inform you in reply, that Sir Edward Grey is fully alive to the importance of this incident and that on hearing of it, at once instructed His Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg to make representation to the Russian Government which have since been repeated to the Russian Ambassador at this Court.

We have hitherto refrained from commenting on the repeated report that Russian troops have bombarded and destroyed the famous shrine of Iman Riza, at Meshed. We have been silent because we regarded the story as almost incredible, and we are still reluctant to believe it. Mr. Acland's reply in the Commons shows, however, that the allegation must, at least, be partially true, for it is admitted that both the mosque and its dome were struck by shell fire. Surely the Foreign Office, which has a Consul-General at Meshed, can find out the truth if its wants to? If the shrine and mosque and the wondrous golden dome have been ruthlessly destroyed by Russian guns, the outrage is one of the worst acts ever perpetrated by a civilized Power. It is almost as though Westminster Abbey or Notre Dame had been bombarded at close quarters, or as though the British had destroyed the Taj at Agra or the Jumma Musjid at Delhi. The mosque was "the glory of the Shiah world," and the most venerated shrine in Persia. Its destruction even in war would have been unpardonable, and in peace it should never have been endangered for a moment. We are out and out for Anglo-Russian friendship, but in such matters we cannot think of mutual policies, but rather of the common duty of civilization, which appears to have been forgotten.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

Politics and Genius.

(FROM THE "TIMES" TEHERAN CORRESPONDENT.)

CASTING his mind back, in a mood of cheerful melancholy, upon the sorrows of his country in recent years, Sohrab enunciated one evening on my verandah the very tenable theory that Persia's principal misfortune was that she had produced a series of crises without producing any one capable of finding a solution for them. An inveterate but, in this instance, misplaced turn for originality had made her prove the rule that the occasion finds the man by herself providing the exception.

"Or rather a series of exceptions," he added, "for we have had enough Ministers in two years to have lined the road to Paradise, but they have unfortunately led us to quite another destination."

"But," said I, "genius is so rare in all countries, and crises are so common, that it seems to me that mankind must be content to apply to their solution, not genius, but commonsense."

"Political genius," Sohrab replied, "is in a community only a highly-cultivated commonsense in politics. When this has been practised by a number of people for some generations an

atmosphere is created in which it is possible for an individual political genius to be born."

"Genius is not, then, a pure accident?" I asked.

"The flowering of genius is a subject which I have submitted to some examination. For instance, in a nation which has for a time decayed it cannot be said that the quality of commonsense in the conduct of ordinary affairs has decayed in any comparable manner. A Persian peasant is perhaps not inferior in mother wit or in native shrewdness to a European peasant, and I have even heard Europeans say, with a certain bitterness, that the merchants of Teheran were possessed of great ability in the art of bargaining, which is the art of the merchant. I have indeed observed that certain Europeans, of defective education, regard with amusement the fact that Persians prefer to sit upon the floor rather than upon chairs, and to eat with their fingers rather than with knives and forks, and they speak as if this were contrary to commonsense. But you, my friend, will agree with me that these artificial arrangements for sitting and eating do not really forward the business in hand, and, though in your company I adopt them by habit with some comfort and a pleasant sense of European diversion, it is yet possible for the Persian in turn to regard them with a secret amusement as being the uncomfortable devices of people with stiff joints who have not the cleanly habit of washing their hands after their meals."

"But would it not be commonsense to make a more general use of machinery?"

"In the first place, the general diffusion of machinery depends upon railways, and you are aware that in Persia that is not a question for the individual, but pertains to political commonsense and high politics, so that indeed it is not all our fault that we are still without railways. In the second place, if we consider the difficulties of transport, the number of machines, as, for instance, sewing machines, in Persia is very large. And, thirdly, it seems to me that the people for whom it is a matter of individual commonsense to employ machinery may be divided into four classes. First, there are those who elect to edit newspapers, and Teheran has a sufficiency of printing presses. Secondly, there are those who elect to live by selling machinery, of these we have few who have chosen this trade by preference, and all can earn a living without it. Thirdly, there are those who elect to live by farming the labour of others, it is to the interest of these to employ a large number of workmen to produce goods quickly and cheaply by machinery. But in Persia the workman sells for himself and employs only the labour of one or two apprentices. The articles which he produces by his handicraft are durable, and their price is in proportion to the cost of living; moreover, I have heard Europeans admire them for their beauty and declare them preferable to those made by machines. Fourthly, there is the farmer, who beyond doubt would reap a greater reward for his toil by the use of agricultural machinery. But I am not aware that the farmer in any country shows any readiness to adopt machinery until it is forced upon him, either by those who have machines to sell or by the political commonsense of the community, which sends missionaries to convert him. The Persian farmer would equally readily adopt machinery were it within his reach; but he has neither seen it nor heard of it, and its acquisition at the present time, when there are no means of transport, would be entirely beyond the power of his purse."

"So that, given the kind of life to which he is accustomed, the Persian conducts it with ordinary commonsense?"

"Most assuredly, as far as his own needs are concerned. It is the sense of common organization, and of serving the general need, the spirit of social, not of religious, self-sacrifice, which is lacking, and this is a political sense. Hence there is no atmosphere into which a political genius can be born, or wherein he could thrive. Where many study machinery a mechanical genius arrives, and where art is worshipped an artist may be born. Thus in Persia there is perhaps no pure passion except for religious and philosophical subjects; and though I myself am not an admirer either of the Bab or of Abdu'l Baha, there are many who believe that Persia has in modern times produced two religious geniuses."

"It seems to me to follow from your theory, Sohrab, that before a new kind of genius can be born a new movement must first be born. This movement, also, must suffer from its uncongenial atmosphere, so that its beginnings may appear abortive. And in general the genius, instead of arriving with the movement, is likely to arrive a long time after, so that every genius has many puny and unacknowledged predecessors."

"That also is true, and the question of movement is of great interest. It is always important to discover whether a movement which suddenly flares forth is really new, in which case it is likely to die down and to pass through many stages before gaining strength. And this may perhaps be true of the Persian Constitutional movement. Or it may already, almost unobserved, have passed through

its earlier stages, in which case it is likely to produce capable leaders and to attain a measure of success. In England I understand that you have many 'suffragettes' who clamour to vote on equal terms with men. In Persia such a demand has the air of outrageous novelty, and when a Deputy in the Majlis so far forgot his surroundings as to advocate something of the kind the Assembly was naturally shocked and distressed. But in England, where your women have for centuries meddled in the course of politics it is possible that the movement has been long fostered before making such a noise in the world, and if this be so it is possible that a woman who is a political genius may be produced."

"The genius of the suffragette at the present time," I suggested in English, "might be defined as an infinite capacity for breaking panes."

Considering this remark obscure, and probably irrelevant, Sohrab ignored it and launched a much wider speculation.

"If," said he, "one could contemplate the genesis of, and the stages reached by, all the movements that are going on in the world at the present or any given time, one would be in a position to make some reasonable conjecture as to the meaning of existence and as to whither we are going."

"The hypothesis is too colossal," I answered, "but at any rate you hold that there is a meaning?"

Sohrab replied by one of his own quatrains.

"For all the Toil of all the aged Past,
For all the Bread upon the Waters cast,
For all the Prayers that Men have prayed in Vain,
Shall come a subtle Answer, at the Last."

"The satisfactory nature of an answer," I objected, "is generally in inverse ratio to its subtlety."

"For starving men, yes, but for philosophers, no."

"But for me, for example, who do not starve, and am an indifferent philosopher?"

"The plain man will always invent his own answer, and sometimes he may even be satisfied with it. But perhaps also, although the Prophet of the Gospels forbade this practice for men, the diverting spectacle of swine contemplating a *peui* cast before them was in the scheme of the framer of the subtle Answer. You have seen the *dallals* when they bring you an antique *alabaster*, or a beautiful old tile, stare at it, turn it over as though they knew its secret, and assert loudly its beauty and great value. Of its beauty they know nothing, for we Persians despise our own art, but of its value they are very solicitous, that being precisely what they can persuade a *farangi* to pay for it. Is it not so also in your country that some men make much money by the manufacture of soap and other necessary articles, or by lending money at much interest, or by selling to a limited company of more ignorant persons something to which they have no title, or which is situated at such a vast distance, as for instance a diamond mine in Persia, that its worthlessness is not immediately discoverable? And these people, having become millionaires, collect beautiful pictures and statues, which are selected by those who are experts in such matters. But they themselves know only that these pictures and curios are valuable, and the secret of their beauty escapes them: for the vast sale of necessary, or unnecessary, articles to the world is not the garden wherein this kind of knowledge is cultivated. With such men one may compare the well-informed swine who, nose the pearl of the subtle Answer. The well-informed swine have learnt that here is some mysterious value, though the subtlety escapes them. And just as your millionaires eagerly collect works of art, so the well-informed swine are often very strong either in theology or in philosophy or in the ceremonies of religion, thinking thereby to demonstrate their possession of the pearl, and their understanding of the subtle Answer."

"In general," said I, as Sohrab prepared to say good-night, "I am disposed to agree with you. Yet, though I have no objection to being called a plain man, it seems to me that you are developing your argument and analogies in a way that will ultimately cease to flatter. Moreover, the epithet 'well-informed' appears to me singularly unsuitable for swine, inasmuch as in my country it is by tradition almost exclusively reserved for the correspondents of *The Times*."

Morocco.

News of the Week.

DESPATCHES from Fez show that before signing the treaty with France granting that country protectorate over Morocco, Mula Hafid insisted on abdicating declaring that he became Sultan as the defender of Morocco against foreign intrusion. At the instance of the French Consul, however, he decided to await the arrival of M. Regnault in order not to show disrespect to France. When M. Regnault arrived Mula Hafid repeated his wish to abdicate, declaring that the French had deprived him of all power. Finally M. Regnault succeeded in gaining the Sultan's confidence and induced him to sign the treaty pointing out that international necessities were involved.

There is much uneasiness in Paris with regard to the situation in Morocco. Signs of unrest are apparent in all directions, and the Sultan, upon whose influence France had counted, is urgently desirous of quitting Fez and going to Rabat.

Prospects of an agreement being reached in the Franco-Spanish negotiations are improving under the stress of present circumstances.

A message from Casablanca on the 5th states that the Moors attacked a French reconnaissance party at El Maaziz. The French had seven killed, while seven others, including one officer, are missing. Thirty were wounded, seven of them dangerously.

The French casualties at El Maaziz were 27 killed and 30 wounded.

French reinforcements are proceeding to Fez from Tunis and Algeria.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "MORNING POST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, April 12.

Later reports concerning the fighting at Maharia, on the Algerian frontier, show that the engagement which took place there on 9th April was a serious one. A French force of 2,300 men was attacked by some 3,000 Beni Warain tribesmen, and only dispersed them after determined fighting. The French losses amounted to 20 killed, including one officer, and 63 wounded, including three officers, while the enemy left 200 dead on the field, carrying away with them a considerable number of dead and wounded. It is stated that several important Sheikhs of the Beni Warain were killed.

Paris, April 13.

A Meknes telegram to the *Empire*, dated 7th April states that complete anarchy reigns in that District. Owing to the rivalry of the chief Kaidis and the uncertainty as to the new regime bands of brigands have been carrying their depredations up to the gates of the town. Some Makhlouf troops, pursuing a party who had carried off a herd of cattle, were driven back by the robbers. A rumour was current that the town would shortly be occupied by French troops. As a result of the French Protectorate land in the town and suburbs has risen in value, and despite the insecurity of the roads there has been a renewal of commercial activity.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENTS.)

Tangier, April 16.

It is now officially confirmed that the Sherelian troops at Fez mutinied yesterday afternoon. Their grievance was that part of their pay was to be given in the future in food. They shot all their French officers and instructors and attacked the wireless station, killing three operators outright and the fourth has since died. They then looted the French bank and the French quarter generally.

Three companies of French troops outside the city hurried in, and engaged and beat off the mutineers. They then posted themselves in the Consulate quarter, where all is reported to be well. The British subjects are all safe. A rumour that the Sultan and El-Mokri, the Grand Vizier, had been killed is not confirmed. The wireless installation is working but slowly. Latest news says that the mutineers are looting the native quarter.

Paris, April 16.

It would appear from the conflicting accounts that a mutiny broke out at Fez yesterday morning among the infantry and spread to the other arms, except the engineers. Excitement prevailed in two native quarters of the city.

The mutiny has no connection with the isolated attacks upon Europeans during the last few days. Firing continues between the French troops and the mutineers. The Sultan is isolated, with several Frenchmen, in his palace, which is besieged by mutineers. The officers and non-commissioned officers who have been killed were acting as instructors.

A telegram from Tangier says that the mutineers attacked the Bu Zalid quarter, where the Sherelian telegraph employees live. Three of these men were killed, and it is feared that there have been other victims in the quarter where the merchants have their shops and residences. The journalists and a number of Frenchmen who

refuge at the French Residency. The doctors of the mission are in the palace of the Sultan. The safety of the British Consul and the persons who have taken refuge in the British Consulate appears to be secured by the troops. The pashas of Fez Djedid (New Fez) and Fez Bali (Old Fez) are endeavouring to restore order.

(FROM THE "DAILY NEWS" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Tangier, April 16

News from Fez reports that the people have revolted, and that the Imperial troops have sided with the inhabitants, attacking the French officers. The mutineers have cut communications. No details can be obtained.

It is reported that the outbreak began among the Imperial troops, who are discontented at their pay having been reduced. A section of the troops mutinied and killed their French instructors. The population sided with the mutineers, and many excesses were committed. The revolutionaries are reported to have murdered three operators belonging to the French wireless telegraph corps, and to have seriously wounded another. The Credit Foncier Bank has been plundered.

The Sultan is besieged in his palace. The palace is guarded by French troops, who are also guarding the residences of M. Regnault, the French Minister, and El Mokri, the Sultan's Foreign Minister, who has recently returned from Paris. The English Consul is safe.

The authorities are alarmed, and have sent an urgent demand for French reinforcements.

Fighting is still going on in Fez this evening. Troops from all the French garrisons in the north are being hurried towards Fez in order to save the Europeans.

Fez is in two parts, the old and the new. The Sultan's palace which is besieged is in the old town. It seems that the quarter in which are situated the house of the French resident, M. Regnault, and the consulates has not been attacked.

On the first news of a mutiny or insurrection M. Regnault summoned the French force of 2,000 men encamped three miles outside the city. This force now occupies Fez. General Moinier has ordered five companies of infantry from Mequinez, which is about thirty-five miles away from Fez. Altogether in the region of Fez the French troops number about 6,000, but the whole of this force is, of course, not available.

The French troops available in Morocco are: At Debiglah about 2,000 men, at Mequinez about 4,000 men, at Suk el Arba, General Ditté's flying column of 3,200 men, which has just terminated its operations in the region of Rabat, in the Shawa, 8,000 men, half of whom are available.

There is good reason to believe that the revolt is an organized attempt to cast off French authority, and that it will not be repressed without hard fighting. If the fever of revolt spreads to the tribesmen the French may have last year's work to do over again.

The building in which the Maghzen telegraphists are posted has been attacked, but is being valiantly defended. It is evident, then, that the 1,500 French troops in Fez are only holding their own, but it is hoped that the reinforcements from Mequinez and neighbouring towns will reach the capital by to-morrow.

The Shereefian army is under the command of the French General Brulard, with Lieutenant-Colonel Mangin as Chief of the Staff. It consists of (1) the Shereefian guard at Fez, (2) the Moroccan army acting along with French troops for the occupation of the provinces and in military operation. The Shereefian guard, a section of which has revolted, is commanded by a French officer of the rank of commander of a battalion or squadron, assisted by a native kaid. The infantry is composed of one black battalion consisting of two companies, and one battalion of four companies. The cavalry is represented by one black squadron of two troops (*peintans*), and one squadron of four troops. There is one battery of artillery with four guns.

The *Journal des Débats* says that reinforcements will undoubtedly be sent to Fez, doubtless from Rabat or the Shawa. At the same time it would never do to denude the coast district of troops, since the disturbances might spread to the tribes there, which were recently insurgent though they are at present quiet. The *Debats* thinks it may turn out that the French forces now in Morocco may prove inadequate, and regrets that a radical solution of the military problem was not effected in preparation for the new extension of the French colonial empire. The present state of Europe will not permit the drafting of large bodies of troops from the mother country. A reserve black force must be constituted in the colonies themselves in order to cope with emergencies.

April 16.

The disquieting announcement is made that fears are entertained for the safety of several of the French commissioned and non-commissioned instructors at Fez. The Mequinez garrison, which has been depleted by the despatch of reinforcements to Fez, is to be

brought up to strength by relief drafts from Casablanca. The War Minister has inquired whether fresh troops from home will be needed. Wireless communication with Tangier is actively maintained, but owing to the partial destruction of the installation at Fez communication with the capital is precarious.

Madrid, April 18.

In view of the fact that the French Cabinet Council held on Tuesday is understood to have considered the question of a reply to the latest Spanish proposals regarding territorial compensations in Morocco, it had been expected here that M. Geoffray would before now have been in a position to make some fresh communication on behalf of his Government to the Spanish Foreign Minister. Up to the present, however, no such communication has been made and there is reason to believe that the delay is probably due to an interchange of views on the subject between Paris and London, as it is now an open secret that the British Foreign Office is at present taking a more active interest in the Franco-Spanish negotiations than has hitherto been considered necessary or desirable.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN")

When France obtained Germany's consent to her protectorate of Morocco and settled her accounts with Spain it was time to look out for trouble with the "natives," whose views have been overlooked for so long. We had not had long to wait. News comes to-day of a mutiny at Fez. Only seventy men seem to have taken part in it, and the occasion was some trumpery dispute about what our own army knows as deferred pay. But no doubt it will serve the purpose. Some Frenchmen are reported to have been killed, and if they come to life later, as these new-fashioned martyrs have a way of doing, it will be to point a moral against the inaccuracy of newspaper telegrams. But their blood, though shed only in newspapers, will have served as the seed of Empire. The Sultan is said to be besieged in his palace by the mutineers, and we can understand, after what has happened, that he is not very popular. But an equally good line for those who wished for an excuse for intervention would have been to represent him as being in secret sympathy with the mutineers. We do not pretend to know whether the mutiny is serious or not, and whether it puts Europeans in Fez in any real danger. In either case it will be an excuse for intervention, and we must expect such excuse to multiply now that the Great Powers have, between them, "settled" Morocco.

(FROM THE "DAILY NEWS")

It is impossible, at the time of writing, to estimate the gravity of the outbreak at Fez, but as to the event itself Europe cannot affect surprise. No one can suppose that the establishment of the French Protectorate is welcomed by the Moorish people, and the Sultan's antagonism to the treaty which he has been compelled to sign is matter of common knowledge. This alone might suffice to explain the turn of events, but it is not unlikely that a more direct cause of the rising is to be found in the oppression and dishonesty of a section of the European exploiters of Morocco, more especially in regard to land-grabbing. The matter has been referred to time and again by the Tangier correspondent of the *Times*, and the significance of repeated protests from such a quarter is certainly not to be minimised.

(FROM THE "NEWCASTLE DAILY CHRONICLE")

The Franco-Spanish negotiations respecting Morocco have come to a fresh stoppage owing to the refusal of the Spanish Government to grant the French demands concerning the valley of Uerga. The Paris view is that the valley of Uerga must be French. It commands the road to Taza, and is the only means of communication between Algeria and Eastern Morocco. The French must have it, and if the Spanish withhold their consent it will be dispensed with. French troops have only to occupy the valley, and once masters of it it will be next to an impossibility to dislodge them. This is the opinion of some of the Spanish papers, notably the *Liberal* which recalls an anecdote relating to the Spanish King Sancho IV. He received one day a message from the Pope informing him that he had been appointed the great Tamerlane of Persia by the Vatican, and inviting him to take possession of his new dominion. The answer of King Sancho was to the effect that he could not quit Castile for the moment, but that, to show his gratitude to his Holiness, he created him Sultan of Egypt.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Tangier, April 18.

The Tangier wireless station has obtained communication with Fez. News of an extremely grave character arrived early this morning. The Shereefian troops, discontented with the new regulations regarding their pay, demanded and obtained an audience of the Sultan yesterday morning about 11 a.m. The Sultan refused to reconsider the question, and was unable to pacify the troops, who immediately mutinied, shooting, it is reported, their French instructors.

From the upper part of the town, in which the Palace is situated, also soldiers poured into the central town, looting the French bank, the French hotel and other French houses *en route*. Meanwhile the wireless station had been attacked, three of the employees being killed and a fourth wounded.

The French troops, who were camped at a little distance outside the city, hurried to the scene and were able to occupy the quarter in which the Consulates are situated. The French Minister and party and the British and French Consulates are safe. When their telegram was sent looting was still continuing, and it was feared that more lives had been lost, but evidently the difficulty of communication between different parts of the town prevents the extent and the details of the casualties from being known.

The Sultan is alive in his Palace, but is isolated. A large body of French troops are at Mekinez and could reach Fez by forced marches probably in 24 hours. Further news is awaited with anxiety.

The British Consul at Fez telegraphs that all the British subjects are safe and unharmed. It appears that in no case was the residence of any British subject attacked, nor do they appear to have suffered in any way.

The foreign Consults at Fez are all reported safe. A certain number of the French colony are at the French Consulate, but no news is obtainable in regard to those inhabiting other quarters of the city.

Three companies of the eight camped near Fez have entered the town and are protecting the Consulate quarters, the rest remain outside as a precaution against a possible attack from the tribes.

It appears that only a portion of the Moorish troops have mutinied, as far as can be gathered from the scanty information to hand the remainder are loyal. The four French employees of the wireless telegraph station valiantly defended themselves in their house, but were overpowered. The wounded man has been removed to hospital.

The last telegram received from French official sources appears more optimistic about the situation, but apparently they know little or nothing of what is proceeding in other parts of the town.

Paris, April 18

The intelligence of the mutiny of native troops at Fez conveyed in your Tangier Correspondent's telegram yesterday was confirmed in Paris to-day. An official despatch on the subject has been received at the Foreign Office from M. Regnault, the French Minister to Morocco, who is now at Fez on a special mission to the Sultan. Wireless telegram have also been received from Fez by the *Temps*.

Dr. Weissberger telegraphed yesterday at 2.30 P.M. to the *Temps* from Fez—

"A section of the Shereefian have revolted and invaded the city. M. Regnault is arranging with General Brulard for the despatch hither of troops from the French camp (some three miles off at Debi Bagh)."

A telegram of to-day's date to the same journal says—

"Fighting was resumed this morning in the streets of Fez and is not yet ended. The house of the Maghzen's telegraphists was attacked. The telegraphists made a gallant defence. The arrival of the first reinforcements is, nevertheless, (as) counted upon to begin to-morrow, and it is thought that it will then be possible to get the upper hand of the insurrection."

A third telegram, dated to-day, to the *Temps* says that several members of the French colony have taken refuge in the French Consulate and in the Sultan's Palace. Dr. Weissberger himself is at the Consulate. At the "Residence," with the French Special Envoy, M. Regnault, are Mme. and Mlle. Goublier and five or six members of the Special Mission. The British and German Consul are in their own house and the Spanish Consul is at a building where wireless telegraphy is installed.

An agency telegram from Tangier says that French troops had to drive the rebels from the city gates, which they had occupied.

An official despatch from M. Regnault explains the origin of the revolt. Before the reorganization of the Shereefian troops was introduced on March 1, 1912, these troops had to provide their own rations out of their pay. They were improvident, and were always in want whenever their duties took them away from their garrison for 24 hours. After March 1 the pay of these troops was increased to something approaching the scale of the Algerian tirailleurs' pay. A scheme has lately been devised by the French instruction for holding back part of the pay in order to improve the food supplies by establishing a canteen. The Shereefian troops were indignant when they heard of this proposal, and yesterday morning sent a deputation to the Sultan in order to protest. Seventy men mutinied without waiting for the Sultan's answer, and part of the population of the two quarters of the city joined them and indulged in rioting. M. Regnault at once adopted the necessary measures with the aid of the garrison of Dar Debi Bagh. General Moinier has ordered the garrison of Mekinez to send five companies to Fez to help in restoring order. There will then remain at Mekinez eight companies, one squadron, and a section of artillery. General Moinier is reinforcing the Mekinez garrison by a battalion of infantry and a section of artillery from Suk-el-Arba.

Principles of Biography.

None is more qualified than Sir Sidney Lee to speak about biography; its principles, its province, its ideal. As the editor of that monumental work "The Dictionary of National Biography," he has had advantages which hardly anybody can claim, much less rival or excel.

Biography, says he, satisfies the commemorative instinct in man. It satisfies a natural craving to hand down to posterity the hero's personality, a record of his achievements; an account of the manifold influences working upon and around him; shaping, controlling, directing his destiny.

With death all that is human perishes, but there is something which outlives death and survives the mortal frame. It is the memory of the man. To treasure the memory, to hand it down to subsequent ages—is, in many instances, only too natural.

A sense of devotion to the individual might induce the biographer to rescue his memory from oblivion. The achievement of some great object; the fulfilment of some great design, distinction on the battle field or in the arena of letters—any of these and many others besides—might lead to biographic commemoration. But Sir Sidney Lee imposes certain conditions and fixes certain rules which must needs be observed if biography is to fulfil its true mission. Not merely distinction in a particular sphere of activity is enough for biography. A career fit for biography, is a career, says he, which is "serious, complete and of a certain magnitude."

Death alone can give completion to a career. Until death, no true perspective can be reached; no impartial judgment can be pronounced, no correct survey of a career can be made. Therefore biographies of living men fail in one of the important requisites of a true biography. Various motives of flattery, fear, prudence, forbid a complete disclosure, but unless the portrait is complete it is hardly a portrait worth having. Prejudice, bias, in favour or against the living man is almost certain to exist, and the writer is liable to fall into the pitfalls of either unsavoury scandal or extravagant laudation.

By "seriousness" Sir Sidney Lee understands the quality which stirs and firmly holds the attention of the earnest-minded. As to what constitutes magnitudo, Sir Sidney Lee suggests that an action is to be reckoned great or otherwise from the number of times that it has been accomplished, or is capable of accomplishment, for instance, the achievement of Shakespeare is rarer than the achievement of Wellington at Waterloo. While similar circumstances might call into being another Wellington it is more than unlikely that the world will see two Shakespeares. Therefore, the true function of biography is to keep alive the memories of those who by character and exploits have distinguished themselves from the mass of mankind.

By presenting the rules that should regulate the execution of biography, Sir Sidney Lee has done a real service to literature. We see biographies of men of every kind issue from the press—men of very mediocre talents, and men of no talents at all. We trust that Sir Sidney Lee's admonitions will exercise a salutary check upon irresponsible productions.

After laying down the aim and marking out the sphere of a proper biography Sir Sidney Lee points out the dangers and temptations that lie in the path of the biographer. He is severely warned off from kindred studies, such as history and science. Nor is he to convert biography into a spacious pulpit, to extol virtues and to condemn vices, to point a moral and to impart ethical instructions. Biography is not to be made subservient to any other studies, however interesting and fascinating they may be. It must steer clear of them. It rules, we are told, a domain of its own. It is autonomous.

It should confine itself to its own sphere of work, and that sphere is the correct portraiture of the man. It must hold up a mirror for us. It must place the man before us as he was, and not as we would like him to be. It must be a faithful, genuine, true picture. It must not be idolatrous, it must not be too-long—the besetting sins of modern biographies. But man is a social animal. He is a part of the society in which he lives and moves. He cannot resist the influences which his environment exercises upon him. These cannot be excluded from consideration if the portrait is to be complete and perfect. Nor can we exclude from our consideration those influences which he himself exerts over those that come in contact with him. Sir Sidney Lee concedes all this, but he adds that our attention must be fixed first and foremost upon the man, and man the alone, and not upon his age, or his contemporaries. If, on the other hand, we suffer ourselves to be carried away by the study of his age or the history of contemporary events, we run the risk of relegating the real hero into the background. It is the personality of the hero which must occupy the central position, and not the history of his age. Masson's Life of Milton is an instance in point. Milton is there lost in the immensity of detail. It is impossible to give more than a bare account of the splendid biography that is lying before us. We recommend it to those who are interested in the study of biographies.

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طلسم موس رہا ایک مشہور کتاب
بے جس میں عجیب و غریب انسانے
مذکور میں۔ ایک زمانہ میں اس
کتاب کا بھت ہو رہا تھا۔ ناظرین اس
انسانوں کو پڑھنے میں صعوبت رہی تھی
لئے اور ۴ سالہ اس کے مصنف
داد دیدتھے تھے کہ وہ کیا بالائیں دیکھے
لکالی میں! میرا تو نقطہ انسانے
میں تھے اب اصل چیز ملھٹے کیجیے۔
زولونوں (کارڈ) پر صد بھائی ۲۰۰
کالوں کے ۶ چھے کالے چھائے میں اور
چھوٹوں کاے حصہ معقول صرف
۳۰، میں (روپیہ میں لذر میں)۔

ایک زولونوں رکارڈ پر مشہور
گویوں کے مقابل کالے اور ۶ چھے
کالے اور قیمت صرف ۳۰، میں (روپیہ)۔
مارے ندردان بھجھنی کے ساتھ
ان طلبیں (کارڈ) کے منتظر تھے
اور مارے ایجینٹ تھاں پر تھامنا
کر دیتے تھے۔ اب آپ کی فیاضی
طبع کے واسطے یہ حاضر میں۔ ان
کالوں کی بیوہ مالک شے اسلام فوراً
خوبی فرمائے۔

اس مہنے کے اردو دکارڈ کی
نہر سمعت فضیلہ ۵۷ہ ترین کالوں کے
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علیہ الرحمۃ کی ہان میں ۲ دو فریلن
کائن میں۔ ان کے سنتے سے تلبہ
پر لوا اتر پوتا تھے۔ بیارس میں
گندھارلوں کے کالے تو ایسے پسلہ
مٹوئے میں کہ ان کی تعریف لکھی
کی ضرورت میں لہنیں۔ طلبیں
کارڈ کو ضرور سلسلہ دوڑھ آپ تم
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Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 20. Anna 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, May 18, 1912.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1

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The Week.

Home Rule.

THE debate on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill concluded on the night of the 9th instant. Resuming the debate Mr Redwood said that underlying all the arguments against the Bill was the assumption that all parties to the new treaty would be animated by bad feeling and malice instead of by a desire to make the best of things. Why was this malicious folly attributed to Irishmen, when it was never committed in any other section of the Empire to which Home Rule had been granted? It would be Ireland's highest interest to safeguard her Constitution, to work it with moderation and success, and for the first time in her history to do her utmost to promote the unity and prosperity of the Empire. He believed all the old party division would quickly disappear. Responsibility would have a steady, moderating effect upon men of all political views. Nationalists in Ireland, America and the Dominions had accepted the Bill as a final settlement. From the point of view of foreign policy and military strength the Bill was the most urgent step they could take to safeguard Great Britain's future to ensure the solidarity of the Empire and remove the obstacle in the way of a natural understanding with the great English-speaking Republic.

At a later stage of the debate Mr. Russel, Liberal, said the Protestants of Ireland were prepared to acquiesce in Home Rule. The present minority of Protestants in Ulster, who were opposed to Home Rule, was growing. Mr. Russel ridiculed the notion that Ulster would fight.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald sympathised with the religious prejudices of Protestants in Ulster, but said that Protestant workers there were beginning to discover that the present agitation was more of an economic than a religious character. Belfast's ascendancy nowadays was over labour, not over Catholics. The Bill would strip the veil from the enemies of labour responsible for the Orange agitation and prove an enormous gain to Trade Unionists.

Sir George Kemp, Liberal, opposed the Bill. He said he would have supported it, if Ulster had been allowed a separate Parliament.

Sir Gilbert Parker, referring to the resolution in favour of Home Rule, passed by the Overseas Legislatures, thought they had misunderstood Ireland's position. Moreover, they had in their eye the value of the Irish vote in their own domains.

Mr Churchill and Mr. Samuel, he said, had misled the House when they said that Ireland's position was analogous to that of South Africa. He was astonished that Nationalists were willing to accept the subordinate position of a province. Sir Gilbert added that if Natal would attempt to stand out of the Union of South Africa, the reply of the latter would be "You shall not go." Mr. Robert Harcourt advised Ulster to profit by the example of Natal and negotiate. It would be more effectual than revolts.

Mr. Bonar Law said it was impossible to maintain this part of the Federal system when Government were destroying unity by establishing a separate Custom House within the United Kingdom and disregarding the Colonial practice "When the States of Australia were federated," said Mr. Bonar Law, "New South Wales recognised the necessity of abandoning Free-Trade principles. It was nonsense to talk of legal safeguards. Such safeguards existed in the case of the Dominions but no Government would dream of exercising them. No dominions would allow us to exercise them." Mr. Bonar Law proceeded to exhaustive criticisms of the financial provisions. He ridiculed Mr. Asquith's expression "Ireland will be united by a cash" in view of the ridicule Mr. Asquith had poured on the idea of material interests consolidating the Empire, in the case of the Colonies. Such things were "sordid bonds." Mr. Bonar Law asked—"Are the Irish different from the Colonies?" He considered community of economic interests one of the strongest ties of nationality but in this case the financial causes teemed with subjects of friction and were wholly based on the principle of the British Government, acting solely as tax-collector. The ministers, he said, were fond of dwelling on Colonial examples specially that provided by South Africa but both races in South Africa desired union. Ulster could not be compared with Natal which had agreed to wait till a referendum had been taken. Mr. Bonar Law concluded—"If there had been a minority in South Africa so homogeneous and so strong that no power in South Africa could have compelled it to obey, would we have passed a Bill or sent British soldiers to enforce its acceptance? That was the only analogy."

18th May.

Mr. Asquith replying said no serious attempt had been made in the debate to meet his argument which was based on the character and persistence of Irish demands. Such demand any Parliament was bound to assent to, subject to safeguards for minorities and Imperial supremacy. The British people refused to be frightened from doing what they believed to be just by the language of intimidation as regarded Ulster.

The House of Commons passed the second reading of the Home Rule Bill by 372 to 271.

The greatest efforts had been made by the Government for a majority of over hundred at the second reading of the Home Rule Bill. The Opposition voted in full strength except for five members who "paired." Sir Clifford Cory, Liberal, voted against the Bill while Sir George Kemp, Liberal, abstained. Only three Nationalists were absent, two of them were in Australia and one was ill. The "O'Brienites" voted with the majority. Four Liberals have not been accounted for.

A large number of members of the Commons in the Palace Yard and the crowd outside gave Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond an ovation on their departure from the House of Commons yesterday. Many sang "A Nation Once Again."

The Unionist Party.

REPRESENTATIVE conferences of Conservatives and Liberal-Unionists have decided to amalgamate. The Duke of Abercorn, Lord Charles Beresford, Lord Halsbury, Lord Londonderry, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Walter Long, Lord Lansdowne, the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Austen Chamberlain and other prominent politicians attended the conferences. Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain wrote approving the scheme.

New German Ambassadors.

REUTER learns that the British Government's approval of the appointment of Baron Marschall von Bieberstein as German Ambassador in London was given on the 11th instant. The new Ambassador will arrive in the middle of June.

Stories of a "special mission" are described as "fantastical nonsense." Germany is merely sending her most able diplomat out of compliment to Great Britain.

Count Wolff-Metternich is still down with bronchitis, from which he has long suffered acutely.

Baron von Wangenheim, German Minister at Athens, has been appointed Ambassador at Constantinople.

Morocco.

FRENCH fighting took place on the heights round Melilla, several Spanish columns being engaged. The Spanish losses were five killed and twenty wounded. A Lieutenant was among the killed.

Hundreds of time expired men of the Algeciras and San Roque garrisons who were about to leave their regiments, have been ordered to rejoin the colours.

Maxim and quick-firing detachments in the neighbourhood of Algeciras have been ordered to proceed to Ceuta. The Covadonga Regiment at present in Algeciras has been ordered to be ready to proceed to Melilla at a moment's notice.

India in Parliament.

REPLYING to Mr. Watt in the House of Commons on the 13th instant, Mr. Montagu said there was no present intention of recommending the experimental introduction of the Baroda compulsory education scheme elsewhere. Replying in the House of Commons to the Earl of Ronaldshay Mr. Asquith said the remaining stages of the Government of India Bill would be taken immediately after the Whitsun holidays, probably on 7th June.

Mr. O'Grady asked the Under Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons whether his attention has been called to the action of the magistrate of Lahore in demanding two deposits of Rs. 1,000 from the publisher of a newspaper entitled the *Zemindar*, that the publisher was summoned before the district magistrate to state his intentions in regard to the issue of the daily and weekly editions of the newspaper in question, whether, having regard to the fact that a declaration was waived in respect of the daily edition of the *Zemindar*, thus constituting the paper an old or existing publication to which the provisions of Sub-section 1 of Section 4 of Act I of 1910 could not apply, the action of the district magistrate is *ultra vires*, and, if so, will steps be taken to annul the decision in this case and to define the provisions of the Act clearly, so that in future the Press of India may know how it stands in respect to the law?

Mr. Montagu I have seen only newspaper reports of this matter, but will make inquiry. I have no reason to think that the declaration as to printing made under the Act of 1867 (which my hon. friend possibly confuses with the deposit of security under the Act of 1910) had been waived. The magistrate was certainly not acting *ultra vires* if the Local Government considered that the paper had published matter of the kind defined in Section 4 (1) of the Act of 1910, and the fact that security has not hitherto been demanded from a newspaper does not in the least bar the requirement of security if the paper publishes matter offending against the law. This is fully understood by all concerned.

Tibetan Affairs.

It is understood that negotiations between Tibetans and Chinese at Lhassa continue to proceed amicably and that early settlement on the lines of the Chinese laying down their arms and returning to China via Gyantse may be hoped for.

Chinese Loan.

REUTER wires from Peking:—The Foreign bankers and the Minister of Finance have come to an arrangement under which a series of advances totalling ten millions sterling will be made. The amount is repayable in one year out of the proceeds of the big loan and the advances will be expended under the supervision of Foreign and Chinese auditors.

Reuter wires from Peking.—The negotiations with the Six Powers connected with the loan have been satisfactorily concluded as regards Peking and will now be referred to London. An arrangement has been reached with the Minister of Finance on the question of supervision.

Provincial Decentralisation.

THE General Delegation Bill which the late Sir John Jenkins introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council now may be regarded as finally dropped, and the Government of India are now considering the best way of conferring extended powers upon the Provincial Governments. There is the alternative scheme of the enactment of a General Decentralisation Act or Act. These would contain in schedule the sections of all the special acts in which it is desired to forego the necessity of previous sanction to administrative acts by the Government of India to substitute the Local Government for the Government of India as the executive authority which can take action in certain cases. Similarly to substitute for a Local Government a Board of Revenue or other subordinate authority and so on. The Government of India's new scheme will be sent to the Secretary of State for his approval and then legislative action will be taken.

Council Regulations.

IN CONSEQUENCE of the creation of Legislative Councils in the Bihar, Assam and Central Provinces, the Regulations governing the composition and working of the Imperial Council will come up for revision and opportunity may be taken to go into the whole question of Council Regulations and modify them in the light of past experience.

New Delhi.

A SCHEME for the future administration of Delhi by the Government of India has been drawn up and is under consideration. The formation of a Delhi Board is also engaging attention. The day for taking over the new capital by the Supreme Government will be settled as soon as the site for the permanent city is settled. The Home experts are expected to arrive at Simla almost immediately.

The Sanitary Services.

AN IMPORTANT scheme has been sanctioned whereby steps will be taken for the proper organisation of sanitary staff in the various provinces and the important Municipalities will be provided with qualified sanitary officers. Speaking on this point in the course of the Budget debate Sir Harcourt Butler said that a scheme for the reorganisation and improvement of the sanitary services has been submitted to the Secretary of State and a grant of 2½ lakhs has been sanctioned towards its introduction.

Islam in Africa.

REUTER wires from Rome:—A letter from the Vicar Apostolic of Senegambia says that Islamism is progressing continually there. All regions of the Vicariate in less than twenty years will be a prey to Islam. Men and money, he says, are needed to defend those regions against the dangers of Islamism.

Afghanistan.

A FRONTIER correspondent states that there is no news of interest this week from Khost Valley where the rebellious tribesmen are apparently awaiting the appearance of the Afghan Army that is now said to be moving upon the passes to the west. Some four thousand Shinwari, Kohistani, Ningrahar and other tribal levies are accompanying the regular troops.

Indian Industries.

SIR THEODORE MORISON, lecturing before the Indian Guild of Science and Technology at King's College, answered the various objections to the system of sending Indian students abroad for technological studies, but he said that none should come who had not read to the B. A. or the B. Sc. standard. He had great faith in attacking the problem of Indian economic development through the educated classes. They were alert and appreciative of new ideas. Success among them was reproductive in ideas, initiating movements and thought. Admitting that difficulties existed in finding suitable avenues for technically trained Indians, he said that they had a right to ask their countrymen for more practical sympathy and a new and enlightened form of Swadeshi. Indians should invest more largely in well managed concerns, and when they held a majority or a considerable portion of shares, they should urge the Board to take on Indians as Juniors in posts of control and thus promote Indian development and open up avenues of employment for their sons.

TETE À TETE



This report of the Distressed Indian Students' Aid Committee for the year ending 31st December 1911 is a very readable document. It throws light on an aspect of the Indian Student Problem in England which ought to receive an increasing amount of public attention in this country.

Distressed Indian Students' Aid Committee.

The Committee is composed of prominent Indian gentlemen resident in London as well as of well-known Englishmen who take great interest in the welfare of Indian students. The objects for which the Committee has been called into existence would be apparent from its name. It grants pecuniary aid to Indian students in distress after making thorough inquiries as to the genuineness of the need for help and as to the form that help should take in the true interests of the students. It is no part of its aim, to subsidise poor students by the grant of scholarships or allowances. Another function of the Committee is sending back to India youths whose stay in England no longer seems to be desirable. It did useful work last year with the small amount of money at its disposal. It advanced loans to five students, while it repatriated five students who had, with the exception of one, proved themselves hopeless failures. The majority of the Indian students are, in the opinion of the Committee, self-respecting and well behaved. But it has come across "painful cases in which a student, after exhausting all the funds he could obtain from India, has run up debts to landladies and tradesmen, borrowed from his friends, both Indian and English, begged in the streets, pawned his clothes, has sometimes taken to drink, and even found himself in the doctor's jail." In all these cases it is only two obvious that the youth should have never been sent to England at all. As it is, he returns home a failure, after having spent an amount of money that he may not perhaps be able to earn throughout his life and having possibly become degraded in character. The responsibility in this matter primarily rests with the parents. The desire to finish education in Europe is on the increase amongst the younger generation of Indians. It need not, however, be mistaken for real capacity in every case, and it is not very likely that the failures of India will turn out to be brilliant successes in England. The parents should exercise the greatest care in choosing careers for their sons. The existence of a committee for distressed Indian students is in itself a sufficient proof that many lives that could be made useful to themselves, their family and their country have been ruined by a stay in England. The Committee has made praiseworthy efforts in its own way to help the Indian students in need, and its sphere of usefulness could be rendered much wider but for its modest resources. We are sure all those who approve of the Committee's aims will give it all the pecuniary help they can.

MR. LOVAT FRASER has contributed a new preface to the forthcoming third edition of his book, "India under Curzon and Aster," which is, for manifest reasons, exclusively devoted to a detailed analysis of the dramatic episodes that marked the historic visit of Their Majesties to this

country. We need hardly say that Mr. Lovat Fraser, as an eye-witness, had ample opportunities to equip himself adequately for the task. His observations on the effect of the visit and the soundness, expediency and probable consequences of the momentous changes announced at Delhi will, therefore, be read with considerable interest. His description of the Durbar itself, its vast assemblage, its rich and varied ceremonial and its deep political significance is full of glowing enthusiasm. It has, in his opinion, strengthened the links that unite India with England, and he rightly attributes this happy result to the personal influence of the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress and "the pleasure their graciousness everywhere created." The Royal visit has cleared the Indian atmosphere of misunderstandings, vague uncertainty and doubts; but this is not enough. We fully endorse Mr. Lovat Fraser's view that "the representatives of Great Britain in India have to build upon the new basis which the

Imperial visit has furnished. The task which still lies before them is to convince the people of India, by wise and just government, by prudent concessions, by inviting further co-operation in control, that their interest will best be served by remaining within the British Empire." Passing from the Durbar, which he pronounces to have been an unqualified success, to the more controversial question of the Royal Announcement at Delhi, Mr. Fraser develops a cold, critical and almost relentless attitude. He subjects the reasons advanced in the Government of India Despatch in justification of the changes to a severe and detailed examination and dismisses them as weak and inadequate. First, as regards the transfer of the capital to Delhi, the Government of India have based their decision on three distinct grounds firstly, that they "should not be associated with any particular Provincial Government"; secondly, that the Imperial Legislative Council and the Government of India should be "withdrawn from the influence of local opinion"; thirdly, that there are political advantages which it is "impossible to overestimate". On the face of them these arguments are not very convincing and Mr. Fraser finds no difficulty in demonstrating their lack of cogency and force. All the same, the transfer has met with general approval outside the vested interests in Bengal. It has appealed to the historic sentiment of the people at large, a sentiment which, notwithstanding Mr. Fraser's scepticism, exercises a potent influence over their lives and opinions. It has certainly released Government from the dominance of Calcutta, and if sufficient care is taken to guard against isolation and its resultant evils, there is every likelihood that the Government's standpoint will attain to the balance and proportion it has hitherto lacked. The reversal of the partition in itself furnishes a powerful argument in support of the contention that the Government has sometimes been hopelessly obsessed by Bengali whims and sentiment. Mr. Fraser seems to entertain grave apprehensions in regard to the choice of Delhi as Imperial Capital on the score of its strategical insecurity. In the event of some invasion or revolutionary upheaval Delhi would be defenceless and its loss, "even for a brief period, would inflict a blow upon our prestige far in excess of the military importance of such a reverse." We hope fears of this nature are not common amongst the modern Britons, for they betray a nervousness and a lack of self-confidence that presage anything but good for the future of the Empire. The government that would be weak enough to lose Delhi would scarcely be fit to hold India, and the loss of Delhi would come about, not through a stray revolt or a sudden surprise of an invading host marching to the sack of Hindustan, but through the general decay of the fibre and spirit of the power entrusted with the defence of the Empire. As regards the second part of the Announcement, i.e., the reversal of the partition, Mr. Fraser's views are based on incontestable facts and deserve the most careful consideration. In fact he comes to almost exactly the same conclusions that we have so often expressed in these columns. Briefly speaking, he maintains that "the reversal of the partition was an afterthought." And he succeeds in proving out of the mouths of the Government of India and the Secretary of State that "the partition was not reversed on its merits but as a sop to prevent resentment at Calcutta's loss." He ridicules the official plea, so laboriously discovered out of the ashes of a dead and buried agitation, that the grievance of the Bengalis was "real and tangible," or that they were suffering under "a grievous wrong." He denies with equal force the argument that the partition was responsible for "the growing estrangement" in many parts of the country between Hindus and Muhammadans, and that it was to alleviate "this most regrettable antagonism" that the Government reversed the partition. "If no better reason is forthcoming, then they stand self-condemned. For what has been the result? The tawdry and reactionary policy adopted has actually intensified the bitterness of feeling between Muhammadans and Hindus . . . Very little was heard of Muhammadan indignation while the King-Emperor remained in India, for a feeling of loyalty enjoined temporary silence, but the wrath of resentful Islam has been uncommonly audible ever since, and is still waxing louder. The Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal feel that they have been betrayed. Under the greatest provocation they remained perfectly quiet for seven years, relying implicitly upon British pledges. They have now been flung aside . . ." As regards the growth of co-operation and harmony between the Hindus and the Moslems of Bengal, it would be instructive to know that "already the Calcutta Hindus are resuming their familiar attitude, and are loudly grudgingly bereaved Dacca its promised University." It is altogether illusory to lay stress on the numerical balance of the two communities in the Presidency of Bengal. "Unquestionably the Calcutta Hindus will in practice enjoy their former monopoly of power and influence." These are opinions with which every dispassionate observer will find himself in complete agreement. We trust the Government, too, may have learnt enough by this time to understand this just and reasonable standpoint. Mr. Fraser's analysis of the changes and their probable results is, with some exceptions we have noted above, on the whole worthily performed. He is not free from the bias that naturally clings to a man whose life has been spent in the exposition and practice of the ideals of conservative Imperialism. His

atitude towards the gradual rise in the political status of Indians is not very inspiring. But he is too experienced a publicist not to recognise the irresistible nature of some of the Indian demands, and he knows how to bow gracefully to the inevitable.

The occupation of a number of tiny islands in the Aegean has not a whit improved the Italian chances of success in the war, or impaired Turkish powers of resistance. The sensation has

been prepared for consumption at home where some ugly manifestations of popular feeling are beginning to be visible. The "Nationalists" who had learnt to think imperially, had engineered the press campaign that ultimately forced the Italian Government to launch its luckless enterprise in Tripoli. How the enterprise has fared may best be gathered from the frantic efforts Italy is now making to set the whole Europe ablaze. The "Nationalist" organs are by turn praying the Turks to give up resistance and blaming their generals for the impasse they have created in Tripoli. At times they brandish that north-provoking "Decree of Annexation" in the face of Europe, about which Kiamil Pasha has said that "it was quite worthy of the nation that has produced the best comic opera." The question naturally arises at this stage, how is this melodrama to end. No definite answer, however, can be found to this question as there are many incalculable factors governing the problem. Italy is powerless to coerce Turkey single-handed. Nor is she capable of undertaking the conquest of Tripoli without breaking down under the enormous strain that such an effort will involve. The occupation of the Aegean islands has not the slightest value in relation to the main issue of the war. Is it, then, a part of some new and bolder scheme that is to be put into execution later on? The military correspondent of the *Times* throws out some vague hints to that effect in his survey of the present situation. There have been persistent rumour about a Russo-Italian understanding having been recently arrived at with a view to take concerted action in forcing Turkey to submit to peace terms dictated by Russia and Italy. Such co-operation may take the form of a simultaneous attack on the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. If this is a probable contingency, a general European conflagration cannot be far out of sight. The dogs of war in the Balkans are only waiting for some such opportunity to fly at one another's throats; and while Turkey will have to fight for her life, her stake will not be heavier than that of Austria, Russia and possibly of Germany and England. The future is on the knees of the gods. We wish European diplomacy had the moral strength to avert a catastrophe that would shake the whole of Europe to its foundations. A brigand has almost endangered the peace of the world, but none of the civilised Powers seem to have the courage to restrain him in his career of wanton destruction relieved by cowardice. The Ottoman Government is opening the Dardanelles to-day, with no guarantees at all, and who knows but that another Italian raid may be launched in a few days.

We reproduce elsewhere the interviews which a representative of the Daily Chronicle has had with Mahmud Shekvet Pasha and Kiamil Pasha on the subject of the proposed peace. We

had also reproduced a few weeks ago the text of a remarkable interview which H. E. Assim Bey, the Turkish Foreign Minister, had granted to the same representative. It defined the attitude of the Ottoman Government towards the so-called peace proposals of Italy with a strength, lucidity and frankness that cannot be mistaken. Assim Bey is one of the ablest and most brilliant amongst the younger statesmen of modern Turkey and his pronouncement will, we are sure, leave no room for doubt as to the unfaltering determination of the Turkish Government to defend at any cost the honour and integrity of the Empire. As he rightly observed, a treacherous and unscrupulous foe has attacked Turkey just when her hopes were the brightest. The adventure has ended in a disgraceful débâcle. But the nervous politicians of Rome went through a parliamentary farce and declared that Tripoli was thenceforth to be an Italian province. This fiction on paper was created as much to deceive the Italian populace as to bolster up a sort of pretence for a fact that was not, and probably can never be, accomplished. "Countries cannot be conquered by Royal decrees of annexation," says the Turkish Foreign Minister. If Italy desires peace, i.e. her first tear up that ridiculous document. As for Turkey, she can afford to wait for the issue of the conflict with equanimity. She is fully prepared to face all eventualities, and would fight to the last gasp in defence of her honour and interests rather than accept peace at any price. The courageous and unequivocal statement of policy by the Turkish Foreign Minister must have reassured the whole Islamic world that the cause of Islam in Tripoli, the cause of right and justice, will not be sacrificed or sold away at the bidding of a brigand who has not even the redeeming feature of courage. The Turkish reply to the Powers seeking the necessary basis for mediation has for the time being stopped all talk about peace. The robust development of Russo-Italian cordiality, and more particularly the tone of the maiden speech delivered by the Russian Foreign Minister, render Russian intervention a possible constitu-

gency of the future. About the actual position of affairs in Tripoli there is nothing new to record, except that the latest reliable accounts of the eye-witness, which we have been publishing from time to time bring into clearer relief the hopeless muddle into which the Italian enterprise has sunk. Even the *Times*' correspondent has at last been forced to report, after many doubts and qualms, that the Sheikh of the Senussi has declared war against Italy, that the declaration has been inscribed in thousand words on a banner, that his nephew is coming up with a force of 3,000 or 4,000 Arabs, and that the Sheikh himself will continue helping the Turkish cause with men and money. The Egyptian papers had reported three months ago all what the *Times*' correspondent is now beginning to admit. Prior to this tardy admission we had been assured by him that the leader of the Senussi had no concern whatever with the fortunes of the contest which his countrymen and co-religionists were waging in defence of their homes, their liberties, their honour, and their faith. What is even stranger still, an earlier myth about the Sheikh had represented him as the head of a formidable religious confederacy which was preparing a great *coup* in secret against the ascendancy of the white man in Africa. After some experience of the peaceful ways of this great and puritanic religious fraternity, the legend about the "Senussi Peril" began to die a natural death. By some inscrutable twist of logic the Senussi leader began to be represented, since the Italian descent on Tripoli, as wholly indifferent to the fate of his followers and his own country. Both these theories were the sort of fantastic creations which do duty for facts in modern European diplomacy. No one after this can reasonably doubt that the Turkish and the Egyptian accounts of the war in Tripoli are, under the circumstances, the most reliable.

THE scheme of exploitation that has taken shape as the Persian Railway Project is being worked out in detail by the Russian bankers in conjunction with their London *confères*. Meanwhile an

ominous spell of silence seems to have fallen over the actual state of things in Persia after the tale of Russian atrocities at Meshed was by degrees divulged to the world in all its naked horror. An indication of the attitude of the virtual dictators at Teheran was furnished the other day by Reuter when Russia was reported to be anxious for summoning the *Meyliss*—shorn, of course, of its "extremists"! The Persian Government, we may presume, exists under the shadow of a "veiled protection," very much as Muhammed Hafid continues to grace the throne of his ancestors after the "peaceful penetration" of France has been blessed by his royal sanction. His pathetic desire to abdicate has been vetoed by the astute French Resident who knows the value of a lawful despot in the growth and consolidation of French power in the Shereefian Empire. The feelings of the Persian Ministers may not be far removed from those of His Shereefian Majesty, but they are held to their post by an ignorable diplomacy. They must continue in office to bear responsibility for civil anarchy and chaos and furnish the necessary excuse for the steady development of the Russian scheme of occupation. As the executions at Tabriz and Meshed have shown, patriotism of the Persian is high treason to the Tsar; and as long as the Russian agents are supreme at Teheran it matters little whether the Government of Persia is nominally carried on by an independent Executive or by an Executive controlled by *Meyliss*. The choice is simply between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. Under the circumstances we do not see why the Persian Government should be held responsible for disturbances and rebellions in the provinces and for the unsafe condition of the caravan routes. This is, however, a necessary move in the game. We await future developments with the curiosity of one studying a new and mysterious art. The facts of the present situation are these. Russia is in military occupation of all the principal towns in the northern provinces. She has nominated her own governors of these places, some of them being the notorious outlaws on whose heads the Persian Government had set a price. In spite of the assurances given to Sir Edward Grey, the Russian occupation is becoming permanent. Intimidation and terrorism, execution of Persian patriots and leaders of faith, wanton bloodshed and desecration of the most sacred places are the order of the day. Salahr-ud-Daulah still hangs about the south-western frontier and the offer of the Turkish Government to help in his expulsion or capture has been rejected—probably at the bidding of the Russian Minister at Teheran. The Government has for the time being forfeited all power of initiative. These brutal facts, however, have been quietly ignored by our contemporaries, the *Times* of India and the *Englishman*, in their efforts to magnify the significance of the so-called "Afghan Raid" into Persia. Our Bombay editor magnificently holds up the spectacle of the Muslim Power taking advantage of the weakness of its Moslem neighbour to their gaze and says, with evident glee, that they will prove against the Afghan aggressors just as they have been protecting against the attacks of Russia. This *Englishman* doctor, I saw him not long ago, is a patriotic enthusiast. He says: "We are destined to be the east and Turkey on the west ready to watch, ready and the east

tribal chiefs up in arms against the Government at Teheran, the case of Persia is indeed a sad one." We are sure our contemporaries know as well as we do the real state of Persia and the causes to which her present troubles are due. What they say for the edification of the Indian Mussalmans cannot distort the real issues. The petty quarrels on the Perso-Afghan frontier are as old as the waters of Helmund. To try to read into them a wider significance and interpret them as a part of some aggressive design hatched in secret by the Afghan Government does little credit to our contemporaries' sense of proportion any more than to their estimate of the attitude of the Mussalmans and their knowledge of the situation. The presence of the Turkish troops in Urumia is proving a veritable thorn in the side of Russia. But the Turks are not there to establish "order." They provisionally hold the territory that is still in dispute, about which a Commission is sitting in Constantinople. The Muscovite can bear no brother near the little throne that he is erecting for himself in Persia, and we need not be surprised if we hear the Turks accused of aggression, who are as much concerned about the safety of their own frontier as the Persians are about their independence. Now, however, it would seem as if the Russian movements in northern Persia were dictated by the altruistic desire of saving Persia from being "snatched" by Turkey and Afghanistan. One may live and learn

IT IS not very often that one gets a glimpse of what is actually happening in that dark region of the earth, known as the Russian Empire. The implacable energy and resolve that mark the Muscovite foreign policy convey the impression of a strength that is wonderful, even though it has always been exercised to crush freedom and exalt iniquity. This strength, however, is not the expression of a free society organised into a State for the common purposes of secular development. It is the breath of an autocracy based on militarism, which can only exist by the exercise of a ruthless and impartial suppression at home as well as abroad. The failure of the revolutionary movement, due in the main to physical causes, the vastness of the area, the diversity of races and the consequent dispersion of aim and lack of cohesion has given the Russian Autocracy a new lease of life. It has emerged triumphant and its complete success has led to the revival of its methods. The Duma exists on sufferance, and even this is possible because it has become a willing puppet in the hands of the bureaucracy and an obedient instrument of the will of the Tsar. The Muscovite has begun to play the bully again. Meanwhile the condition of the Russian masses has grown worse than ever. They are starving in millions. They are suffering under a frightful weight of oppression as the result of the cruel agrarian laws. The feeble voice of suffering wrung out of the heart of pain is promptly gagged by the myrmidons of the police who know how to restore "perfect quiet and order" in the dominions of the Tsar. The persecution of the Jews has been revised in all its ferocity. One of the forms in which tyranny is practised over that hapless community is the bringing of a charge of "ritual murder" against its members who are forthwith tried by an ecclesiastical "inquisition" and condemned to death. This "blood accusation," as it is called, flourishes on a horrible lie, industriously circulated by the clergy of the Orthodox Church, that the Jews entice away Christian boys who are offered as sacrifices in some blood curdling and inhuman rite. This is a monstrous falsehood, which had been frequently responsible for Jewish massacres in the past. It has been revived again and a Jew named Beilis was to be tried at Kiev on this horrible charge. We are glad to hear that "four separate protests—Russian, French, German and British—signed by the most distinguished representatives of the liberal professions and leaders of thought of those countries have been simultaneously published," though we are sceptical as to these protests proving effective. The Russian bureaucracy treats the moral scruples of the civilised world with undisguised contempt, and we think no European government would dare address a remonstrance to St Petersburg such as is not often done in the case of Turkey. European conscience is stirred to righteous wrath when the Ottoman Government is obliged to put down anarchy and rebellion amongst the Christian malcontents of the Empire, and the tales of "Turkish atrocities" artistically finished by the blood-and-thunder correspondents find their way into the press of Europe. Russia, however, is immune from such protests and can persecute Jews and impose political and religious disabilities on her Musselman subjects without incurring the displeasure of the civilised Powers. The Jews in Turkey enjoy perfect toleration and the Christian races enjoy privileges in some cases denied even to her Moslem subjects. But the Serb, the Bulgar and the Armenian must go off uttering grievous tales of woe because it suits certain Powers in the furtherance of their well-known political designs on the Turkish Empire. We do not know how to interpret the gushing friendship of such civilised Governments as those of France and England with a Power that is so ruthlessly brutal at home and unscrupulous in its relations abroad, except on the hypothesis that diplomacy is mainly concerned with the exercise of an art in which ethics would be a sheer irrelevance.

The Comrade.

Moslems and Buddhists.

PROFESSOR A. VAMBÉRY of Budapest represents the type of European publicists who after an itinerant journey through a part of the East have ever since set up as undisputable authority on all Eastern affairs. These "students" of Oriental races and religions, as they style themselves, are never so happy as when some event of extraordinary triviality strikes their imaginations and affords them the rare luxury of seeing themselves in print, clad in the panoply of conventional phrase and the glitter of stock generalities. They construct new theories with marvellous ineptitude, try impossible combinations of facts, strain every nerve after melodramatic effects, and not unoften touch the heights of the inane in their quest for sensationalism. To preach, to warn, to foretell disaster is characteristic of the type. Rapid means of communication between Europe and Asia, which have shrivelled the world to a hand's breadth, might be supposed to have led to the growth of mutual knowledge and sympathy. As a matter of fact they have created a gulf of hostility, intolerance and misunderstanding that keeps the two continents apart to a degree never known in the history of the world before. The very facilities for free intercourse have grown to be insuperable barriers between them. Very few Europeans take the trouble of entering into the feelings of the Eastern peoples, just because the opportunities are so great and they can be missed without a pang. The existing political relations have complicated matters still further by creating a wide diversity of motive and outlook. Add to this the noisy hum and buzz of a race of faddists who keep hanging on the flanks of the diplomats, the imperialists and the financiers of Europe and never lose a chance of making the confusion worse confounded. The steam, the electricity and other thousand and one inventions of science have annihilated distance and drawn the world closer in every part. The pseudo-scientific theories about race, religion and climate dictated for the most part by the selfish instincts of political domination have, on the other hand, dug deeper lines of cleavage than those over which science has triumphed.

Europe has gone through a varied political experience and yet it has evolved no coherent political philosophy. Much that passes for current political thought is in substance the work of political impressionists dominated by fear. Modern democracies have got to be fed on "bogey," and it is inevitable that an army of trained manufacturers should appear on the scene to supply the article. "Yellow Peril," "Black Peril," "Brown Peril," "Pan-Islamism" have in turn been served up to satisfy the European appetite for panic. We need not enquire too closely into the psychology of the temper that requires such weird stimuli. The instinct of self-preservation is a tyrant and sometimes a humorous tyrant at that and plays strange pranks on the craven and the weak. Europe that is so powerful and full of energy and determination to all outward seeming may have heard the footsteps of the Nemesis dogging at its heels. Moral doubts and fears effectually paralyse the hand that wields power of any kind, and who knows but that the political sins of Europe have returned to plague it in the shape of its faddists and alarmists who are busy manufacturing "bogey" which may be no more than the proverbial "daggers of the mind." The appetite for this strange diet grows on what it feeds upon. The taste, too, is growing decidedly complex: a brand new "bogey" compounded of the "simples" would seem to be required now to tickle the jaded palate. It was reserved for Professor A. Vambéry to prepare the "compound" and call it "An Approach between Moslems and Buddhists."

The Turko-Italian War and the affairs in Morocco and Persia have served as the texts of many a lay sermon about the duty of the European Powers to establish political control over the non-white races in the interests of civilisation. Large countries rich in mineral wealth and agricultural resources cannot for ever be suffered to remain unexploited and desolate, a prey to chronic misrule and chaos. The native races may not willingly accept alien rule, but they cannot be the best judges of their political and social needs. At all events, the economic development of the world and the spread of the arts and industries of modern civilisation cannot be held in check for long in deference to native susceptibilities. It is the moral obligation of civilised Europe to take the inferior races under its tutelage, to open up fresh tracts of the earth to international trade, to develop their resources and to introduce modern standards of life, comfort, duty and thought amongst their inhabitants. This is the line of argument that all modern casuists adopt in order to justify the political aggressions of Europe. Professor A. Vambéry, therefore, adds nothing to our knowledge when he repeats these set formulas of aggressive imperialism with the mechanical ease of a zealous disciple going through his Sunday catechism. As long

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as Europe holds the field in political power there will be no lack of admirers of its methods. Thanks to its "cultural" advancement and the wide sweep of its thoughts, moral justifications and ethical formulas can be found for any act, motive or desire of which European humanity is capable singly or in mass. Freedom was once considered to be a divine gift. It is now a mere phrase blasted by the hot breath of the god of Materialism, the Almighty Dollar States and sovereigns, in not very remote ages, thought justice to be the true expediency. If, however, Europe deems it necessary, in its relations with the weaker races, to destroy freedom and regard justice as something grossly inexpedient and stultify its conscience with the most cynical implications of a shallow evolutionary philosophy, the world, at any rate, might well have been spared the reiteration thereof by a publicist who is so eager of being abreast of modern cynicism and yet has not the thoroughgoing courage even of the cynic. Towards the close of his article he justifies the aggressions of Italy, of Russia and of France as a necessity of civilisation, and yet we find him writing these words in its earlier part —

The fear of losing the booty, or of seeing it snatched away by another, is at the root of all the diplomatic scheming of our several Cabinets. The ostensible purpose to be the standard bearers of Western culture, the propagators of modern civilisation and humanisation, is either an empty hubbub or else a matter of quite secondary importance. The chief object is, and remains the acquisition of colonies, the extension of territory, the founding of new markets for home industry and commerce, and by the subjugation of foreign nations, to exalt and to increase the power and importance of the mother country.

It would be a profitable exercise in the art of logical reasoning and consistency to compare this passage, especially the lines we have italicised, with another paragraph in which all such wars of conquest undertaken with the purpose of gold and glory are justified because they "herald improvement." But the climax is reached when we are assured that "*ringing up* this principle, our rulers have for more than a century been forcing their way into Islam, gradually depriving the followers of the Prophet of their political independence." The italics are ours.

Let us, however, define the central thesis at which Professor Vambery has wrought with such plenteous of logic and powers of ratiocination. The Mussalmans, he says, are everywhere losing their political independence as a result of their intellectual and moral stagnation. They cannot, however, be reconciled to this loss, and the introduction of law, order and civilisation does not appeal to them on account of their religious pride and fanaticism. They are smarting with a sense of humiliation and are casting about for means to retrieve their position. The chances of success for a combined political movement on pan-Islamic lines are remote, even if such a movement could be possible, for the simple reason that the Mussalmans have not the necessary intellectual equipment and political cohesion for a task of such magnitude. Still, however, their "nervous irritability" and resentment at things as they are constitute a danger not to be ignored. Quite recently the Professor has detected new tendencies moving the Moslem world in the direction of Moslem-Buddhist coalition. He regards this as a striking phenomenon, for in his opinion there was no love lost between the followers of the two great faiths of Asia. He indulges in bad history and worse knowledge of Islam to prove that the Mussalmans always despised the Buddhists. It is only their common hatred of Europe that has drawn them now together to scheme the overthrow of foreign dominance. "How far all this intriguing is a matter for serious alarm we need not here enquire." It is enough for the great "student" of Eastern affairs to warn the cabinets of Europe and direct their attention to this new and portentous constellation in the political firmament of the East.

In the whole history of sensational journalism it would be difficult to find a more perfect mare's nest than this, so laboriously discovered by a man aping the tone and manner of a political prophet. The whole tissue would be amusing did we not know that European public opinion is usually fed on this sorry stuff. Let us therefore examine the facts on which Professor Vambery has based his tremendous conclusions. Shorn of unnecessary verbiage and leaving aside his references to his own familiarity with the world of Islam and his intimate knowledge of the ways of Vildiz during the Hamidian régime, the whole article, consisting of eight closely printed pages of the *Nineteenth Century and After*, yields as residue two facts that have led to the discovery of a world-shaking movement. One of these facts is that "a Turkish newspaper, published at Ili and subsidised by the (Chinese) Government, invites the Muhammadans to make common cause with the Chinese . . ." The other is that the Mussalmans worked whole-heartedly with the Republican leaders for the overthrow of the Manchus. There are philosophers who can trace out of a cock fight the existence of God and the latest theory of Creation. There are said to have existed jugglers in this country who could transform a monkey into an umbrella, and an umbrella into a goat. In the face of such intellectual and supernatural feats it is not impossible for Professors Vambery to evolve out of these two facts a "Moslem-Buddhist Peril" just when other "Perils" were beginning to lose some of their nervo-shattering horror.

in a state of single blessedness. But even Professor Vambery, who has such mysterious scent for "facts," has missed the greatest fact of all. He somewhere deplores the rapid evolution of Asia and Europe as terms hostile in meaning. But he and those who think like him are the real authors of this antagonism. In all their breakneck and slipshod generalisations about future developments in Asia underlies the tacit assumption that the progress of the Eastern races is a menace to Europe. No Eastern people should be allowed to advance beyond the stage of political dependence, or else there would be an end to European supremacy. All signs of moral and material progress in Asia, the growth of knowledge, patriotism and civic sense constitute a "Peril" that should be suppressed at its birth.

The Chinese Moslems showed a truly patriotic spirit by actively co-operating with their Buddhist fellow countrymen with a view to establish a régime of law, liberty and equality. This was a beautiful example of the territorial patriotism which the Mussalmans are said to lack by some of their critics. Would Professor Vambery like to have seen them withholding their help from a cause on the success of which depended their own advancement and wellbeing? To have remained passive and sullen and irresponsive while the whole Empire was stirring with the pulsations of a new life would have been the height of imbecility and cowardice. Yet Professor Vambery and his tribe never fail to discover in liberal, progressive and essentially peaceful movements dangers of incalculable magnitude to Europe. If Europe cannot see without nervous shocks the growth of knowledge and of love for political freedom amongst the nations of the East, if it regards all that as dangerous to its political domination and, therefore, to all the vital interests and concerns of humanity, then the days of that domination are numbered. A fear-ridden and conscience-stricken Europe can not long continue to be the dictator of the world's destinies, the soothsaying prophets of the Vambery variety notwithstanding. As for the Moslem-Buddhist *rapprochement*, we are glad a spirit of mutual trust, goodwill and harmony inspires the followers of the two great Eastern faiths in China. What is more, we would like to see this spirit grow in strength and create an indissoluble bond of union amongst the people for the good of their motherland. Their example should be the inspiration of all Eastern races in their efforts at self-preservation.

Education in the Panjab.

After all, the only sure and safe method of measuring the intellectus', moral and material progress of a country is to be found in the study of the statistics relating to the organised activities of its people. A prejudice against "mere figures" no doubt exists, more particularly amongst those delightful souls who see the world through the purple mists of emotion. Their proper medium is feeling. But for the purposes of the legislator and the practical reformer, moving along the lines of least resistance from precedent to precedent and compromise to compromise, statistics are the only reliable guide. No doubt they easily lend themselves to manipulation. It has, however, yet to be proved that logic and common-sense have failed to detect mischievous manipulation, and in any case the argument hardly suffices to discredit an instrument which is admittedly of ever-growing value in the development of knowledge and thought.

The Indian Census returns of last year have not yet appeared in their final tabulated form. When completed they will prove a mine of useful information and indicate the lines along which practical efforts for the many-sided advancement of the people should be made. Provincial figures relating to various heads have been appearing from time to time, and the recent publication of the Panjab census returns relating to education should prove very instructive reading. The figures have been compiled according to religion, sex, district and principal cities. In order to accurately estimate their bearing on the educational state of the Province, it is necessary to bear in mind the relative strength of the main religious communities comprising the population. According to the last Census the Panjab has a total population of 24,187,750 out of which 12,275,477 are Mussalmans, 8,773,621 Hindus and 2,883,729 Sikhs, i.e., the Mussalmans constitute more than 50 per cent. of the entire population, while the proportion of the Hindus and the Sikhs is about 36 per cent. and 12 per cent. respectively. Now, taking the education figures for the whole Province we find that only 3.7 per cent. of the total population is literate, while the proportion of those who know English works out to only 1.4 per cent. These figures disclose an amount of illiteracy in the Province which ought to give food for thought to the uncompromising critics of Mr. Gokhale's late lamented Bill as well as their official henchmen. The Panjab has been occasionally held up to the gaze of an admiring world as an example of official energy and enterprise. We yield to none in our admiration of its magnificent canal systems and the irrigation facilities for the provision of which the Provincial Administration has steadfastly worked. It seems, however, that the Administration is not fully

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alive to its responsibilities in regard to the intellectual and moral needs of the people. Sir Louis Dane has been heard to deplore the growth of crime and drink in the Panjab and has earnestly exhorted the leaders to help him in combating these evils. We doubt, however, if any such co-operation can be of much practical use as long as the mass of the people are steeped in ignorance. The Department of Public Instruction in the Province has moved little in the matter beyond suggesting an increase of fees in the Secondary Department! Lack of funds need not be erected into an eternal excuse for official inaction. Once there is a will, a way will be found to cope with the enormous mass of ignorance by effecting provincial economies in other directions. And no one can seriously maintain that our Provincial Administrations are the cheapest and the most economical that the wit of bureaucracy could devise.

But even more serious is the share of responsibility that should attach to the people themselves. It is hard to reconcile this mass of illiteracy with the heat and bustle of the provincial life as far, at any rate, as it has manifested itself in the field of journalism. With a people 99.6 per cent of whom have not even the rudiment of modern education, all discussions about their political development in the direction of self-government have a merely academic interest and no more. Racial and religious rivalries seem to have greater fascination for our public men in the Panjab than the actual condition of the mass of the people. A zealous organ of pan-Hinduism in the Province dwelt with considerable satisfaction the other day on the existence of keen communal rivalries, for they would lead to progress by competition. True, but our contemporary had in this case mistaken the means for the end. Surely, a hot-blooded argument about "separate electorates" and "official loaves and fishes" conducted on the most approved lines of self-centred communal patriotism can hardly furnish the true basis for that competition which leads to progress. Some of the partisan papers, that are enamoured of this kind of "competition" and sing its praises with full-throated ease, have ceased to discharge their primary function of educating and guiding public opinion by impartial criticism, by judicious comment and by frank exposure of evils. They have, instead, developed an art of apologetics which is mainly concerned with defending the particular class or interest they happen to represent. Controversies about Urdu and Hindi as mediums of instruction, the proportion of Hindu-Moslem teachers in the schools, the "Jhatka" question in boarding houses crop up from time to time with unmitigated virulence, meanwhile the masses continue, as of yore, to grow up, live and die amidst dingy horizons, never knowing a wider outlook, without feeling the pulse of an ampler life, bounded within the shell of custom and shut out from the broad light of heaven. The provincial Press in this country has not evolved provincial patriotism and, as a consequence, it has failed to become an effective lever in the uplifting of the people.

Turning now from the general state of literacy in the whole Province to the position of individual communities in the educational scale, we have some very startling figures to quote. We have already stated that 3.7 per cent. of the entire people are literate of whom only 4 per cent know English. The Moslems, who form more than half the population of the Province, have only 1.5 per cent. of their numbers who can be said to be literate, while the proportion of English-knowing among them is 1 per cent. The per centage of general literacy amongst the Hindus is 5.5 and of those knowing English is 5. The Sikhs have 5.8 per cent of their community who are literate and 3 per cent knowing English. It will be readily seen from these figures that educationally the Moslems are the most backward community in the Province. In general literacy the Moslems stand to the Hindus and the Sikhs in the approximate proportion of 1:4. In modern education their ratio is 1:5 when compared to the Hindus; and 1:3 in comparison with the Sikhs. These figures are eloquent in themselves. The Moslem community in the Panjab has only one-fourth the strength of the Hindus and the Sikhs in point of education. No further comment is needed to press the matter home to those who profess to be its spiritual guides. This vast gulf of difference in the relative position of the Moslems in provincial education will, we hope, engage their most earnest and undivided attention. It is impossible to overrate the significance of the figures as they stand. They disclose an ugly fact, a fact that is disappointing to a degree and which the Moslems for the sake of their most vital interests, have got to face manfully and squarely. The Panjab Moslems have hitherto been supposed to be the most progressive section of the Moslem community in India, and if, with their much-vaunted progress, they are, in fact, hopelessly behind the Hindus and the Sikhs and even fall far below the average educational level of the Province, there can be very little hope for the future of the whole community.

There are some general causes that are, among others, responsible for this sad state of things. In the first place, the rural population of the Province is for the most part Moslem, and modern education has for manifest reasons made very little progress in rural areas. If we take the statistics relating to urban population the Moslem percentage is not proportionately so meagre.

Again, the poverty of the community, the agricultural occupation of the Moslem masses and general racial prejudices have also been operative as deterrent causes. There are still hundreds of villages in the Panjab, inhabited entirely or almost entirely by the Moslems, where exist no schools for primary education, and the parents cannot afford to send their children to a distant village school, chiefly because they need their help in agricultural operations. A school in their own village, equipped for imparting elementary instruction with reference to the agricultural needs of the locality, will attract large and steady attendance of the village boys without interfering with their seasonal work in the fields. The establishment of rural schools ought to be the immediate concern of the Panjab Government. But the greatest responsibility lies on the shoulders of the Moslem leaders. It is their duty to organise a systematic campaign against the evil of ignorance that afflicts the mass of their community.

We hope, after the ugly revelations furnished by the educational figures, the Moslem leaders in the Panjab will see the futility of inordinate zeal they so readily expend in barren controversies and devise really useful and practical measures for the education of their community. The Hindus have already organised a Primary Education League in Lahore which has raised large funds, has started work in the city and is spreading a net-work of similar organisations all over the Province. If a few Moslems were to take up the work in earnest and devote their energy to achieving solid results rather than to advertising it abroad, the problem would be solved in a few years. In the life-struggle that lies before their community social efficiency alone will count. And it would be a mere platitude—though platitudes sometimes need repetition—to say that efficiency of every kind depends upon the training of intelligence. The Hindu leaders are making laudable efforts to take up the education of the Hindu masses in their own hands. But the Moslems are still juggling with figures. The Hon Mr Shafi had tried to show in the last session of the All-India Moslem League that the Moslem percentage in primary schools was proportionately higher. Is it not a little astonishing to think that such an argument could be used against the introduction of compulsory primary education, when there is an appalling mass of illiteracy darkening the face of the land? It would, however, be a profitable exercise for him to compare his figures with the Census returns for education in the Punjab and with the help of this edifying material re-cast his philosophy of optimism. As long as there is a single illiterate Moslem boy in Lahore or elsewhere, whose illiteracy is due to a want of opportunities, no responsible Moslem leader can enjoy an easy conscience. If he feels the burden too great for him let him quietly make room for others. Workers with real strength of purpose, cool judgment and hearts of flame are needed to undertake the task. Is there none amongst the many gifted Moslems of the Panjab to play pilot and lead the way?



Verse.

Love's Sadness.

THERE is in love a gentle sadness
Which only lovers know,
A sorrow much akin to gladness
In its supernal glow.

True love is truly complemental
Completing soul to soul,
And so the sepal and the petal
Of flowers make the whole.

But still in giving all it giveth
The heart is not content,
For love's a trade that ever thriveth
On lavish gifts intent.

Beside the meed of love it needeth,
Its own great gifts untold
The heart that loveth no more heedeth
Than dross to purest gold.

It giveth all its wealth of feeling,
All that it has and more,
Never stinting, naught concealing,
Yet oweth as before.

Thereof is born a gentle sadness
Not deepened into pain,
A sorrow much akin to gladness
Like sunshine blurred with rain.

WASITI.

CORRESPONDENCE



Essays : Indian and Islamic.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR.—Mr. Gholam Waris refutes Khwaja Golam-us-Saqlain's remarks on the Essays on the ground that it is an historical work and not a religious tract. But it is not easy to understand how the religious aspect can be ignored when the work is claimed to be the history of a religion. In fact, Mr. Gholam Waris disclaims for the author what he himself expressly claims because, while the former asserts that "it is not the province of history to enter the psychological regions and show how Muhammad was inspired," Mr. S. Khoda Bukhsh has actually dealt with the inspiration. In the issue of the *Comrade* of 27th April he negatively defined it as a means of revelation which was not a "ronduit pipe." He also strongly professes his belief in the inspiration and gives his own view of it. In the Essays themselves he refers to "the sources from which the Prophet of Arabia received his inspirations."

I trust it will be admitted on all hands that when a historian misstates facts, his readers have every justification to disagree with him and he should take such criticism in good grace. It is certainly not only a misstatement but a calumny to attribute to our Prophet an extensive vocabulary of vituperation. Every Mussalman has a right to resent such an injury to his religious susceptibilities. Even the worst enemies of our Prophet like Spinozah and Sale, who have gone to the length of accusing him of criminality and of imposing a false religion on mankind, have felt themselves compelled to admit the Prophet's "courtesy to everyone" and "agreeable behaviour" from which even his bloodthirsty enemies were not excluded. Besides his own inborn courtesy and politeness of

no ordinary kind, his God taught him ﴿كُلُّوا اللَّذِي أَنْتُمْ حِلٰ﴾. It is difficult to overlook the sarcastic manner in which Mr. S. Khoda Bukhsh has dealt with the Prophet in spite of his claim to be a Mussalman and his admirer. He evidently did not realise how sorely he would wound the feelings of those who sincerely honour the Prophet as one only next to their Creator.

Mr. S. Khoda Bukhsh is perfectly entitled not to be sparing in imparting to the world the result of his reflections and judgment, but the Mussalman world sees nothing new in his vituperative language to the Prophet or his revered grandson, nor in the information that Islam was "fashioned" by the Prophet with Christianity and Judaism as his sources. I may be pardoned for my candour in pointing out that the *Kutub* imputed the same charge to him thirteen centuries ago which occasions the refutation from

﴿أَمْ يَقُولُونَ أَنْ تُنْزَلَ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ﴾ (Do they say the Prophet shaped out the Koran?) and Allah Himself furnished the reply to him, and thus

﴿قُلْ إِنَّا نَقْرِئُهُمْ مَا تَمَلَّكُوا لَبِنَ مِنَ اللَّهِ عِلْمٌ مَوْلَانَا بِمَا تَعْلَمُونَ﴾

﴿نَاهِيٌّ عَنِ الْكُفْرِ بِمَا شَهِدَ اللَّهُ وَنَاهِيٌّ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ﴾

Divine vindication will stand good against such imputations till the world endures. The information will be no news to agnostic Europe either. It is the Arya Samaj alone who will hail Mr. S. Khoda Bukhsh as a fresh weapon in the warfare they are carrying on against Islam and the Prophet and will claim him as a learned Mussalman authority.

As the learned author holds that the Prophet's "knowledge of Jewish and Christian books, at times faulty and imperfect to a degree, was derived almost exclusively from oral communications," he cannot get away from the sequence which must naturally follow that the Koran is faulty and imperfect to the same extent. Though probably the author means the inference, I dare say Mr. Gholam Waris is not likely to be prepared to go so far with his friend.

It is not a lack of the knowledge of the art of criticism which gave rise to an effusion of religious fervour in Khwaja Golam-us-Saqlain, which must be shared by all Mussalmans who have true love for Islam and its Prophet. In his sermon on this point, Mr. Gholam Waris has not shown himself less amenable to the fault he imputes to educated Indians, though he has less excuse for harshness in defending his temporal friend who can very well take care of himself. Yet Khwaja Saheb has not said anything harsher than the fitness for "gladiatorial combat" and the advantage of an *ace* attributed to him in his remarks against blasphemous language.

GIVA.

ABDUR RAHEEM.

Moslem Education in Bengal.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR.—I do not know how to express our deep thanks to you for raising your voice against the modern educational system in Bengal which has long been engraving Hindu ideas, traditions and imagery on the minds of Muhammadan students in their school days. The slow, unconscious process of denationalization has long been going on amongst the Bengal Moslems and it is mainly responsible for the sluggish rate in the progress of English education in Muhammadan Bengal. On passing the threshold of any Muhammadan family in Bengal you would at once catch the note of murmur, sometimes not without reason, against modern education to the effect that the people of western light and culture are fast deviating from the path of Islam. The truth is that a Muhammadan student in Mufassil schools, often a solitary figure in the whole class of Hindu students, living in unsympathetic surroundings and not often compelled to take Sanskrit as his Second Language, has not the least opportunity of knowing Islam. He remains blind, through no fault of his own, to Islamic culture and traditions. He knows all about Ram and Krishna, but when you ask him about the Prophet, his birth and parentage, he is found to know nothing. That the modern system of education in Bengal is essentially Hindustani there is not the slightest doubt. If this process of denationalization is allowed to continue for some time, there is no doubt that there would grow up in Muhammadan Bengal a set of people of hybrid culture and doubtful education, and no one having the least foresight would fail to see how far they would retard the progress of the community. Rightly, therefore, you have raised your voice and said.—"What the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal require is that where they preponderate school books should not be written in a manner forcing such inspiration, such imagery, and such a vocabulary on them to the neglect of the essentially Moslem inspiration, Persian and Arabic imagery, and the vocabulary that is derived from these sources." But may I say that the demand is equally pressing in all parts of the Presidency? The Muhammadans of West Bengal—a people who have suffered the most—want the panacea more than the rest. I may here point out in this connection that in the Presidency Division (excluding Calcutta), the Muhammadans form the major part of the total population, and in one of the districts, Nadia, they form 62 per cent. of the total number of people.

I, therefore, hope that you would voice still more emphatically the view on behalf also of the people of West Bengal—as the anxiety is much more urgently needed in their case—and thus put them under a deep debt of gratitude and obligation.

FAIR PLAY.



Principles of Biography.

ISLAMIC.

As soon as the Arabs had won their Empire and settled down they turned to letters. Of all the studies to which they applied themselves none seems to have had a greater fascination for them than that of Biography. It has been suggested by an eminent authority that the study of Biography received an impetus from the condition of the times. That great and far-sighted statesman—the Caliph Omar—whose personality stands out above all like a peak among low ridges—had organised a system of State pensions for men who had fought and bled for Islam—for them indeed and to their descendants according to their deserts. This necessarily led to a careful enquiry into the history and antecedents of the claimants. It is a very plausible suggestion, and possibly there is a great deal of truth in it. But there was another

reason more potent still. A large mass of traditions—affecting every conceivable condition of human life—was set in circulation. These had to be examined, tested, verified. There were traditions at variance with each other. There were traditions which defied every possibility of reconciliation. There were traditions supporting conflicting claims. Upon the thinking Arabs the necessity of arriving at some rule for testing the truth or otherwise of hopelessly irreconcilable traditions called for immediate action. The solution of this problem is most interesting. They had not yet reached a high degree of mental training, and accordingly we have no right to expect from them a very lofty order of scientific criticism. The way they settled the difficulty was by instituting a searching enquiry into the character, integrity and antecedents of each individual traditionist. In other words they began, in right earnest, to study the life of each traditionist. Thus arose a large number of biographies individual and collective. By individual, we mean biography of an individual person, by collective—a series of lives within the confines of a single literary scheme.

Was there any principle which our Islamic authors recognised? Any standard to which they strove to attain? Any pattern which they put before them to follow and to imitate?

It would be absurd to suggest that literature has ever been ordered to sample. Literature is, indeed, the expression of a nation's character—the manifestation of its intellectual culture. It is a part of the national life—real, integral, inseparable. It is as much subject to the limitations of time and geography as religion is. Nobody, therefore, can urge that any literature has sprung up in conformity with pre-ordained rules. Rules follow and do not precede—they are mere generalisations from existing conditions. What I seek to find and to consider is merely this: Were there any general principles underlying Islamic biographies?

The first thing that strikes us is—that whatever may be the indebtedness of Islamic learning to foreign literature, it is clear and beyond dispute that their biographical literature was purely original and essentially indigenous. No clearer proof of this is needed than the workmanship of the Islamic biographies itself. There was no vault of a model, but the attention of our authors was never drawn to Plutarch, who "introduced the biography of disciplined purpose to the modern world, with lasting benefit to life and literature." Personality was Plutarch's quarry. He preferred to concentrate his attention upon what to the unseeing eye looked insignificant—upon "a light occasion, a word or some sport." "Therein," he adds, "men's nature, dispositions and manners appear more plainly than the famous battles won, wherein are slain 10,000." He was a just biographer who was not distracted from his proper aim by ethical fervour or by partisanship. Nor were the purposes of history or science within his scope. (Sir Sidney Lee, *Principles of Biography*, pp. 34, 35.)

Islamic biographies appear to me to be divisible into three main groups: (1) those that were written with the express purpose of laudation, (2) those that were written with the deliberate object of censure, (3) those that aim at ascertaining the truth about the individual. The first two need not detain us at all. They must be summarily dismissed as, from the nature of things, they do not and cannot give us a correct and faithful picture—so essential for a true biography. They are either triumphal paens or hideous scandals. Let us, then, take those that honestly seek to describe to paint their heroes. These fall far short of our expectations, and for two reasons. In those days the materials upon which the biographer worked were necessarily sparse and scanty. There were rarely, if ever, private letters, private diaries, estimates of friends and criticisms of foes—long departed from the scenes of earthly strife—to enable the writer to draw the real man as he was in flesh and blood. All that he got was a stray reference, a passing notice, a fragmentary sketch. If by some felicitous concourse of circumstances a more detailed account was to be found, it was invariably a detailed account of the man's achievements rather than of the man himself. In Oriental biographies the hero is never without his State robes; without his staff of office, without some symbol or emblem of power.

Want of materials, then, is one, and the Oriental idea of gravity another reason, for the absence of a complete biography. To the Oriental it would be offensive in the extreme to describe the lighter side of a great career. Just as his life is a solemn ceremonial so is his biography a brilliant disguise. Rarely, if ever, do we there come across the ordinary incidents of mortality which compose, nay, sanctify life—our laughter and tears; our worries and woes, our irrepressible joys and sweet regrets. It is only the public life that we get, never the private. It is a catalogue of virtues: failings, imperfections, infirmities, frailties—these, indeed, find no place there.

Take, for instance, the life of Saladin written by Bahauddin. It comprises over 300 pages. It gives us a detailed account of his wars and campaigns; his public, official life; but it is provokingly silent as to the inner life of the great warrior of Islam. It does not lift the curtain and show the hero to us as he showed himself to his associates,

friends, confidants. We do not see Saladin face to face with a terrible catastrophe. We do not see him wrestling with the terrible problems of life and death—a problem which all mortals must solve—and solve for themselves. We do not see him in the midst of sorrow or in the freedom of the festive board. We obtain only one side of his life. We only see him decked in his royal robes; ruling, commanding, issuing *firman*s. It is on this account that I have described Oriental biographies as incomplete and fragmentary. There are exceptions to this rule, but exceptions only prove the rule. They never aim at completeness. There is one other feature which, in this connexion, might be noted here. In their zeal to present their heroes in the most favourable light, they garble facts and not infrequently suppress or sacrifice truth. Are not modern biographies indictable on this score as well? They are, therefore, incomplete pictures, but even so far as they go they are not always reliable. Reliable in this sense, that they do not take the slightest trouble to test or verify the statements which they make. They are never watchful of the lies and fables of hearsay accretions. At times they give us various conflicting statements and leave the reader to pick and choose. They never so much as even attempt to weigh evidence, to decide for themselves. As for a critical treatment of the man and his age, of the influences working upon and around him, of the age in which he lived and the people among whom he moved—these never seem to have attracted the attention or excited the curiosity of our writers. To them man was a distinct entity, detached from his surroundings. And even this human being was important for their purposes only so far as he was a man of action or a man of thought. Further and beyond they do not seem to have troubled themselves.

But their failure in one direction has been more than compensated by their brilliant success in the other—I mean in collective biography. On a smaller canvas they are at their best. Who can excel them in brevity and conciseness—to mention two only—Ibn Sad and Ibn Khallikan. They are perfect models of what national biography should be. All that is worth knowing is brought within a short compass with admirable skill and judgment. There is no fault of omission or commission. Every fact, necessary to the understanding of the individual, is brought out with scrupulous care and artistic circumspection. Biographies of men, distinguished in every branch of arts and sciences, have been written, and always written well.

The Arabs were a remarkable people for industry, for research, for long, patient, unwearied labour. If they cannot compete with the Persians in acuteness of intellect and clearness of vision; in insight, penetration and judgment—in industry they stand head and shoulders above them. Almost all historians and biographers are Arabs—almost all philosophers, Persians. Here are the two types of intellect in Islam—one analytical, the other synthetic.

S KHUDA BUKHSH



Anecdote.

WHEN Canon Rawnsley was collecting information in the Lake District about Wordsworth, he came upon an old man who had been a servant at Rydal Mount. This whilom retainer told many interesting stories.

Wordsworth, it seemed, was very absent minded. He once forgot the dinner hour.

"I'd gos," the old man remarked, "to study door and hear him a-mumblin' away to 's-self."

"Dinner's ready, sir," I'd ca' out, but he'd goa mumblin' on like a deaf man, y' see. And sometimes Mr. Wadsworth 'ud say 'Goa and brek a bottle, or let a dish fall, just outside door in passage. Eh, dear, that maistly wad bring him out wad that. It was nobbut that as wad, howivver. For, ye kina, he was a very careful man, and he couldn't do with brekking t' china."

HAMLET FITSHAKESPEARE, the author, producer, and principal actor in the thrilling drama, "When Fierce Assassins Sniffed His Gold, or, The Vengeance of the Plumber," met a friend in the Strand the other evening.

"Halloo Fit!" exclaimed the latter. "I hear that you sacked the whole of your orchestra last night."

"Yes, silly asses!" declaimed the great tragedian. "They went and spoiled the best scene in the whole play."

"Goodness me! Whatever for?"

"Well, I told the leader to pick out appropriate music for each scene, and you know the thrilling passage where the judge condemns me to death?"

"Yes, yes!"

"When the judge put on the black cap, the pack of idiots at once struck up, 'Where Did You Get that Hat?'"



The Assessor.

THE ASSESSOR is a bureaucratic device to at once satisfy and adequately punish native crave for distinctions. He is a bare-faced attempt on the part of the government to exploit native stupidity and leisure for the amusement of its over-worked judges and the mirth and diversion of the busy lawyers. He illustrates the utility of perennial irrelevance and the innocence of judicial flirtation with uninformed opinion. He has the gift of perpetual babyhood. He carries a whole houseful of negations with the humility of a Pope. He is a spurious eunuch which loudly proclaims the folly of all imitations. He is a mukl-tear's argument which convinces nobody but amuses all. He has the confounding elasticity of the Congressman's political doctrines but none of the unbending rigidity of an unconvertible Moslem promise (*vide* the accounts of the Moslem University published or going to be published in the *Institute Gazette* at some unknown date in the unknown future). He has the furtive coyness of an Indian undergrad engaged in his first experiment of beard farming. He is the promise of a grander realization than the ungazetted and officially unrecognized *Latahsip* of his juvenile dreams. He is the prophecy of a titled future—rich with accumulated corpulence, but richer with magnisterial nods and collectorite smiles, the friendship of the head khanzama and the respect of the red-turbaned chaprasis, the testimonials of indifferent character and official acknowledgments of ill-rendered services.

The Assessor is a man of 45—including his first fifteen years of dhoti-less poverty and unangochad (1873) constitution, when he used to either address the unconvincing but encyclopedic virtues of his *kachalus* (کچالوں) to indifferent and sceptical passengers at the railway station or proclaim his marvellous recipe for the preparation of Adam-tempting sweets to a dazed and astonished world of mouth-watering street-boys. He does not believe in that human hypocrisy which hides human nudity under an artificial covering of clothes and, as a concession to a convention ridden world, only tolerates the pre-historic dhoti as the only forgivable violation of human sanctity.

He loves his principles dearly enough, but he does not carry them about to enhance the weirdness of his bulky person. He has a turban of none of the known colours to decorate his head with in appreciation of its marvellous fortitude under the fortnightly operations of the itinerant barber's unrelenting razor. To don the turban is not purely ornamental but has an unsuspected fund of vast usefulness behind it. It flatters the Sahib, both real and make-believe, into a temporary recognition of his claims to existence, in spite of his colour, and an acknowledgment of his ground kissing salaams. His quilted trousers—defied by an irrepressible dhoti insistent on the recognition of its ineffectually-veiled existence—inherited along with a weakness for *khatai* from a paternal uncle—complete the irresistible equipment with which he starts to conquer the judge of an alien race, to inspire awe in the minds of the criminals hauled up before him and compel the unwilling respect of the counsels defending them.

His religion is a pure unitarianism, a belief in the unity of coins and the immortality of the Promissory Notes. His cosmopolitanism is of that superior kind which loves and respects, with

equal warmth and admiration, the Russian rouble and the English shilling without despising the unpretentious native *courts*.

He is a Banya by caste—a fact to which he has now got reconciled, though there are still moments when he feels strongly tempted to kick up a row with the Creator for making a wholly gratuitous selection of family and parentage for him without consulting his personal wishes in the matter. The public has dubbed him a *Lala*—not so much from an appreciation of his noble origin as from a deep-rooted conviction that it may be good logic, but it is both indifferent wisdom and bad manners to call a spade a spade. On the other hand he claims this recognition as the first instalment of a series of surrenders to his career of irresistible triumphs.

He redeems, be it said to his credit, the chronic illiteracy of his family. He knows Hindi and has often recited *Ramayana* to an admiring circle of friends and relatives with a brutal unmusicality. His genius, which can accomplish such mighty feats as the deciphering of an illegibly written letter from distant Bombay or the reading of the famous *Babar-Nama* without a pair of spectacles on, is a puzzle to his mother. He is the proud boast of his wife who constantly thrusts his learning on the unwilling ears of her less fortunate sisters of the mohalla, secretly enjoying the result of her operation.

His son of the scantily-buttoned coat, richly oiled shoes, and ink-spotted dhoti, is the pride of the father and the living hope of the family. His success at the Entrance Examination, unless precluded by the caprice of the Board of Examiners or untimely illness brought on by ill-cooked rice and indigestible *mash*, will, it is devoutly hoped, be the occasion of the emergence of the family from comparative obscurity into a position in which the proud father would give wide berth to insolent constables, shake hands with a tahsildar without visible trepidation and call on the Diptee Sahib without being insulted by the untipped chaprasi. He confidently believes that his Matriculated son—a spectacled intellectual prodigy who would challenge the great Unapproachable in his own language—will be the object of extravagant bids both from the Government and the public, and he has already decided, in defiance of the protests and expostulations of his wife, that he shall go to the former. (The present writer humbly suggests that local Governments should be warned against participation in the on-coming scramble.)

The Assessor, seated behind the Sessions Judge, is the despot of the criminal in the dock and the envy of the open-mouthed spectators. He is surveying the ceilings with an interest suggestive of a bold determination to either revolutionize the modern architecture or remodel the universe with due regard to the superior claims of his caste-fellows. Sometimes the unsuspecting and irresponsive object of his merciless scrutiny is the chair which he occupies. He evidently wonders at the powers of endurance possessed by an ostensibly wooden thing which would support his enormous person without audible groans. Maybe he is only comparing the respective merits of ghee and chair as articles of trade and wondering what a bewildering sensation it would make in his mohalla if all the chairs could be translated to his house.

To an Assessor nothing is more soporific than the arguments of a counsel at the close of his case, and no awakening is ruder than the one caused by the Judge's call on his inexhaustible stock of ready

opinions. His response is a wealth of refreshing irrelevance poured upon the Judge with an unstinted liberality, in heroic disregard of the Judge's amiles, the counsel's frowns and the prisoner's half-audible imprecations. Accused of dacoity, the prisoner is pronounced to have committed murder in cold blood, and this in spite of the complainant reminding him that he is still alive and was never within his memory dead even for half an hour, and the Judge, otherwise sceptical of his veracity, endorsing the truth of both statements.

The Assessor is a piteous spectacle before a Civilian Judge with a reputation for ungovernable temper and an unsurpassed record of vigorous kicks administered freely during an indifferent official career. He is all nervousness and trepidation—an apology for his unhallowed existence, a penitent confession of his inexpiable sins of colour and unavoidable omissions of birth and domicile. He thinks it none of his business to know Law and does not want to add to the cares of a prosperous trade, a prolific family and a protruding belly, the correction of an erring Legislature and the enlightenment of a benighted Judiciary. He needs not worry himself about Law, for there is the Thanedar, jealous of his privilege of law-breaking to guard his close preserves against the encroachment of outsiders. And so long as there is the D. S. P. of papal infallibility—an infallibility relieved by periodical fits of Diptericidal mania—to sanctify the Police chalans and the Civilian Judge to keep their sanctity inviolate against the profane attacks of defending counsel, dozing is perhaps the only legitimate form of criticism on the merits of the trial open to an honest and conscientious Assessor.

BAMBOOQUE



The Future of Crete.

THAT so much in the Near East should turn on the event of the two general elections in Greece and Turkey is a welcome evidence that force, even in that troubled corner of the world, is not the sole arbiter of national destinies. The Ottoman Parliament has yet to be chosen, and until it has met, no prudent prophet will forecast the immediate future of Turkey or the issue of the Italian War. Should the Young Turks by methods, however irregular succeed in recovering the position which had been shaken before the dissolution, the Empire will have a Government strong enough to adopt a firm policy in face of the two contrary risks of unpopularity at home and complications abroad. Should they emerge seriously weakened from the contest, they may dread any course which would expose them to the censure of the extreme patriots. Should they be defeated, the Constitution itself might be endangered. Whatever their errors in the past—and their errors have been so grave as to prejudice the whole future of the splendid experiment which they inaugurated—a spectator who thinks mainly of the peace of the East must wish for them at this moment an unequivocal majority. A divided Chamber at Constantinople would be an encouragement to Italy to prolong the war, while at the same time it would fail to yield the necessary support to any Turkish Government which ventured to compromise with the enemy.

In some compromise the war must issue. We should hope ourselves that Italy might eventually be persuaded to accept a lease of the African provinces. But only if Turkey is strong enough to continue the war without the fear of internal dissension, will she be strong enough to secure a peace on terms more favourable than her adversary is at present inclined to accept. It is a nice question whether the acquisition of an elected Parliament has for the moment increased the ability of Turkey to resist such an assault as this from Italy. We incline to think that the Hamidian regime would have made a much less stubborn and steady resistance, and would have failed to draw moral support from the patriotism of the people. But undoubtedly it could have yielded or bargained with less fear of offending its subjects. In any event, the transformation of the form of government has introduced a complication into the high politics and military problems of the East, which would have seemed incredible five short years ago.

In Greece the issue of the General Election has greatly enhanced the chances of peace. After a period of confusion and revolution the strong personality of M. Venizelos has brought a stability and a self-discipline to Greek politics unknown since the death of Tricoupis. At two successive elections the country has given him an overwhelming majority, and the way of escape seems to be broad and clear from the old mazes of personal politics. His programme is one of systematic reconstruction, without a hint of the reaction and the forcible discipline which commonly attends such an effort undertaken after a time of anarchy and disorder. M. Venizelos brings to Greek affairs the hardness and realism of his Cretan temperament. He learned his politics among assem-

bles of armed men on hillsides swept by the guns of European navies and the Turk is an adversary whom he has met in the field. Taught in that school, he has imposed a pacific foreign policy on the orators of the Athenian cafés. A man of his stamp will repress wild adventures and hopeless escapades, but equally he will seize his chance, if the chance should come his way, to realize the secular dream of the union of Crete with Greece. There will be required of him, before the new Chamber is many weeks older, an act worthy of the legendary Roman father. The Cretans, resolved to treat their union as an accomplished fact, are sending a full complement of deputies to Athens, and if the first twenty-three should be intercepted by the forces of Europe, a second and a third contingent is ready to sail to replace them. It will be expected of M. Venizelos, Cretan of the Cretans and the leader in many an earlier struggle for unity, to spend the popularity which character and success have brought him, in picketing his Chamber with Greek troops to arrest these delegates. With what resource of Odysseus-like diplomacy he will extricate himself from the quandary we cannot divine. To exclude the Cretan deputies will seem an act of anti-patriotism. To admit them is, in all probability, to call the Turkish armies for a second time into the plains of Thessaly. It is the dilemma which the delays and half-measures of the Concert have all these years prepared.

A settlement in conformity with the aspirations of Crete would have been easy at any moment before the Turkish revolution. No mind can gainsay the natural right of the islanders to dispose of their own destinies. Theirs is a struggle which has lasted, with brief intervals for recuperation, through a century and a half. They fought harder and longer than the people of the mainland in the War of Independence. Nor have increasing education and contact with Europe weakened in succeeding generations the passion of their resolve. It is mainly a splendid and generous sentiment which inspires them, but their demand has also its practical side. An island whose only trading centre is the Piræus, whose whole economic life flows in Greek ships between the ports which look northward and the centre of all Greek life, cannot develop its own resources in a natural way while it is tied in the trammels of an alien fiscal system. Worse even than the incubus on its trade is the continual disturbance and uncertainty in all its public life, caused by its anomalous position. It experiences the same inevitable and self-imposed repression as Ireland. So long as it is a sort of treason to think of any national object save the one purpose of achieving union with Greece, it can have no leisure of mind for its own internal development. All the liberties which Europe permitted and secured, all the machinery of constitutional self-government, all the expensive and elaborate police, is wasted while this one obsession holds its mind. The Cretan Chamber is nothing and has never been anything save a national committee for bringing union about. It might, perhaps, have been otherwise had Prince George, whom Europe gave the Cretans as their first Governor, been a man formed for leadership and constructive work. The island was weary then of desolating struggles and the men who looked round on burned villages and ruined olive groves were ready to think stolidly about schools, and roads, and harbours, and agricultural experiments. Prince George's faults of temper and crudities of method ruined that momentary hope. His failure made only one argument the more for a final settlement and a clean solution. The island has known no rest since it rose against him, and it is resolved to take no rest until its natural destinies are completed.

It is intolerable that Europe should continue for a further term of year to play the policeman against a proper aspiration. It is defending no real interest. The Turks have nothing to lose save a memory of conquest if the Crescent flag should cease to fly on the single rock which gives it shelter. The luckless remnant of the Moslem population is in jeopardy only because the continual unrest of an unsolved problem exposes it to Christian hate. A wiser handling of its interests would long ago have assisted it to sell its lands on fair terms, instead of leaving it to be persecuted into exile and tricked of its due compensation. The one obstacle to a settlement is the proper reluctance of the Powers to inflict on Turkey the momentary humiliation inseparable from the loss of Crete. But when we reflect that one of the four Powers concerned is Russia, scheming to open the Dardanelles, and that another is Italy, the whole hypocrisy of this excuse becomes apparent. The loss must sooner or later be faced, and the least inopportune way to bring it about would be as part of a general settlement from which Turkey would reap compensating benefits. We have argued in these columns that the Italian war demands a settlement by a European Conference. In no other way can Turkey be protected from the alternatives of a slow robbery in Tripoli or a swift and shattering assault in European waters. Mediation by an interested and grasping Power like Russia is a remedy worse than the disease. The lines of a possible solution are, to our thinking, that in a general survey of the Eastern Question, Europe should secure for Turkey in Africa better terms than she can herself extort from Italy, and make of that boon the compensation for the loss of Crete—(*The Nation*.)

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

REUTER wired from Teheran on the 9th instant:—The situation in Kerman is menacing. A large force of hostile tribesmen is expected to enter the town to-day. British subjects as a precaution intend to take shelter in the Consulate. The Persian Government is not inclined to regard the situation very seriously. Fighting between the rival sections of the Khasgais is reported from Pars. Telegraphic communication with India is almost entirely interrupted owing to brigands cutting the wires.

With reference to the report sent by Reuter from Persia of the unrest in Kerman, it appears that a local rebellion has commenced against the Persian Governor-General of that place. The rebels who appear to belong to the lower order of the people alleged that Persia was being partitioned between Great Britain and Russia and that they were acting so that it might not fall into the hands of the new masters of the country. The Persian Governor-General has decided to seek safety in flight and the local Parsee and Hindu traders with some friendly Khans have taken refuge in the British Consulate. No serious danger, however, is apprehended and now that the Governor-General has taken himself off, matters will probably quiet down.

Reuter wired from Teheran on the 11th May:—The situation in Kerman recently reported as very threatening is improving. The Imperial Bank is being re-opened.

Salar-ed-Dauleh has requested the British Minister to induce the Government to send troops to fight him twelve miles outside Hamadan, otherwise he will not be responsible for the safety of the inhabitants of that town.

Reuter wired from Teheran.—It is understood that the Persian Government in virtue of the arrangement of 1857 for the delimitation of the Perso-Afghan frontier has applied for the good offices of Britain in connection with the Afghan irredents.

In the House of Commons Colonel Vane asked whether Great Britain's claim to construct the Trans-Persian Railway south of the Russian sphere had been put forward and the Persian Government informed of the claim.

Sir Edward Grey replied:—"When the question gets to a further stage then the Persian Government must be informed. The scheme is at present in a most inchoate stage. We shall have to bear in mind the question raised by Colonel Vane."

A new railway is being constructed from Karachi along the Mekran and Persian Coasts to Bushire, writes the *Admiralty of India's* correspondent from Karachi. This is a step of the utmost importance to this port, he continues, and to merchants of India generally. The scheme should open out new markets of vast possibilities and the only reason so far why very little information leaked out to the general public is because the authorities concerned are extremely reticent over the matter. Work is being carried out under the supervision of Mr. Johns, C.I.E., Chief Engineer, Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway. At present he is engaged in surveying and preparing the estimates. Up to date, the site of the proposed railway has been surveyed from Karachi to Jask. The proposal is to carry the line from that part to Bandar Abbas and then northwards up to Kirman and southwest to Bushire on the coast at the head of the Persian Gulf. It is obvious the line has vast potentialities. From Bushire to Kuwait is about 120 miles by the sea and when the Kuwait-Basra and Baghdad line is completed, there will be an inexhaustible market for Indian commerce. At present goods have to be conveyed by the sea and by the caravan. Trade will be opened up which is very much hampered at present. The work of surveying the Karachi-Bushire line was commenced in the early part of 1911. This line will run from Karachi as a rule about fifteen miles from the coast to Malvan, Carunara, Pasni, Chhabar and Jask then to Bandar Abbas, Lunga, Kirman and down to Bushire.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

St. Petersburg, April 21.

Persian affairs are rapidly going from bad to worse. The Regent, disgusted with what is going on around him, and chafing at his own inability to restore even a semblance of order, is preparing to resign. Every effort is being made by Russia and England to induce him to stay on, because he is an enlightened man, conversant with European culture and politics, and qualified to engraft on the nation those Western institutions for which it is ripe.

If Nasr-el-Mulk goes, his successor would probably be the Sipahdar, who is incomparably worse equipped for the task and

less trustworthy than he. The Regent now insists on making a trip to Europe for the sake of his health, and it is an invidious task to throw obstacles in his way. But it is felt that if he once departs he will not return to Persia.

Salar-ed-Dowleh's freak is causing extreme embarrassment to the two protecting Powers, and is protracting the hopeless walter. He has seized a Persian province, and insists upon governing it, in spite of the legally-constituted Government.

THE "DAILY CHRONICLE"

Since he returned to America Mr. Morgan Shuster, the ex-Treasurer-General of Persia, has finished his book about that country. He calls it "The Strangling of Persia," and in it he describes Persia as he came to know the land and the people. Naturally he has much to say about the influences which led to his leaving the land of Omar Khayyam. Mr. Shuster writes crisply, and he does not "hesitate to shoot."

Sir Edward Grey on Persia.

III

It is true that the Spring-Rice despatch, penned a short time before the receipt of these instructions, had dotted the "i's" and crossed the "t's" of the concise language used in the telegraphic despatch upon which Sir Edward Grey relies. But anyone who will take the trouble to compare the former despatch with the language used by Sir Edward Grey and Lord Morley in explaining the Convention to Parliament in February, 1908, can scarcely fail to come to the conclusion that Sir Cecil Spring-Rice was abundantly justified in doing this. Nor does Sir Edward Grey now blame him. He tells us that in substance—in general substance—the Spring-Rice despatch does not differ from the official interpretation "except in regard to one sentence at the end, which states that their object (the British and Russian Governments) in these friendly negotiations 'was not to allow one another to intervene'." "I believe," he goes on to say, "that the British Minister in drawing that up did not intend it to bear the construction which has been put upon it. The construction which has been put upon it is that we undertook some obligation to guarantee in a way we had not done before the integrity and independence of Persia. That was not the construction which he had intended." I scarcely know by whom the words quoted by the Foreign Secretary have been construed in the terms which he cites. For nearly a hundred years Great Britain and Russia have exchanged assurances with one another and have given assurances to the Persian Government that they were resolved to respect the independence and integrity of Persia. The Anglo-Russian Convention confirmed these assurances, and was based, in the language used by M. Isvolsky and quoted by Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, on a guarantee of the independence and integrity of Persia. I have already given Sir Edward Grey's own words in explaining the Convention to Parliament: "Under the Agreement we bind ourselves not to seek certain concessions of a certain kind in certain spheres. But these are only British and Russian spheres in a sense which is in no way derogatory to the independence and sovereignty of Persia." What the Convention did, if we are to accept the British and Russian official explanations of its object, was to render easier than it had been before the task of both Powers in maintaining the integrity of the Persian frontiers and the sovereignty of the Persian Government. They were in future to act together at the Persian Court with this common object in view. Having entered into a mutual arrangement to pursue this common object, they would also be able to keep themselves and their subjects in check against any violations of the fundamental principles. That is the obvious meaning of the language used in the Spring-Rice despatch, and to that meaning both Governments are irrevocably committed by their own official or public declarations. As for the *unofficial* nature of the Spring-Rice despatch, the word must surely be used by Sir Edward Grey in a purely technical sense. It consists to a large extent of citations made from Sir Edward Grey's own words and of quotations from official declarations communicated by M. Isvolsky to our Government. The statement that it was not sent home because it did not seem sufficiently important can surely not be accepted as conclusive. I am anxious not to embitter the controversy in any way, and I, of course, accept without reserve Sir Edward Grey's statement that he himself had never seen it. I would only observe that it was well known to all those who had followed Persian affairs, and that it had been quoted over and over again in the Press of this country. It contains a concise and perfectly clear statement

See Treaties containing Guarantees or Engagements by Great Britain (Miscellaneous, No. 2, 1891).

of the objects which the two Powers had in view when they concluded their Convention. It had been perused by Mr. Shuster before he accepted service in Persia. It would be dishonourable to repudiate it, even if it were possible. I have shown that it does not stand alone, and that we cannot repudiate it even if we might now feel inclined to do so.

It is for this reason that we are precluded from taking very seriously Sir Edward Grey's speech of February 21, last. Even the gods sometimes nod; and it may be unknd on the part of humbler mortals to do more than nudge their elbow and try to recall them to a sense of reality. If that speech stood alone, the Anglo-Russian Convention would constitute a standing menace to vital British interests in Asia. Turn, for instance, to the latter passages of the speech: "I deprecate the constant attacks that are made in this House as to what has and is taking place in the North of Persia . . . I am not in a position very often to have any information in regard to some of the statements. Even if I had, I do not consider it my business to investigate all the circumstances on each side, and then to say exactly what is true . . . Russia in the North of Persia finds it necessary to take certain measures to protect her trade or her strategic interests. Those are not necessarily a breach of the Anglo-Russian agreement. Look at the second paragraph of the preamble, which begins 'Considering that each of the Powers, Great Britain and Russia, has for geographical and economic reason a special interest in the maintenance of peace and order in certain provinces of Persia. With a Preamble like that you cannot as for a moment, when either country takes steps to intervene in a particular region in Persia where it has been admitted by the Preamble to have special interests, and to take action to protect those interests which it considers in danger—you cannot consider that as necessarily a breach of the Agreement. There are certain things in the Anglo-Russian Agreement which would be a distinct breach. A breach of Article 1 or Article 2 of the Agreement is, of course, a thing which would be taken up. In all the criticism which has been offered in this House in respect to the Agreement, only once that I remember has there been any reference to the really operative articles of the agreement, or any allegation, at any rate, that any one of these had been broken." Or, again: "It is impossible for us, in different parts of the world, when disputes arise between other countries, to undertake to be the arbiter in those disputes." And he applies this general statement to disputes between the Russian and Persian Governments in Northern Persia. The impression conveyed by these passages—I do not say that it was intended to be conveyed—is that the action of Russia in Northern Persia must be regarded as a matter of comparative indifference to ourselves, unless any distinct British interest in that region be affected. Further, that the Preamble of the Convention justifies what has taken place in Northern Persia, and that it is not so much the Preamble upon which we must lay emphasis as the particular articles of the Convention.

Now, if such passages could really be taken seriously, we should be face to face with two distinct and mutually destructive interpretations of the Anglo-Russian Convention. One would be the interpretation conveyed in the name of the Governments of Great Britain and Russia to the Persian Government in September, 1907, and given to the House of Commons in February, 1908, the other would be Sir Edward Grey's interpretation of February, 1912. The entirely heterodox nature of the later version compels us to regard it as due either to a lapse of memory or to defects in expression.

But the fallacies which underlie it must be made clear. In the first place, there are distinct British interests in Northern Persia, and these are directly menaced by what has taken place there. To mention only one, there is the considerable trade of Great Britain with Tabriz in Northern Persia, the result of a century of British effort. The city of Tabriz is at present occupied and practically administered by Russia. Does that fact alone not constitute a menace to a distinct British interest in Northern Persia? Secondly, if you enlarge the meaning of that portion of the Preamble which was quoted by Sir Edward Grey to include strategic interests as he himself enlarged it, at what point will you be able to stop? Turkey has also strategic interests in the North of Persia—interests which are vital to the future of the Ottoman Empire in Asia. When the Russian troops pour in on one side these interests dictate to the Turkish Government the necessity of redressing the balance. But these considerations, important though they no doubt are, sink into comparative insignificance beside the menace to the *fundamental principle* of the Anglo-Russian Convention which is involved by the continued presence of the Russian troops in Northern Persia and by the proceedings of Russian agents and officials in that region. We have not all of us forgotten the official interpretation placed upon the Convention and we shall take care that others are not permitted to forget it. Everything, as Lord Percy declared in 1908, depends on the interpretation. Was there anything, he asked, to prevent the creation of spheres of influence? What assurances did we receive from the Russian Government on such points?

And Sir Edward Grey replied that the so-called spheres laid down in the Convention were "only British and Russian spheres in a *sensé* which is in no way derogatory to the independence and sovereignty of Persia." Then there was the declaration, officially conveyed to our own Government, of the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the effect that "This Agreement between the two European Powers which have the greatest interests in Persia, based as it is upon a guarantee of her independence and integrity, can only serve to further and promote Persian interests, for henceforth Persia, aided and assisted by these two powerful neighbouring States, can employ all her powers in internal reforms." In view of all that has gone before, how can it be contended for a single moment that the action of Russia in Northern Persia are a matter of comparative indifference to ourselves, as co-signatory with the Russian Government of that Convention? The whole Convention falls with the fall of its fundamental principle, which is that the *independence and integrity of Persia shall be respected absolutely*. The words I have underlined are the official and precise instructions given by Sir Edward Grey to our representative in Teheran. Surely it was, and remains, the business of our Foreign Minister to satisfy himself that any action taken by the two Powers, or by either of them, in Persia should be conformable with the fundamental principle.

As for the breach of particular articles of the Convention—it Afghanistan, in Persia or in Thibet—to which Sir Edward Grey complains, no reference has been made, does anyone suppose that the Russian Government would take the trouble, even if it had the desire, to commit a breach of these articles at the present time? Nothing would be more absurd while, under cover of the Convention the greater part of Persia is being absorbed. The point made by Sir Edward Grey is surely a mere debating point, scarcely worthy of a responsible statesman. So is the point made against Mr Ponsonby, that Mr Ponsonby was, in fact, inviting him to prevent Russia from regaining and retaining the influence which she possessed in Northern Persia before the Convention was signed. Whatever legitimate influence she then possessed was of a commercial nature, and it was the object of the Convention, as officially interpreted, to prevent this kind of influence, whether exercised by Russia or by ourselves, from being extended to the internal affairs of Persia. Persia was to be given a free hand—she was even to be given assistance—in effecting her own regeneration. When she took that task in hand in a really serious manner, Russia came down with a heavy hand upon her, and we looked in vain for Sir Edward Grey and the *fundamental principle*. Nobody desires to deprive Russia of any legitimate influence in Northern Persia. Let her apply her capital and industry to the development of the country. It will be good for Persia, good for Russia, and good for the rest of the world. That is quite a different thing from covering the country with her troops and performing acts of sovereignty which are wholly incompatible with the bed rock principle of her Convention with ourselves.

One general reflection is forcibly suggested by Sir Edward Grey's speech. Nobody who listened to it could fail to be painfully impressed by the utter want of sympathy which it displayed from beginning to end with the Persian people. One could scarcely credit the evidence of one's eyes and of one's ears that a pronouncement of this cold, hard, pitiless nature should be delivered from that bench. I have already alluded to one of the indirect results of the Persian question—the effect which it has had in stimulating public interest in the conduct of Foreign Affairs. It has also proved to be a touchstone of habits of thought among our statesmen. One of the great disadvantages of keeping Foreign Affairs outside party controversy is that the practice tends to stereotype the strictly official and departmental view in the conduct of our foreign relations. This is almost always a narrow view. When it is expounded by a Liberal Minister, the naked hollowness and inadequacy of the conception is rendered even more conspicuous, and the result is that we have often to turn to the leaders of the party out of office for a more reasonable and also authoritative exposition of the true temper and objects of British policy. Throughout the speeches of Lord Curzon on the Persian question there runs a vein of truly Liberal sentiment and principle, which contrasts, as white to black, with the speeches of the Liberal Foreign Secretary. This contrast is, no doubt, partly due to the modern practice to which I have alluded, but it is also interesting as a psychological fact.

Few causes could be better calculated to elicit the sympathies of Liberals than the cause of Persia; and few questions call more loudly for the application of Liberal principles. That is where the real difficulty comes in of our "condominium" with the Russian Government in Persia. But anyone who has given serious thought to the future of our relations with Russia will probably have come to the conclusion that, if they are to be productive of benefits to the world at large—if healthy fruit and not poisonous plants are to be their outcome—then it is in the direction of Liberalizing Russian policy that our friendship must become

operative. In the declarations of M. Isvolasky we have already received satisfactory evidence that hopes such as these are not necessarily fantastic. But, if they are to be realized, if the friendship is to continue and be rendered productive, British policy in relation to Russia, must be watchful and persistent, and not remiss, forgetful and indifferent to the end in view. In Persia we have a field where the character of Anglo-Russian friendship will be given its future shape and imprint. Should that imprint be reactionary and destructive of the liberties of Persia, there can be no doubt that the axe will have been laid to the very stem of the tree of Anglo-Russian co-operation in Asiatic affairs.

Can Great Britain afford—it may be, under the pressure of circumstances—to throw over the fundamental principle of the Anglo-Russian Convention? From Sir Edward Grey's recent language it might almost appear that we could afford to do so. Moreover, I notice in certain quarters of the Press, probably inspired from official sources, a tendency to regard as quixotic any efforts on our part to protect the liberties of Persia. In this connection it is only fair to Sir Edward Grey to state that he did appear to contemplate the possibility of a failure of his declared policy at the time when, in 1908, he explained to the House of Commons the meaning of the Convention. He seemed to argue that, even in the event of such a failure, the Indian frontier would be safe. But those passages of his speech of 1908 are open to a crushing reply. He told us that strategic considerations had been paramount with the Government in making the Agreement concerning Persia. He argued that the key to India lay in Seistan, which had been included in the British sphere. We were at all events safe, he went on to say, from the danger of a Russian railway through Seistan to the coast of the Indian Ocean. I am sorry to say that we cannot accept this version of the origin of the Convention either as quite accurate or as complete. If strategic interests were really paramount in deciding us to make this Agreement with Russia, why was not the Defence Committee called together and invited to pronounce upon the strategic considerations involved? Moreover, everybody knows that our real object in making the Agreement was to include Russia in our political entente with France or, in other words, to constitute a rival camp in Europe for the purpose of balancing the Triple Alliance. There may be much to be said for a policy of this nature as, equally, there is much to be said against it. But there can be little doubt that this policy in the hands of Sir Edward Grey has proved a failure. It has brought us into unnecessary antagonism with Germany—a country which constitutes one of the great civilizing forces in the world and provides us with one of our best markets. It has involved us in great sacrifices of paramount British interests in various parts of the world. If we are to continue to pursue this policy, it must be worked in a different spirit. And our friends in the Triple Entente must be brought to pay more regard to the vital interests of this country.

Now, the future of Persia and, it must be added, the future of those regions which constitute the Ottoman Empire in Asia are both intimately bound up with the future of the British Empire. If we are not to become a great military Power, if our people are to be spared the burden of military conscription, then it is all-important to us that the military Powers of Europe should be kept at a safe distance from our Indian Empire. That is why any form or measure of absorption of Persia by Russia—a process which is not dictated by any expansive needs of her population, but is artificially stimulated by a clique—is so dangerous to ourselves. For the sake of argument, let us limit it to Northern Persia and examine in what direction it would lead.

The area delimited by the Convention as subject to Russian industrial development is an area larger than that of France. It includes the modern and the more ancient capitals of Persia and most of her principal cities. Strategically, it contains the keys of the Turkish Empire in Asia. Any Power which is politically predominant in that region controls the machinery which is capable of operating over vast regions in Asia. And if that Power were to proceed to military occupation, the time could not be far distant when her frontier would march with our own frontier. The Turkish Empire, our natural ally in this part of the world, would then be weakened beyond repair, and we should have to trust to our own military resources to defend a frontier which we could not leave to look after itself.

Seistan is only one of the keys to India, and Sir Edward Grey admitted that the occupation of Northern Persia would provide Russia with two doors to Herat instead of one. But we need no' labour questions of this kind. If Russia were in occupation of Northern Persia, for how long could we keep her out of Seistan?

Could you erect a stable Persian Government in what is called the "neutral sphere"? Even if you could, which is very doubtful, you would have lost the weight of the Turkish factor,

and you would only be putting off the evil day. It is no doubt for these and analogous reasons that Lord Curzon in his book on Persia summed up the situation by declaring that the maintenance of the integrity and independence of Persia must be regarded as a cardinal article in our Imperial creed. I commend this phrase to those of his own party who are inclined to wink at present developments in Persia.

During the past few months, ultimatums to Persia have been raining in from Russia. Mr. Shuster, who was rapidly restoring order to the Persian finances, has been dismissed by order of Russia, and so has the Persian Parliament. It was agreed that Persian compliance should be promptly followed by the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Persia. The promise remains unfulfilled. But these proceedings have had the effect of opening the eyes of British public opinion, and they will not easily again become closed. As a result, the situation has grown slightly more easy, and the ex-Shah, whose operations were the prime cause of the present troubles, has been removed from the country. It is understood that our Government has notified that of Russia that we can never recognize him as Shah of Persia. If the Russian Government be really desirous of acting in a spirit of good faith towards us, how comes it that it does not join in this declaration? As co-signatory with ourselves of the Protocol of 1900, under which the ex-Shah was removed from the clutches of the Constitutional forces, and as responsible for his "escape" and return to Persia, the Russian Government must surely see that to persist in their ambiguous attitude towards the ex-Shah is not exactly the best way to allay British suspicions of Russian policy. Persia can never really settle down while the ex-Shah is held *in terrorem* over her head. As matters now stand, the future of Persia still hangs in the balance and that balance is held in the hands of her two powerful neighbours, who are engaged in the impossible task of thrashing out a common formula for the expression of opposite policies.

Certain conditions have been presented by both Powers to the Persian Government for acceptance in return for a small loan. They display little consideration for the Persian Government, and the rate of interest on the loan is 7 per cent. instead of 5 per cent., which was the interest on previous advances. Should they be accepted by the Persian Government without very close scrutiny, they may involve the destruction of Persian independence and the establishment of a Russian Protectorate. The Persian Government is asked to accept the Anglo-Russian convention and to make it the basis of their policy. What does this mean? If Persia was to be bound, the Persian Government should in the first instance have been made a party to the Convention. In what sense is that Government invited so late in the day to base its policy upon the Convention? The operative articles provide that neither Great Britain nor Russia are to seek concessions on their own behalf or *on behalf of third parties* in certain regions of Persia, and they are not to oppose one another in applying for such concessions in certain other regions. Is the Persian Government to accept the principle that third parties are to be ruled out in applications for concessions in these regions? If so, what is to become of existing Persian treaties with foreign countries, which provide most favourable treatment for the commerce and industry of those countries in Persia? Such is the question which at once suggests itself to any student of Persian affairs, and it requires an authoritative answer. Only by the acceptance of some form of protectorate, and by its recognition by the other countries concerned, can the Persian Government, it would seem, base its future policy upon a principle which would violate the rights and privileges of such countries in Persia.



Another condition is that the Persian Volunteers should be disbanded, and also the irregular troops, and that in their place should be organized a small, regular army. The Volunteers and the Bakhtiari levies have proved in the past to be the main supports of the Liberal party in Persia—the party which has given Persia her Constitution and her Parliament. Sir Edward Grey was asked in the House of Commons the other day whether the proposed new Persian army was to be officered by Russians. His reply was, "It may be." I very much doubt whether even the Russian Government would make such an absurd proposal. There is no analogy between the Persian regular army and the small brigade of Persian Cossacks which was organized under Russian officers as a kind of bodyguard in Teheran. The Persian regular army is entrusted with the custody of the frontiers; and has Sir Edward Grey so completely forgotten the interests of Turkey as to suggest that Russian officers should be employed on the Turkish frontier, while he himself has so jealously provided against their employment in the regions which adjoin the Indian frontier?—H. F. B. Lynch, in the *Atlantic Quarterly Review*.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Turkey is hurrying re-inforcements to Albania where revolt has broken out at Scutari and Ipek, and troops have sustained a reverse. It is feared that the Mirdites and other powerful clans will join the revolt.

Reuter wired from Constantinople.—The Albanians who are in revolt demand the same privileges as were granted to the Malissoiri in 1911, including the right to carry arms. It is reported that the revolt has spread to Diakova where the garrison has been attacked and surrounded and communications cut. Gendarmerie guardhouses in Milidite country have been burned. The authorities suspect the Italian secret agents but are confident that the force is sufficient to crush the revolt.

Reuter wired from Constantinople.—The work of removing mines from the Dardanelles has been suspended on the plea of unfavourable weather. The delay is disquieting to shipping circles and is making an impression in diplomatic quarters.

Reuter wired from St Petersburg.—A conference of the representatives of trade and the Ministry of Commerce came to the conclusion that free passage of the Dardanelles was not assured even in the future and decided to memorialise the Government urging the necessity of passage from the Black Sea for Russian trade and requesting that every means should be employed to secure the passage.

The work of clearing the Dardanelles is making satisfactory progress. It was expected that it would be completed on the 14th instant.

The Italians have occupied the islands of Caxo, Scrapanto, Fiscopi and Misera, and are sending troops to form garrisons there. The authorities have been made prisoners and have been sent to Italy.

Reuter wires from Rome.—The Italians have further captured the Islands of Kalismo, Lero and Patinoh. The Turkish authorities and officials have been taken on board warships.

The Italians are making extensive preparations for the administration of the recently captured islands. They have established a steamship service between Brindisi, Stampalia and Rhodes, and many police and other officials are already en route for the islands.

Mr. Smallwood, correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* with Turks, has been killed in a skirmish near Derna, Tripoli.

Reuter wires from Rome.—The Italians surprised the Arabs at Tobruk, driving them off and killing over a hundred. The Italian casualties were six.

Reuter wires from Constantinople.—The Chamber of Deputies cheered on a telegram being read from Enver Bey declaring that all the Turks in Tripoli were determined to resist to the end.

Reuter wires from Constantinople.—According to the latest official reports the search for the mines in the Dardanelles is completed and it is anticipated that the Straits will be opened on the 17th instant or on Saturday.

News by the English Mail.

Fresh detachments of Infantry, Bersaglieri and Engineers left Naples last night for Tripoli. The troops were everywhere received with enthusiasm. A crowd of 10,000 people assembled at the station and warmly cheered the men. The train left amid loud cheers for the Italian Army.—Reuter.

(FROM A "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Bon Giardano, April 23

The Italians have occupied an island opposite to Bu Kemmesh and also a house on the mainland by surprise. Only five Arabs were there.

They landed not less than 5,000 infantry, six guns and some cavalry, and seven transports have since arrived and are waiting to disembark. Their efforts to reconnoitre or advance have been repulsed by the Arabs.

The Turco-Arab force is rapidly increasing and awaits the Italian advance with full confidence. The Turks have both guns and cavalry and the situation looks like developing into the usual deadlock.

Meanwhile religious fanaticism and unrest are spreading throughout North Africa and the interior. Volunteers are flocking from vast distances to the Crescent. The Italians are teaching the Arabs that they are able to stand against one of the Great Powers. Italy is taking sleeping dogs that England and France must quiet later on.

Rome, April 23.

According to news from Tripoli the Italian troops entrenched at Bu Kemmesh were attacked to-day by the Turks. The battle lasted until 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the Italians finally claiming a complete victory. The Italians lost seven killed and about 70 wounded.—Reuter

[Bu Kemmesh is about 30 miles west of Zuara and about 100 miles west of Tripoli.]

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Athens, April 23.

According to an official despatch from Euboea an armoured cruiser with five torpedo boat destroyers put in at Karystos on Saturday morning. She was flying no flag and was towed by one of the destroyers. Some fishermen who approached state that the cruiser had a hole in her side, they were positive that the ship was Italian. In the afternoon the vessel left Karystos for Laurium, probably bound for Italy. It is supposed that the cruiser is the vessel which the Turks claim to have disabled during the bombardment of Kum Kaleh.

Rome, April 20.

The *Tribuna* yesterday, commenting on the Italian naval demonstration before the Dardanelles, says—

"The first impression which was to be gathered from the news was that the fleet was about to force the Dardanelles, but the aim of yesterday's action was not and could not be that. In the first place, it would be necessary to show the immediate utility of such an undertaking and to consider, in addition, that such an action would call for time and for systematic preparation which has not been carried out up to the present.

"The action had, however, other objects from the point of view of military policy which were completely attained. On the political side it was necessary to confirm in a tangible manner the denials already made by our Government to those who had affirmed that our liberty of action in certain seas, and notably in the Aegean, was placed under restraint. Our action yesterday showed that that was not true. We showed Turkey, in particular, that on such pillows people do not sleep peacefully. What we did yesterday we can, therefore, repeat to-morrow if circumstances should point to such action as advisable for the termination of the war. Among the innumerable false statements which Turkey has circulated among her people was included one stating that our fleet did not dare to appear in the Aegean. We have proved the contrary, while Turkey did not make good her boastings by bringing out her ships from their solitary refuge. Also, from the point of view of the Tripoli war, it was necessary to demonstrate that the traffic in contraband on the Turkish coasts can be punished on those coasts, while the cost of the war, which Turkey professes not to feel, can be there made very real."

"It was desired to show all this to the Young Turks, who proved that they had no means of resistance other than the closing of highways to the commerce of the world. That is what we do not desire, at least for the present. The Italian squadron will retire from the gates of Constantinople, of which, however, it has not taken final leave, but merely said *au revoir!*"

The following semi-official *communiqué* is published here.—

The statements contained in the interpellation of a Deputy in the Austrian Chamber as to the alleged assurances of the Italian Government that it would not extend the theatre of war to European territory are incorrect. The Italian Government has never declared that it wished to restrict the field of its warlike activity except as regards Adriatic and Ionian waters—seas where warlike action would have been contrary to Italian interests"—Reuter."

Rome, April 24.

The *Tribuna* publishes a telegram from Sofia of yesterday's date giving the contents of the reply of the Porte to the steps taken by the Powers with a view to securing a cessation of the Turko-Italian war.

"After thanking the Powers for the mission they had undertaken in accordance with the highest interests of European peace and Turkish civilization, the Porte affirms that nothing justified Italy's *ultimatum*. The Porte replied to the *ultimatum* in a pacific tone and in a manner which would permit of a cordial understanding and a useful discussion on the differences and incidents which had arisen. But without waiting for that, Italy issued a declaration of war. Turkey was sadly astonished by the official announcement of the sudden opening of hostilities because she was convinced that she could settle the matter by good will and by the concession of such of the demands put forward by Italy in Tripolitania as were compatible with the sacred rights of the Sultan, and especially because Italy was among the powers pledged to maintain the territorial integrity of .

Turkey. The righteousness of Turkey's cause in the war is therefore uncontested.

After emphasizing the fact that the Porte was subjected to and did not provoke the present state of affairs, the Note goes on to investigate the moral and political consequences of a voluntary cessation of hostilities, apart from the loss of military prestige which would be compromised by a withdrawal of the troops from Africa. The Porte cannot but reflect with affection and gratitude on the native populations of Libya, who have even attracted the attention of the Powers by the splendid example of loyalty and sacrifice which the Arab tribesmen have given, by hastening to fight with the Turkish Regular Army against the invaders. The devoted attachment at the price of their blood which they have exhibited for the Sultan and the Empire, the immense sacrifices which they have borne for so many months for the love of Turkey, and their hatred of the invaders ought to be taken into consideration by the Powers as an equitable reason why the Porte finds it impossible to abandon to the enemy so many thousands of subjects devoted to its sovereignty, while she has to her credit a determined army of considerable size, which gives her the right to call herself mistress of the country.

Continuing, the Porte refers to the feats of arms accomplished by Turkey's forces in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, declaring that the heroic resistance of the Turks, aided by the native population, has almost always put a check upon the advance of the enemy—an enemy stronger in numbers, possessing a powerful fleet, and using weapons infinitely superior to theirs. That shows that the Army of the invaders has not been successful in its military operations. Therefore, the invaders, finding it impossible to assure their supremacy by the operations in African territory, desired to extend their field of action, taking the extraordinary step of attacking and bombarding the Straits while the Porte was still giving its kindly consideration to the representations of the mediating Powers and while the labours of the new Constitutional Assembly of the Empire were being inaugurated. No Power desires peace more sincerely than Turkey, who is passing through a period of internal reorganization, but that desire cannot imply a renunciation of the fundamental rights constituting the basis of the Ottoman State. Turkey is honestly and sincerely appreciative of the Powers and endeavours to restore that tranquillity of which the Ottoman Government has need in order to continue to carry into effect for the good of the whole world its long programme of reform. The Porte declares itself ready to enter into negotiations on the bases of the maintenance of direct Ottoman sovereignty over Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. Turkey could only consent to negotiations on bases compatible with the existence of the Empire.

"The memorandum says that any solution not providing for the maintenance of the effective and integral rights of the Porte and the withdrawal of the Italian troops from Tripolitania is impossible. It repeats that the Porte is prepared to grant economic concession to Italy"—*Reuter*.

(THE TIMES.)

In the course of his Speech at the opening of the Turkish Parliament the Sultan made the following reference to the Commission which has been appointed to settle the question of the Turco-Persian frontier:

With a view to solving the frontier question between Our Government and the Persian Government, a mixed Commission has been appointed in order to ensure reciprocal rights in demarcating the respective spheres. We trust that an agreement will be reached within the prescribed time. If, however, contrary to our expectation, this agreement is not complete and certain points remain doubtful they will be referred to the Arbitration Tribunal at The Hague. The verdict delivered by this international Supreme Court, composed of the most eminent lawyers of all civilized countries, will naturally be respected.

With regard to the Salomka telegram published in the *Times* of 17th April, which stated that the court martial appointed to try the instigators of the massacres at Ishtib on 1st December had been disbanded without sentencing a single perpetrator of the outrages, we have received the following information from the Turkish Embassy:

"The court-martial has already sentenced more than 40 guilty persons to different penalties, varying from hard labour for life to 15 years imprisonment and other penalties. These sentences have already been ratified."

In view of the fact that certain Italian papers now accuse England of not being willing to force Turkey in the recognition of the *fait accompli*, the *Commentator* observes caustically—

When there is a *fait accompli*, it will be time enough to recognise it, but in spite of the glowing reports of the Italian victories, the truth leaks out from time to time, and we learn that Italy is by no means in possession even of the coast line. Not so long ago a troop of Grenadiers made a reconnaissance towards Zanzur. Whilst digging trenches the soldiers were attacked by Arabs on horseback. The Italian Press published an account of this affair as being most successful, there being only ten killed and thirty wounded, whereas

in reality, the soldiers were forced to abandon their shovels and pickaxes, twelve were killed, and sixty wounded—all shot in the back The bad feeling expressed in Italy can only be explained by the indecent haste in which they embarked on their campaign, without counting the cost, or realising the difficulties that beset their path. The idea of Italy taking upon herself the task of civilising the Arabs in Tripoli and Cyrenaica is ludicrous in the face of the facts that 52 per cent of the population in Southern Italy are illiterate, and that they began their campaign by a massacre of women and children.

The Dardanelles Adventure.

(FROM THE "DAILY CHRONICLE" CORRESPONDENT.)

Milan, April 21.

The very outspoken leading article which has appeared in the London *Times* with regard to Italy's naval activity in the Dardanelles has made a profound impression here. More so since the copious citations from that organ of British Conservative opinion in the Italian Nationalist Press from the date of the outbreak of the war with Turkey, had induced the Italian public to believe that this powerful journal was whole-heartedly espousing Italy's cause against the Turks.

The *Corriere Della Sera* characterises the *Times* article as stupefying, and adds "The *Times* sees only that British interests are threatened, but shows itself blind to the fact that the general interest calls for clear and decided action on Italy's part, and so put an end to the present uncertain situation. If England wants to exert action she must turn her attention to Turkey."

The *Morning Post*'s apologetic leader in Italy's favour, is on the other hand, reproduced with intense satisfaction and approval.

Italy is decidedly opposed to the proposal for an International Conference for the arbitration of her quarrel with Turkey, as she realises that such a course would spell compromise. There is a strong and widespread impression among the Italian public that the recent action at the entrance of the Dardanelles was intended to create a timely pretext for Russian intervention on the basis of an open violation of that Power's formal understanding with the Sublime Porte that the Dardanelles should never be closed under any circumstances whatever. It is moreover very generally argued that Italy would never risk single-handed the possible defeat of her troops at the hands of the Ottoman army in European Turkey, nor the probable loss of at least half her fleet in forcing a passage through the Dardanelles to Constantinople, and the only remaining hope of escape from the actual *impasse* is that of involving some other Great Power in the struggle against the Crescent.

The attitude of the foremost organs of the Nationalist Press has now become serio-comic, as they by turn pray and beseech Turkey, in view of her naval and financial limitations, to yield, then roundly abuse the Italian Government on the score of its lack of statesmanship and for bringing foreign ridicule on Italy by the precipitate flight from the Dardanelles.

These organs too are unsparing in their criticism of the conduct of the campaign in Libya (Tripoli), because 25 of Italy's picked Generals with an army estimated at 123,000 men have merely wrenched five miles of territory towards the hinterland from the Arabs in seven months' fighting. On the other hand, several leading Generals on the spot continue to publish their conviction that a march inland would be impolitic and perilous, very possibly disastrous.

(THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

The Berlin *Lokalausgeber* publishes an alarming telegram from its Vienna correspondent, saying that Italy had long been trying to obtain from Austria *carte blanche* on the subject of the Dardanelles, but that the late Count Ahrenthal flatly refused to give it, whereupon Italy promised to renounce the scheme of attacking the straits. Now that Italy (continues the correspondent) has revealed her intention of disregarding her previous engagement, Count Berchtold is determined to enforce it at all costs. The Austrian navy has been ordered to hold itself in readiness, and a Note has been drawn up in "language which goes to the uttermost limit of friendly representation," which will be immediately transmitted to the Italian Foreign Office should an attempt be made in earnest by the Italian navy to force the Dardanelles.

The *Lokalausgeber* is in Austrian matters generally very well informed, but the Berlin correspondent of the *Times* claims to be in a position to assert that its version of the state of diplomatic relations between Austria and Italy on the question of the bombardment of the Dardanelles is "absolutely inexact." Referring to Great Britain's action some three or four weeks ago in proposing to Italy the exclusion of the Aegean from the field of naval operations, the *Times* correspondent says that that action was not supported by Austria, which has an understanding with Italy about the Ionian Sea, but refuses to limit Italy's freedom in any other part of the Mediterranean. The writer asserts that the information published by the popular Berlin journal had for its sole aim to embitter the feelings of the Italians against Austria.

It is doubtful whether the correspondent of the *Temps* has any other authority for his statements than his own surmises. At any rate, it is interesting to note that the *Journal des Débats* finds itself justified in stating that "the Rome Cabinet addressed an inquiry to the Great Powers on the subject of a possible action in the Dardanelles, and all the Powers, with the exception, perhaps, of Russia, dissuaded her from undertaking it." The *Débats* makes this important statement in the course of a leading article, adding that "there is ground for believing that these objections were taken (by the Italian Government) into serious consideration."

While the *Débats* along with the majority of the other French papers, condemns the action of Italy as useless to her and dangerous to the peace of Europe, M Jaurès, writing in the *Humanité* brackets it with the latest events in Morocco and attacks Europe as morally responsible for the present humiliating and perilous state of affairs. "The ignominious comedy," he says, "which the Powers are enacting at Constantinople emphasises still more strongly the consequences of the Moroccan policy. To have delivered Tripoli to the cupidity of Italy and pushed her on to make an impudent attempt from which war was bound to ensue, and then to affect a Christian solicitude for peace—this is one of those pieces of hypocrisy which, even in these times of moral paralysis, revolt all consciences not yet entirely dead. The diplomats know well that their action can have no other effect than to furnish Italy with a pretext for enlarging the field of military operations." M Jaurès winds up by crying out "And thus the Moroccans are massacred, international law is outraged, Europe, having scarcely emerged from a formidable crisis, is threatened with a new one, and the moral force of France is debased."

The Story of the Dardanelles.

By H. SACHER

The Italian bombardment of the Dardanelles is not the first attempt in modern times of a fleet to force its way through the Straits to Constantinople. The Russian fleet made several attempts in 1770 under the command of Sir Samuel Greig, a Scotchman who had seen service under Hawke and won the title of Father of the Russian Navy. Nothing was effected because the Sultan had in the Chevalier Pott an excellent Engineer officer who fortified the entrance to the Dardanelles with great skill.

The only European fleet which has actually forced its way through the Dardanelles was the British squadron under Admiral Duckworth. At the end of 1806, Russian pressure drove the Sultan into the arms of Napoleon. The Emperor Alexander persuaded the British Government to send a fleet to compel Turkey to abandon the French alliance, and in February, 1807, Lord Collingwood was ordered to send a squadron under Sir John Duckworth to Constantinople. Sir John was an incompetent person and the expedition very nearly ended in complete disaster. There was no difficulty in forcing a passage through the Dardanelles, which were at this time hardly fortified, but trouble began when the ships lay before Constantinople.

Duckworth had received strict orders not to negotiate. He disobeyed them and precious time was wasted. Colonel Sebastiani, Napoleon's famous agent, roused the Turks to resistance, and under his direction, batteries were erected at every strategical point.

The Dardanelles are some fifty miles long, the maximum width of the channel is a little more than four miles, and it narrows down to a mile and a quarter, the shores are hilly, giving splendid stations for defensive batteries. A fleet which had to run the gauntlet would have a highly dangerous task, and it was this into which Duckworth allowed himself to drift. He waited for the completion of the Turkish preparations before on 1st March commencing the return journey. More by fortune than skill, he brought the squadron through with no greater loss than 300 men, and no attempt was made to repeat the enterprise.

Since then, until Thursday, no fleet has ever forced, or tried to force, its way through the Dardanelles, although on repeated occasions fleets have passed through without the consent of the Sultan, and in breach of international agreement. In 1833, when Mahomet Ali, the revolted Pasha of Egypt, threatened Constantinople, Russia sent a squadron to protect the Sultan's capital, and later in the same year the Russian Baltic fleet passed through the Straits into the Black Sea. In 1840, when Mahomet Ali again threatened Constantinople, the English fleet entered the Straits. In 1853, when Russia occupied the Principalities and before the declaration of war, the English and French fleets passed through the Dardanelles, and again in 1878, when the Russian army lay outside Constantinople, the British fleet was sent through the Straits.

It is very improbable that the passage could be forced by a fleet to-day. The Turks have had months in which to fortify the Straits, and what with modern guns, mines and submarines the long and narrow channel is probably impregnable. At the very least the Italian fleet would lose several ships. That is the opinion of prudent men in Italy. They realise that even if the Italian fleet

could force its way through it could not strike a vital blow which would compel Turkey to make peace. Constantinople may not be fortified and could not therefore be bombarded. In any event, a bombardment would merely cause loss of life and property. The Italians could not land and occupy the city. And even if they could they would be no nearer peace. The political reaction might, of course, be very considerable, but that, though disturbing to Europe, would not assist Italy. Against these very dubious advantages, Italy must set the very real probability of losing a large part of her fleet, and so surrendering for an indefinite period her chance of naval supremacy in the Adriatic or Eastern Mediterranean.

If in spite of the overwhelming arguments against action in the Dardanelles the Italian fleet has commenced operations, this is due to two forces—the growing discontent of the Italian people at the prolongation of the war and the agitation of the Jingo "Nationalist" Party, which made the war and sees its own bankruptcy ahead. There is one other probable force—Russian influence. Russia and Italy are peculiarly intimate just now, and Russia has the very highest interest in raising the question of the Dardanelles. It is not probable, however, that the Italian Government means to push the enterprise home. The idea is probably to do just enough to soothe the "discontented" in Italy and to give Russia a chance to raise the whole question of the status of the Dardanelles when the time comes to make peace.

The status of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus—the Bosphorus is the channel connecting Constantinople with the Black Sea, just as the Dardanelles connects the Sea of Marmora, and so Constantinople, which lies at the eastern end of the Sea of Marmora, with the Aegean is very peculiar. In fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Turks conquered all the territory round the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora, the Bosphorus, the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. All these waters were treated as strictly territorial waters. The Sultan for a long time permitted no foreign ship, war or merchant, to enter any of these waters. The French in the sixteenth century made a commercial treaty with the Sultan, but their merchant ship were not allowed to pass beyond Constantinople, for warships the prohibition remained absolutely. It was in 1700 that Peter the Great first made a lodgment on the coast of these southern waters by capturing Azof, but she was not allowed to put a ship upon the waters of the Black Sea. From this time the opening of a way through to the Mediterranean became a supreme object of Russian policy. Russian arms gradually conquered the northern shores of the Black Sea, and in 1774 the treaty of Kutchuk Kairadj gave Russia and all the other Powers the right to send their merchant ships through the Straits. From that time the full territorial sovereignty of the Sultan over these waters was at an end.

The Russians aimed at getting a free passage for their warships and they wanted this to be not a right common to all the Powers, but a Russian prerogative. In 1798 they imposed a treaty to that effect upon Turkey. According to this the Straits were to be open to Russian warships and closed to those of all other non-Turkish Powers. In 1803 this treaty was renewed, but French intervention brought it to an end. It was consequent upon this that the Duckworth expedition was sent. In 1809 England intervened decisively. As long ago as 1700 the British Government tried to keep Russia out of southern waters. Warned by the Russo-Turkish Treaty of 1805, the British Government made with Turkey, in 1808, a treaty under which the Sultan undertook to close the straits to the warships of all Powers. The treaty called this an "ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire." It was nothing of the kind, but England, with the assistance of France, made it a rule of international law. Russia, Prussia, Austria and France accepted it by signing the Convention of London of 1841, and it was embodied in the Treaty of Paris of 1856 and in the Convention of London in 1871. One of the main purposes of Russia in the war of 1877 was to get this rule overthrown, but England got it confirmed at the Congress of Berlin, and it governs the status of the Straits to-day. Russia, however, has never professed to like the rule, which practically excludes her as a maritime Power from the Mediterranean. In 1908, at the time of the Balkan crisis, Russia tried to get the Straits opened, and again last December, she will try again when peace is being made between Italy and Turkey. The question is of very great importance to this country, as will be explained in a subsequent article.—*The Daily News.*

Italy and the War.

(By THE "TIMES" MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.)

THOSE who have been watching the current of opinion in Italy, have been aware for some weeks past that a change in the plan of campaign was impending. This change has been brought about by a serious miscalculation in the original plan, which contained a wholly erroneous estimate of the probable attitude of the Arabs in North Africa. It was believed that when Italy had occupied the chief centres of population on the coast and had beaten the

Turkish Regulars, the Arabs would not be slow to forsake their allegiance to the Sultan and to welcome the Italians with open arms.

When this expectation proved to be false, the whole plan of campaign collapsed. We must not blame General Caneva or the Italian troops for not doing impossibilities. The Italian higher command may occasionally have appeared to us slow to take advantage of opportunities, and to have displayed at times a prudence which seemed exaggerated, but in the main it has been justified in refusing to pursue the mirages of the desert. The Italian Army was not equipped for a desert campaign, nor were the troops suited to the work. Objective there was none, or at least none that promised any decisive result if it were attained. A desert campaign meant long preparation, heavy cost, and much loss of life on the chance of success which was at best entirely problematical—considerations which should have been accorded more weight before the Decree of Annexation was launched.

When the writer pointed out these things early during the war and showed the extraordinary difficulties of desert warfare he was gently reprimanded by the Italian Press for want of faith in Italian arms. He was informed that the advance would be made by a combination of various measures, and an able critic, General Bompiani, hinted not obscurely in the *Corriere della Sera*, that the advance would take place last January or February, and that it would be "a classic example of the manner in which a desert campaign should be carried out."

January and February passed, not to speak of March. The campaigning season wore towards its end and nothing was done. We must do the Italians the justice to allow that they tried hard to prosecute the original plan so long as any hope of success remained. They poured troops into North Africa, hoping that the fortune of war or the exhaustion of the enemy would bring Italian Tripoli into the safe haven of an assured peace. At last it dawned upon the Italian Government that the war threatened to be interminable, and a conference of commanders was held in Rome, where doubtless it was discovered that the enemy's centre of gravity had neither been found nor struck. The extension of the war to the Aegean theatre was probably decided on at this moment and preparations were begun to act with vigour.

The first stroke in the Aegean naturally fell to the Italian Navy. Whatever other action might be determined on, it was necessary first of all to win and hold undisputed command at sea. However, inferior the Turkish Navy might be, it possessed some means of action and could not be ignored. It was necessary, as a preliminary to further action, to search thoroughly the European and Asiatic shores of Turkey in the Aegean, to examine the islands, and to interrupt as far as possible all communication between these islands and the mainland. This is the first and the simple task which the Italian Navy has successfully performed, and if in the course of it, some shots have been exchanged at long range with the outer forts of the Dardanelles, we shall see, as we examine the circumstances, that this was merely an episode in the clearing and reconnoitring task allotted to the Italian Fleet and was not premeditated in any way.

Very naturally and excusably, the Italian Naval Staff spread misleading reports in the Press. The First Squadron, it was said, was leaving Taranto to take the place of the Second Squadron, which was coming home for repairs after a six months' cruise. The School Division, it was added, was returning to Italy, after shepherding General Gariboni, in order—this was rather thin—to land specially for courses of instruction. The festivities prepared for the home-coming ships were also described in much detail, and, on the whole, the Press did its work very well and only failed to convince some hardened unbelievers who thought it strange that the future movements of Italian fleets should for the first time during the war be suddenly described with such touching candour.

The command of the Italian Navy has passed in turn from Admiral Aubry to Admiral Faravelli and then to Admiral Viale. The command has suffered from the strain of responsibility, and not improbably that good servant but bad master, wireless telegraphy, is largely accountable for the fact. But the Fleet itself is practically intact and has probably been maintained at a good standard of efficiency by the return home of ships for repair and rest on a regular roster. The Fleet is at present mainly composed of the First and Second Squadron, each divided into a battleship division and a cruiser division. A torpedo flotilla is attached to each Squadron. In the First Squadron are the battleships *Vittorio Emanuele*, *Regina Elena*, *Corna*, and *Napoli*, and the armoured cruisers *Pisa*, *Amalfi* and *San Marco*. This Squadron is under Admiral Viale's personal command. The Second Squadron is under Admiral Amero d'Aste, and is made up of the battleships *Regina Margherita*, *Benedetto Brin*, *Ammiraglio di St. Bon*, and *Emanuele Filiberto*, with the armoured cruisers *Giuseppe Garibaldi*, *Varese*, and *Francesco Ferruccio*. The School Division is under Admiral Borea-Ricci and has in it the old battleships *Sicilia Sardagna*, and *Umberto*—now more suitably described as protected cruisers—besides the cruisers *Carlo Alberto* and *Marco Polo*, and a torpedo

flotilla. The Duke of the Abruzzi in the *Vettore Pisano* commands a division of 24 destroyers and torpedo-boats. Lastly, in the Red Sea are the cruisers *Piemonte*, *Puglia Ligure*, and *Calabria*, with a few smaller vessels and torpedo craft.

Of these various fractions of the Italian Navy, the School Division has not yet been accounted for, but probably remains off the coast of North Africa to support the Army and to act as a reserve. The Red Sea division has not apparently moved. The blockade of the North African littoral is carried out mainly by auxiliary cruisers and torpedo boats. All the rest of the Navy is, or has recently been, in the Aegean, and at a rough calculation should number eight of the best modern Italian battleships in commission, six armoured cruisers, and 36 destroyers and torpedo boats. Including auxiliary cruisers there are or have been, certainly not less than 60 Italian ships in the Aegean. An examination of a list of the Italian Navy shows that practically all the important ships are accounted for, and it is highly creditable to the Italian Navy and Italian yards that this can be said after six months of cruising and no safe bases in North Africa.

It will have been noticed by those who study the telegrams that the presence of Italian ships has been reported simultaneously from many points in the Aegean, and it is probably true that to each squadron and each division has been allotted for reconnoitring purposes a definite area of the coasts and islands. To the First Squadron and the Duke of the Abruzzi's destroyers has probably been allotted the northern part of the sea from the Gulf of Enos to Mitylene, and to the Second Division the remainder of the Turkish coast of Asia Minor and the islands as far south as Rhodes. Salonika is apparently being left severely alone. The main strength was naturally in the north, because the Turkish fleet was known to be anchored within the Dardanelles, and it was part of Admiral Viale's plan to coax it out into the open sea if it would come.

The First Squadron left Taranto on 15 April, and on the night of 17-18 April cut the cables connecting Lemnos and Imbros with the mainland. The Duke of the Abruzzi's destroyers had meanwhile ranged right up to the Maritsa in the Bay of Enos, and by 6.30 A.M. on the morning of the 18th, these forces reunited at a rendezvous out of sight of land in the Gulf of Syros and made for the mouth of the Dardanelles. In order to draw the Turkish Fleet, the *Pisa* and *Amalfi*, belonging to Rear-Admiral Presbitero's cruiser division of the First Squadron, were sent ahead to demonstrate against the Turkish forts at Seddul Bahar and Kum Kale, and to lure the Turkish fleet into blue water, where Admiral Viale hoped to fall upon it. A Turkish destroyer showed herself at the mouth of the Straits and when this news was reported by the cruisers two battleships of the First Squadron were sent in to support the two cruisers in case the Turkish fleet should appear. These two battleships had not come within sight of the Straits when the Turkish forts opened fire against Presbitero's ships, then about 7,000 to 8,000 yards distant, but without effect, as the shells fell short. The Turkish destroyer now put about and made the best of her way home. The Turkish fire grew hotter, and at 11 A.M. the Italian ships, as the official report says, were "constrained to reply." They claim to have silenced the Turkish batteries and the Turks claim to have damaged an Italian ship, but as neither side admits the claim of the other, we can only conclude that not much harm was done. According to Italian reports from Athens, Admiral Viale steamed to the northward of the Galatoli Peninsula after the exchange of shots; but according to the Italian official report from Rome, *la forza navale, avendo raggiunto i suoi obiettivi, è in rotta per l'Italia*, a statement which conflicts with the information given by the Foreign Office to Lloyd's, and with the subsequent occupation of Stampalia. It may be true, however, that some battleships have returned to Taranto, for the battleship strength is needless large.

Meanwhile, the Second Division of the Second Squadron under Rear-Admiral Thaon di Revel, accompanied by some auxiliary cruisers, reached a point between Rhodes City and the Gulf of Makri at dawn on 18 April, cut the cable, and after visiting Marmaris and the Gulf of Kos, captured a yacht belonging to His Highness the Khedive in the Gulf of Makri. The proceedings of the battleship division of the Second Squadron are not yet reported, but it is probably this division that bombarded Samos, and it is not improbable that it looked into the Gulf of Smyrna. Vathy, in the Island of Samos, was bombarded without previous notice by a battleship which was accompanied by a torpedo boat. The barracks were knocked about and some earthworks, mistaken for fortifications, received some attentions. The Turkish garrison, 1,000 strong, retired into the interior of the island. News from Mitylene there is practically none.

At a subsequent date, not yet named, an Italian naval division occupied the island of Stampalia. This island, the ancient Astypalaea, lies between the Turkish island of Kos and the Greek island of Anaphi in the southern part of the Aegean Sea. It consists of two large and elevated masses joined by an isthmus. It is about 14 miles long, and its highest point is 1,000 feet above the sea. There are deep bights on both sides of the isthmus, and, as much of the coast is steep-to, ships can approach close to land. The Greek population numbers 2,500 souls, of whom 7,500

reside at Stampalia Town on the east coast of the southern part of the island. The island has obviously been occupied to serve as a temporary base for the Italian Fleet.

If we had contemplated a campaign in the Aegean against Turkey and with Italian naval means, we should probably have acted very much as the Italians have done, although we might have preferred a base—the Bay of Muros in Lemnos or that of Kalloni in Mitylene—better fitted for controlling the Dardanelles. The question is what the Italians will do next. We cannot suppose that action will end here, for it is puerile to ring the bell at the door of the Dardanelles and then run away. So far as it has gone the naval action in the Aegean cannot be expected to exercise any serious influence on the course of the war, and it must be noticed that the official report of the return of the Fleet at once caused violent criticism in Italy. The peninsula is in a state of exultation and is just now capable of doing anything. Italy plumes herself in the belief that she is acting in the highest moral and material interests of Europe, and even the staid Ministerial *Tribuna* talks of "striking the enemy to the heart," and declares that oggi l'Italia riprende la sua antica e più gloriosa tradizione.

People who want to strike Turkey to the heart, have got their work cut out for them, because Turkey is a powerful military Empire and her Moslem soldiers are brave and warlike. The object can be attained by forcing the Dardanelles and appearing before Constantinople, or by landing an army to beat the Turks, or by combined operations on sea and land, with or without allies. These alternatives deserve a little preliminary investigation.

It is questionable whether the Italian Navy will be in any hurry to try and force the Dardanelles, and it is still more questionable whether a country so dependent for security upon its Navy, would risk the almost certain losses of such an operation. The Turkish guns may not all be up to date, their gunners may not be trained up to the high standard required in this branch of the art of war, the batteries may be exposed to sharpnel attack, and battleships might hope to overcome the forts in turn by standing off and engaging them at ranges at which the Turkish guns would be comparatively innocuous. With a fleet to spare the thing might be done. But the Narrows are a nasty place, the line of batteries, high and low, is almost continuous, it would be difficult to sweep for mines under a close and severe fire, the Turkish ships anchored above the mine field will have to be dealt with, while contact mines linked together and let loose down a 3-knot current would be uncommonly difficult to send off. We should certainly expect heavy losses in our attack, and we should be justified in seeking a means to avoid them.

An alternative would be to bring not less than 150,000 men to the Aegean, to land them on the northern shore of the Gallipoli Peninsula, to defeat the Turkish Army Corps now encamped there, to occupy the Sular lines, and to attack the forts in the Strait from the rear, turning their guns against the batteries on the Asia Minor shore, and clearing the way for the Fleet. This is a pretty enough plan on paper, and the landing would be covered by the guns of the Fleet, but the 30,000 Turks of the local garrison would take some turning out, and they could be heavily reinforced. It has yet to be proved that the Italian Army is capable of conducting an operation of this magnitude without allies.

Can Italy find allies? The knowledge that 1,50,000 Italians were ready to attack the Turks and Constantinople would be a tremendous temptation to the Balkan States, all of whom covet one part of Turkey or another, even if several of them covet the same parts. This is the real danger of the situation. Every body knows that it is, and Italy is taking advantage of the fact. We may think it odious of Italy to bring the match to the powder, but belligerents have their rights and must in justice to their cause do what offers to the best chance of success. This war has always been dangerous, and things will probably be worse before they are better.

The Real Situation in Tripoli.

(Specially Translated for the "Comrade")

(FROM THE "JEUNE TURC" OF 11TH APRIL 1912.)

OUR friend Abdel Kader Hamza, Chief Editor of the *Al-Akaly* has just interviewed Edham Pasha, the Commandant of the Turkish Forces in front of Tobruk. Edham Pasha has completed his voyage to Alexandria and will leave for Constantinople very shortly. It is on account of an ailment which became serious in Cyrenaica that Edham Pasha, who is an old man of 60, has been obliged to quit the theatre of hostilities.

"What is the situation of the Ottoman combatants to-day?"

"The condition of the Ottoman Forces is satisfactory beyond your expectations, and what makes the situation of our troops most the fact of the Italians venturing out of their trenches only very rarely. The greater part of the arms and ammunition which our men are using has been captured from the enemy. I may mention for instance that a Bedouin named Moptmonah of the tribe

of Ben Mariam killed five of his adversaries in an encounter and returned with five rifles. Such instances of the bravery of our troops speak for themselves."

"Did you experience any difficulty in getting the tribes together at the commencement of hostilities?"

"I arrived in Cyrenaica a few days after the declaration of war and I am one of those who have brought the Bedouin tribes together. I have the greatest pleasure in telling you that the Arabs did not need to be called by us, they came to us, willingly and gladly determined to fight the aggressors."

"What was the number of Ottoman regulars in Tripolitania at the time of the declaration of war?"

"It did not exceed ten thousand men at the most. Just now there are on the Derna-Benghazi-Tobruk line 40,000 regulars on an average, i.e., those Arabs who have undergone a military training since the commencement of hostilities and have been enrolled in the ranks of Turkish regulars. In case of emergency this number can be increased to 60,000 by calling for men from the interior. In this number I do not include the volunteers who arrive by hundreds every day."

"Has the Arab enthusiasm for the war diminished in any way after five months of the struggle?"

"I found that their enthusiasm had increased to such an extent that they wished to assume the offensive every instant and we were obliged to restrain them from exposing themselves to fruitless dangers."

"What news could you give me concerning the Senoussi?"

"All the Senoussi tribes are in accord with the Tripolitan Arabs and the Turks in defending the Khilafat and the Fatherland to the last drop of their blood."

"Have the Senoussi tribes arrived on the field of battle?"

"Many tribes have arrived in the environments of Derna and Benghazi. As for Sheikh El Senoussi El Syed Ahman El Sherif, he is at El Kufra at present. We have had negotiations with him and sent to him exactly twenty-eight days ago the camels, etc., necessary for his journey. He will probably arrive at the Camp at Derna in thirty-five days to meet Enver Bey, the Chief of all the Forces in Cyrenaica, and to devise measures in concert with him. He will take up his residence near the Camp. He has just given orders to all the tribes depending on him to rise for the war and fight on the side of the Ottomans, threatening those refusing to do so with expulsion from his sect."

"Did you, too, supervise the military education of the Arabs?"

"The Arabs are born warriors and we do not find the slightest difficulty in initiating them into the methods of modern warfare. We find in them inborn intelligence and disposition which make one think that they have just come from a military school. Most of them seek the officers of their own accord to learn from them the secrets of the handling of the arms and of the service in the field."

"What was the situation when you arrived at Derna?"

"The situation was not particularly bright. The Italians had occupied Derna, Benghazi and Tobruk, the governors of these places had left for the interior and the tribes occupied entrenched positions on the mountains. Then Enver Bey arrived at Derna and met me. We embraced and without losing a moment conferred, though there were not with us more than eight persons altogether. We decided that Enver Bey should remain at Derna and I go to Tobruk. Either of us raised a standard and entered the hinterland to visit the tribes and call them to the war. To our call they responded and in a brief space of time we succeeded in bringing together our forces which had stopped and still stop the advance of the Italians. Amongst the Chiefs who displayed the greatest enthusiasm was Sheikh El Mabri, Chief of the Ben Mariam tribe, who has just met with his death on the field of honour."

"How do the Arabs get on with Enver Bey?"

"The Arabs love him from the bottom of their hearts because he treats them with the greatest consideration and also because they know that he is related to the Sultan's family. To attach the Arabs still more to him he has entered the Senoussi sect itself and has become one of the religious lieutenants of the Great Sheikh. On his arrival at Derna Enver Bey did not know a word of Arabic, while to-day he speaks it very fluently."

"Have the Arabs had any news of the peace negotiations and what are their sentiments in this connection?"

"The Chiefs of the tribes came to me one night in great haste and woke me up. They were very displeased and one could see on their countenances signs of intense anxiety. I asked them what had agitated them so much and they answered that they had just heard that an armistice had been declared. I assured them that the news was untrue and the signs of their anxiety immediately disappeared. They told me that they would never like to hear of an armistice or of any other thing, they wanted to fight to the last man, the last infant and the last woman. When there is no one living in the country, Italy can take Tripolitania 'but,' said they, 'God will not permit this.' This is the sentiment of all the Arabs without any exception."

"Can the Arabs continue the struggle for a long time?"

"I do not doubt that they could carry on the war as long as they need to—for one or two years or even more."

"Have the Italian aeroplanes caused any damage in the Ottoman camp?"

"The aeroplanes come to us very often, but with insignificant result. One day an aeroplane spied my tent on account of the flags near it and dropped a bomb which fell at 30 or 40 metres distance and buried itself in the sand without exploding."

"What is the state of general security of the country in these troubled times?"

"The Arabs are very sincere in their ideas about this war and this sincerity has produced a sentiment of solidarity, so that there is no need of police or of soldiers to ensure the tranquillity of the country. Of this I must give you an instance. A caravan unescorted by soldiers and carrying 20,000 pounds in gold succeeded in reaching Derna from Sollum without in the least being molested on the way."

"What effect has the war had on the agriculture of the country?"

"By God's grace the harvest this year has been very much better than that of the past years. We have divided the population into two parts, one part is occupied in the war, and the other attends to the work in the fields. We have established a sort of rotation of services, which gives us refreshed soldiers for fighting purposes and allows those who have been campaigning to return to their fields and live the life of agriculturists. We have made the women understand that they should occupy themselves with agriculture and now they help the men. All things considered, the war one can say, has had no direct effect on agriculture."

"What news could you give us about the Egyptian Commander, Aziz Bey?"

"He is one of our good officers, and is just now Commandant of troops at Benghazi. He has exhibited splendid bravery in all the interesting battles that have taken place recently."

"It appears that in the recent encounter you have captured much ammunition?"

"The ammunition we captured was sold in a public market which remained open for ten days."

"Have the Crescent Missions done their work satisfactorily?"

"Oh, yes, and allow me here to express my gratfulness to the Egyptians for their humanitarian action. They have rendered the most remarkable service to their brothers who are fighting in the Tripolitaine and are most grateful for it."

"Why did you leave Tobruk, General?"

"I suffered from rheumatism from before the declaration of war. Since then I have paid no attention to my ailment and have traversed Tripolitaine from one end to the other because I had the conviction that the Fatherland needed my services. I have passed the time in spite of my sufferings in participating in the war on the one hand and on the other in organising the Arabs and obtaining ammunition for them. Thank God I have accomplished my wishes. When I found that the situation could give me some respite for recuperation, I selected Kvingam Mohamed Nazim Bey to fill my place. He is one of the best and bravest officers of my camp and I have absolute confidence in him."

Mahmud Shevket Pasha on the War.

(FROM THE "DAILY CHRONICLE" CORRESPONDENT.)
Constantinople, April 14.

It was in the lofty, spacious rooms of the Seraskeriat (War Office) on the third hill of old Stamboul, where I was received in a most courteous manner by the War Minister Mahmud Shevket Pasha, whose words I have briefly telegraphed to you. Of all the statesmen of modern Turkey he is the most remarkable figure. It is not too much to say that without him there would have been no Ottoman revolution, no Constitution, no development on liberal lines of progress. The whole Ottoman nation looks up to him as their beloved hero, leader and saviour from oppression and ruin.

"I am but a humble, faithful soldier of my fatherland (said Shevket Pasha), ready to serve it to my last breath, but if my Government had dealt with another country in so dastardly a way as Italy has dealt with us, I would flee my land in shame and horror. There is no peace in sight, and each day, each additional hour of the agony of conflict will be recorded by history as an ineffaceable stain upon the national conscience of Italy."

"The more so as we are perfectly willing to grant to her any concession, any demand that is in keeping with our dignity as an awakening Power, and with the prerogatives of our beloved Padishah and Khalif. We are perfectly prepared, for instance, to leave to Italy the entire commercial and financial development of both Tripoli and Cyrenaica. This would be of enormous advantage to Italy. Instead of spending her millions on war, she could utilise them to make any improvement on the lines of development which she deemed best. We could make in this direction any amount of reasonable grants. But unfortunately for the world, Italy is completely blinded as to her own true interests and sticks to the word 'annexation' with that fatal fanaticism which has often proved the ruin of a nation."

"What does Italy seek in Tripoli? It is a dry barren Arab country, absolutely useless to her. It will be a perpetual source of trouble and vexation to her. At the end it will prove her ruin. But I say she is blinded and there is no genius, it seems, to enlighten her."

"You will admit that we cannot give up the sovereign rights of our Sultan over a great part of our Empire, which is essentially Moslem. It would be different with, for instance, Albania or Macedonia, or Crete, with their heterogeneous, international population, although we are ready to defend these, too, with our last drop of blood. The more so shall we fight for Tripoli. It is almost exclusively Arab. And I am an Arab. Shame on Italy, on anybody suggesting that we should acquiesce in Italy's annexation of Tripoli."

"The extension of hostilities is quite likely to occur. Italy has given evidence of her spasmodic mode of action. She might again make some dastardly and desperate move. We expect it and are prepared to meet every eventuality. Personally I am rather eager to know what she is going to do now. It interests me enormously from a strategical and technical point of view. The world will yet have some lessons in warfare. Perhaps it is the sentiment of a soldier that speaks in me."

"The forcing of the Dardanelles? I am really interested to know how that could be done. It will open up an altogether new situation and the lesson will be extremely instructive. Do you not see? It will not be fleet against fleet, but sea against land, fleet against fortress, dreadnought against mine. Singularly interesting, indeed, to watch the result!"

There was an air of irony in the last words of the War Minister. He continued.—

"The 36 miles of the Dardanelles are exceedingly well provided with hundreds of submarine mines of every variety and description. I have inspected the fortifications myself, and I find everything in perfect order. Let the Italians come!"

"The meeting of the Chamber of Deputies will in no way affect the course of the War. All the representatives of our nation are unanimously for the continuation of hostilities as long as there is no willingness on the part of Italy to discuss terms of peace on the basis of the Sultan's sovereignty—complete and unconditional sovereignty—in Tripoli and Cyrenaica."

As I left the War Minister I met, on the plateau of the Seraskeriat, a whole regiment of soldiers performing their daily exercises under well trained officers. One could not help admiring their admirable bearing, their strong, steady arms, their tall, sturdy figures, and I remembered Mahmoud Shevket Pasha's ironical words: "Let the Italians come! Let them meet us in an honest battle!"

Kiamil Pasha on the War.

MR M. H. DONOHUE writes to the *Daily Chronicle* from Constantinople, on April 11th.—

His Highness received me at his kiosk, on the outskirts of Stamboul. The house is surrounded by a large garden. It is an oasis in a desert of desolation, since it happens to be one of the few houses in this part of Stamboul which the recent fire left undestroyed. Kiamil Pasha had just returned from Egypt, where he had passed the entire winter. On his way to and from the Durbar, their Majesties received him on board the Royal yacht when it touched at Port Said.

Despite his advanced years, I found His Highness to be the possessor of a remarkable degree of mental and physical vigour. There are political prophets in Stamboul who believe that Kiamil will for a second time be called upon to fill a very high office of state.

The Italian statesman, after inviting me to sit beside him on the divan, expressed his deep appreciation of the signal honour conferred upon him by the King and Queen. "I had a long talk with the King," said he, "and as an old man and one who has seen a great deal, I think your King is a very able man, possessing an extraordinary grasp of international affairs and a keen, critical judgment of men and things." Kiamal Pasha's thoughts next turned to the war.

"I will tell you what I think of it," he declared emphatically. "It is a misfortune for Turkey, but it is a much greater misfortune for Italy." While his Highness it transpired, does not always see eye to eye with the Committee of Union and Progress, he did this body the credit of saying that in refusing to discuss the Italian peace conditions, the members of the committee, who, of course, stand for the Government, had deserved well of their country.

"The war," he continued, "as far as I can judge, is likely to continue indefinitely unless Italy recovers her reason, which she appears to have lost temporarily. The struggle is, financially speaking, costing Turkey little, but it is becoming ruinous to Italy and in the end she is much more likely to sue for peace than we are." "Of course," he continued, "it would be different if Italy were to attempt to carry the war into European Turkey. Then she would speedily learn that we had an Army at our backs, the struggle would soon be decided if we were to meet on land, and unless I am grossly over-estimating the efficiency, organisation and courage of the Turkish Army, Turkey would be able to impose her will upon Italy."

The decree of annexation, His Highness asserted, was well worthy of the nation which had produced so much excellent comic opera, and of so diverting a kind. "Why did not the Italian Government," he said, "when about it, annex Constantinople too? It would have been equally logical. In my opinion it will take Italy at least 20 years to make any impression upon the hinterland of Tripoli. In the meantime much may happen. No Turkish Government could possibly ask our Parliament to vote away a Turkish province. The members of the Cabinet that proposed such a measure of national humiliation would be lynched by the justly indignant people. Even were we to vote away Tripoli to-morrow, we could not, by a simple Act of Parliament, compel the Arabs to cease hostilities."

"We hear a great deal about the friendly intervention of certain of the Powers, but Italian statesmen must surely realise the impossibility of any combination of nations coercing Turkey into the accepting of peace which she does not seek and which contains conditions humiliating to her as a nation. If the Italians believe we are incapable of offensive action and that Turkey is at their mercy, why do they not come to Constantinople and present their peace proposals here?"

"There is another thing," added His Highness in conclusion, "which Italy has apparently overlooked, it is this with us the cession of Tripoli is a question involving something much greater than the mere loss of the territory involved. It would mean the end of the spiritual rule of the Padishah the recognised head of Islamism. The Arabs would rightly enough tax the Sultan with treason in delivering them into the hands of a foreign Power. Our prestige in the eyes of the whole Moslem world would be lost, it would probably mean the restoration of the Arab Khalifate, the disruption of the Turkish Empire—in short, the beginning of the end. Therefore, and even with the sword at our throat, we will never yield. The sooner Italy realises this and approaches us in a more reasonable and more conciliatory spirit, the sooner will peace reign again in Europe."

The War in Tripoli : an Ultimate Solution.

(By EX-DIPLOMATICUS.)

The Italian nation continues to be a cause of mirth to Europe, of mirth mingled with contempt, and rising anger, too, especially in France, where the spectacle of a huge European army playing the coward in North Africa and afraid to face a handful of Turks and Arabs in open field excites disgust and apprehension. It is beginning to be felt that the Italian tomfoolery at Tripoli, where all the paraphernalia of modern warfare is boastfully paraded, but the essential element of success, physical courage, is so conspicuously absent, has compromised the dignity of Christendom and is lowering Western prestige. Italy is making all the European nations ridiculous, and neither French nor English imperialism can pretend to be pleased at it. Hence the absurd explanations we see in our London jingo Press at the Italian invasion at Asy Zara and in the Cyrenaica, where every reason is suggested for the military failure except the true one, namely, that the Italian conscript is a mere poltroon and cannot be got to fire his gun where bullets are flying or an armed enemy has to anywhere in sight. As a fighting man, the Southern

Italian of to-day seems to stand on a lower level even than the modern Hellene. The Greek army, when it made war on Turkey ten years ago, advanced into Thessaly and fought a battle or two in the open before it ran away, the Italian army refuses to advance at all outside the protection of its ship or to strike an open blow except at women.

Diplomatically, too, the Italian fiasco has been complete. Its latest manoeuvre has been the agreement come to with the Russian Government to make a joint naval attack on Constantinople, the one by the Dardanelles, the other by the Bosphorus, but this has been rudely forbidden by the Central European Powers, which have no notion of allowing any further advance by Russia in the direction of European Turkey, and we now see Italian statesmanship reduced to the expedient of threatening this and that seaport with their fleet in the Levant, while all the world knows it to be mere stage thunder, on the off chance of frightening the Porte into granting terms of peace. There is not, however, the smallest chance either of intimidating the Ottoman Government or, we believe, of any serious attempt being made by the Italian fleet in the direction of Constantinople, now that the hope of Russian co-operation has had to be abandoned. I understand that when Kaiser Wilhelm met King Victor at Venice the other day he pointed out, knowing something of naval matters, how great would be the risk of an attempt to force a passage through the Dardanelles, and explained to his younger ally that the Italian fleet could not effect its purpose without such serious damage to the ships as to leave many of them crippled and all of them in need of repairs which they would find it impossible to make good, how at best the fleet inside the Sea of Marmora would soon be rendered helpless through lack of a local coal supply, and that it would be then obliged either to force its passage back to the Mediterranean, or in a short time to find itself immobilised and starved into surrender. The first condition of success against Constantinople would have to be the landing of an Army in European Turkey, where it would be at once confronted with a vastly superior Ottoman force to that in Tripoli, and once more stalemated. The Italian people may be empty headed enough to insist on such a *coup* being attempted, but it is inconceivable that the Government should entertain it, and still more so that it should succeed. The upshot of the affair will probably be that the Italian Government, after having spent a hundred or so more millions, will, before the end of the year, make up its mind to cut its loss, as Russia did in Manchuria eight years ago, and retire from North Africa with a flourish and a grimace, declaring, like the fox in the fable, that the grapes were sour and the game was not worth the candle.

Tripoli's ultimate fate it is difficult to conjecture. We know that there has been an intrigue between the British Government and certain personages at Constantinople to obtain for the Khedivate a reversion of the Cyrenaica. It is thought that such a solution would save the Sultan's dignity by leaving to him the overlordship of that district on the same terms as Egypt is held. The idea was part, I understand, of the intrigue conducted during the past winter through the ex-Vizier Kiamil Pasha, and it will probably be renewed when Italy finds she has had enough of her North African adventure. France would then perhaps claim Tripoli town and its hinterland as an addition to her protectorate of Tunis, and it is likely that the possibility of such a new *entente* has already been talked over at Paris. But this is not the same as the thing being done, and the Central Powers may well raise objection. Of course, . . . we could look forward to the evacuation of Egypt as still part of our Foreign Office programme, the addition of the Cyrenaica to the Khedive's Dominions would be a solution of the question, not the worst of the many that might be proposed. It might well be regarded by the Porte as a possible *pis aller*. England's honour, however, is at present a byword at Constantinople, and it will need much plainer assurance of good faith than can be expected of Sir Edward Grey to cause a patriotic Government to accept it even in that light. It is difficult not to foresee that a new conference of the Powers, signatories of the Treaty of Paris, will be needed for the final settlement of North-Eastern Africa, and that this, when it is summoned, will necessarily include Egypt as well as Tripoli in its purview. The thing looks far enough away to-day, but may not be found so a year or two years hence.

What is altogether satisfactory is that the intrigue, mainly directed by our Embassy at Constantinople, against the Committee of Union and Progress in connection with the Ottoman Parliamentary Election has completely failed, and with it the hope of disuniting the various sections of the Sultan's Muhammadan Empire. It is certain now that the Committee will be supported by a largely increased majority in the new Parliament, and that thus the necessary direction of affairs will remain in the hands of the only party capable of guiding the Empire in these troubled times without infringement of its constitutional liberties. What seems to be insufficiently understood in England is that as long as the war lasts the first duty of Ottoman patriotism is not to the Constitutional régime, however sacred that may be held, but to the protection of the Empire from foreign invasion.—*Egypt*.

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Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 21. Annex 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, May 25, 1912.

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The Week.

Anglo-Russian Relations.

There is increasing agitation, in Radical quarters in England against the sentence of four years penal servitude passed on the Englishwoman named Miss Malerka at Warsaw for consorting with revolutionaries. It is thought by some that the agitation will have a bearing on Anglo-Russian relations, which, according to the well-informed St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, have been already affected by the Persian imbroglio, Russia being disposed to support Salar-ed-Dowleh if he wins the throne, while England is diametrically opposed to such a course. Also by Russia's attitude towards the Turco-Italian war, Russia being supposedly desirous of mediating in favour of Italy, while France and England advocated complete impartiality. Meanwhile, reports of Russian mobilization in the Caucasus are renewed. Some surmise that Russia is striving after a rapprochement with Germany and that recent Italian action was designed with Russia's assent to draw in other powers. The attitude of Germany and Austria towards the situation are naturally also the subject of much conjecture.

At question time in the House of Commons on the 22nd instant Sir Edward Grey said he would publish a full report of the Muleika trial. Meanwhile he could only say that the report was to show that taking into account the character of the evi-

dence and the severity of the sentence, there was ground for a petition for mitigation. He understood that a petition would be presented. He hoped that the House would reserve discussion until the papers had been laid on the table of the House.

Britain and Germany

During a debate in the Reichstag on Germany's foreign policy references were made chiefly to England. Socialists declared that an understanding depended upon Germany alone, as England had repeatedly pronounced in favour of an *entente*. Conservatives and the centre, however, denied that Germany was responsible for England continuing to arm. They said that if England withdrew her claim regarding seizure at sea there would be no reason to increase the navy. Herr Von Kiderlen-Waechter said, it was erroneous to think that Germany was opposed to abolition of the right of seizure at sea. The English were always upheld as an example, but they rigorously insisted upon demands which fitted in with their policy.

Mr Lucien Wolf, writing in the *Daily Graphic*, says that Baron Marshall von Bieberstein's first task as Ambassador in London will be to place his signature to a revised version of the secret Anglo-German treaty of 1898 relating to the Portuguese Colonies. The treaty will then be published. Portuguese sovereignty and susceptibilities will be scrupulously respected but the treaty will emphasise Anglo-German interests regarding the tranquillity and progress of the Colonies outside British and German jurisdiction, south of the tenth parallel.

The *Daily Express* says that the Admiralty intends to meet the German naval programme by accelerating the current year's battleship construction by at least six months.

The German Colony in London gave a banquet in honour of Count Metternich, the retiring German Ambassador. In the course of a speech, Count Metternich said, "I gladly quit my position after years of work. It has not always been easy, sometimes it has been harassing. I retire the more willingly because I hand to my successor an easier task. The moment is auspicious, unless all signs are deceptive. An impulse towards reconciliation and peaceful neighbourliness is passing through two great peoples the English and the German. Here is a fruitful field for statesmanship. It was my task to prepare it, I hope it will be vouchsafed to my successor to see the ripening of the fruits."

Welsh Disestablishment.

Conservatives are jubilant at the reduction of the Government's majority to 81 in the division on the second reading of the Welsh Disestablishment Bill. Eighteen Ministerialists were absent unpaired while 75 Irish members voted with the Government.

Several well-known Non-conformist Liberals intimated to the Whips after the division that though they had voted for Disestablishment they were opposed to the disendowment clauses and they intended to form a group which would take action at the Committee stage.

In the course of the debate on the second reading of the Welsh Disestablishment Bill, Mr. Lloyd George made a notable speech in reply to an attack of Lord Hugh Cecil. The Chancellor

said that disestablishment, without disendowment, was ridiculous. The property bequeathed for the poor and sick and education had been annexed mostly by great families, one of the most discreditable records in the history of the country. He said he was bound to notice one specially offensive case.

The Duke of Devonshire, he went on, in a circular had applied for subscriptions to oppose this Bill, charging us with the robbery of God. Yet he knows that the foundations of his fortune are laid deep in sacrilege and built on desecrated shrines and pillaged altars. (Ministerial cheers and Unionist shouts of "Limehouse.")

Then followed a heated passage of arms between the Chancellor and Lord Hugh Cecil.

Mr. Lloyd George resumed: "The charge of theft against the nation should not be brought by those whose ancestors robbed the Church, robbed the monasteries, the altars, the almshouses, the poor, and the dead. Then they come here when we are trying to recover part of the pillaged property for the poor for whom it was originally given, and venture with their hands dripping with the fat of sacrifice to accuse us of the robbery of God."

Mr. Bonar Law replied and contrasted the lukewarmness of the speeches the English members of the Cabinet with those of the Welsh, referring especially to that of Mr. Lloyd George, whose attack on the Duke of Devonshire, he declared, was the most extraordinary thing ever heard in the House. Mr. Lloyd George had done something like it on the platform and now for the first time had given a sample on the floor of the House. Could anything be more unfair than to attack a man for what his ancestors did four centuries ago? It was beneath the level of the House.

In the course of the Welsh Disestablishment debate, the Government indicated their willingness to reconsider the details of disendowment during the Committee Stage.

Indian Railways.

In the course of his paper before the Society of Arts, Mr. Neville Priestly, Secretary of the Railway Board, said that owing to the contraction of the annual capital provided and the pressing needs of the existing lines, new construction was practically at a standstill, whereas a thousand miles yearly would not be too generous a programme. The conditions governing the provision of non-guaranteed funds had failed to attract the investing public. Whether the branch line terms of 1910 would be sufficiently attractive remains to be proved. They were undoubtedly conceived in a more practical and generous spirit than the previous rules, but if we continued to insist on such high standards of construction, they would also fail. The State itself was not justified in spending large sums on high standards, since the country could be served by cheaper lines. Capital would be forthcoming, if a businesslike proposition were treated in a businesslike way.

Sir Edgar Speyer, who presided, thought that the case of unduly substantial initial construction had been made out. He pointed out that in America, lines built lightly were being subsequently strengthened out of surplus revenues, otherwise the construction would have been much smaller. Regarding finance, he said the Government of India had been handicapped by the widening of authorised trustee stock and other general causes. He suggested that capital might be attracted if one of the successful lines were taken over entirely by a private company, which would probably be more elastic and more efficient in management than State concerns. If the results were satisfactory, branch and feeder lines would be provided and other companies would be encouraged to come along and build other lines. He confessed that Mr. Priestly's paper inclined him to give closer attention to Indian Railways than hitherto.

Mr. G. W. R. Forest, Sir J. D. Rees, Sir W. Lee Warner, Sir A. Arundel, Sir James Wilson and Sir M. M. Bhownagree also spoke Mesopotamia.

Messrs. JOHN JACKSON AND COMPANY have obtained a provisional contract for four millions sterling to complete another stage of Sir William Willcock's irrigation scheme in Mesopotamia, which will involve a total outlay of 30 millions sterling.

China.

The conference of the Chinese loan bankers in London has concluded for the present. It will be resumed at a later date, which has not yet been fixed. Some of the delegates are leaving England to confer with their principals.

Reuter learns that considerable progress has been made. The conference discussed the broad bases of Chinese finance, and the details of advances for the payment of troops.

The Austro Hungarian Foreign Office has applied to the "Six-Power" Governments to participate in the loan, but no Austro Hungarian delegate was present at the conference.

Reuter wires from Paris. —It is understood that it has been intimated that Austria's proposal with regard to her inclusion in the "Six-Power" group connected with the Chinese loan would make the scheme unworkable but that every facility would be offered to allow Austria to take part in the scheme financially.

In the House of Commons on the 22nd instant Sir Edward Gray, replying to Mr. Ginnell, said that Government would not

give diplomatic support to any loan which did not provide adequate guarantees for proper expenditure of the proceeds and satisfactory securities for payment of principal and interest. Government would refuse to approve any loan the conditions of which infringed the policy of the "open door" in Manchuria or Mongolia, as regarded British commerce.

Reuter wires from St. Petersburg:—A telegram from Peking states that in view of the disquieting situation in Kashgar, the Russian Minister has informed the Chinese Government that if the local authorities are unable to protect the lives and property of Russian subjects there Russia will be compelled to take measures in Tibet.

So far as information has been received the situation in Tibet is that the Chinese soldiery are now more or less surrounded by Tibetans in the southern part of Lhassa, their ammunition is nearly exhausted and they are in sore straits for supplies, depending largely for food on dead transport animals. As already stated, the attacking armed Tibetans number from 15,000 to 20,000. Many are armed with modern rifles and there is reason to suppose that the Chinese will be unable to hold out beyond the end of the month, and may come to terms earlier if the Tibetans are still prepared to come to an agreement.

The Dalai Lama's officials are very reticent as to news from Lhassa. The inference to be drawn from this is that things are not altogether favourable from a Tibetan point of view. Mr. Bell, the Political Officer, arrived here to-day to confer with the Dalai Lama. This may mark a new stage in the progress of events. As far as can be known fighting still seems to be going on in and around Lhassa.

Afghanistan.

A FRONTIER correspondent states that advanced parties of Afghan tribal levies have entered Khost. Regular troops are slowly following them. Trade between Kurram and Ghazni is said to have been suspended, owing to the rebellion in Khost, as there is no security for caravans using the usual route.

Russia.

THE political turmoil is becoming more acute. The Opposition has proclaimed a general strike in favour of universal suffrage. A huge demonstration of 50,000 people was held on the 23rd instant and a collision took place with the police. Many shots were fired and shop windows and street lamps destroyed. At noon two persons had been killed and 65 injured.

The Hindu University.

THE Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya has had a successful tour in Ajmer-Merwara in connection with the Hindu University scheme. The total subscriptions up to date from the district amount to over Rs. 50,000. Pandit Sukdeo Prasad, C.I.E., retired Minister of Marwar, has promised Rs. 10,000.

New Delhi.

Good progress is being made with the construction of the temporary offices and houses for the Government of India along the Alipore Road. The buildings are on the bungalow plan, and one of brick and the others of light but permanent material. The unhealthy Darya Ganj Cantonment is to be vacated next cold weather, in favour of the quarters in the old Cantonment site close to ridge.

The Press Act.

THE press at Amritsar, at which the *Vakil* is published, has been called upon to furnish a security of Rs. 1,000 by the District Magistrate.

Moslem Education in Madras.

THE Muslim Educational Conference of South India will be held at Bangalore on the 27th, 28th and 29th July at the invitation of the Mysore Mahomedan Central Association. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim has been elected president and a sub-committee has been appointed to arrange the draft programme for the Conference and special lecturers have been selected to tour round and popularise the objects of the Conference throughout the Presidency.

Mr. Montagu's Speech.

THE following resolution has been adopted by the Bengal Presidency Muslim League. "That the League views with alarm and surprise the remarks made by Mr. Montagu regarding the rights and position of the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal, particularly, and of India generally, and emphatically protest against such remarks which are based on ignorance or misconception of facts and that the League affirms that it is a mistake to suppose that Indian Mussalmans are not a homogeneous nationality, and that East Bengal Mussalman have little or no relation with those outside Bengal.

Similar resolutions have also been passed by the Punjab Moslem League, the Madras Moslem League and the Burma Moslem League.

TETE À TETE



WHEN we published on the 4th instant the contradiction sent to us by the Hon Messrs. Haque and Sinha about their "fugitive pilgrimage of assurance," we had stated that "our informant was no other than one or the two hon gentlemen who have so emphatically contradicted the statement." We had said on that occasion that "we do not publish the name nor the occasion—yet", but we had also stated that "we shall have to do it if pressed by our informant." When we wrote this we had some little hope that our informant would press us. For obvious reasons, however, we have been disappointed. But surely the *Biharie*, that could find nothing better than to chronicle all our sins in its sole leading articles, in three successive issues, in no less than eight and a half columns, and that had threatened us in the verse of a great Urdu poet,

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surely the *Biharie* could not remain tongue-tied. It had greatly encouraged us to build up tremendous expectations of a still more vituperative reply, comprising a whole week's output of Billingsgate literature, and spread over seventeen columns. When a whole week of silence was over, and we published on the 11th instant three letters, and confirmatory extracts from a fourth, giving the lie direct to the hon. pilgrims of Behar, we were certain of receiving, what the *Biharie* calls, another "contradiction pure and simple"—of course, under registered cover, and with "acknowledgment due". Our contemporary, the *Patrika*, had devoted a whole leading article to the subject, hoping that the hon. gentlemen "are likely to set the matter right by another contradiction". Another contemporary, the *Englishman*, referred to this "storm in a tea-cup", and was of opinion that the next letter of the hon. gentlemen to us would be interesting reading. Here were three Calcutta journals, of three different types and representing different sets of views, all agreeing in the expectation of another "favour" from the "fugitive pilgrims of assurance". Need we say we are terribly sick at heart, for the bore has been deterred too long? Like Hamlet, the hon. gentlemen seem to say, "The rest is silence." That may be, but silence need not be rest—if we can help it. We "pause for a reply"! Is it not strange that two eminent lawyers, who must have often and often tried to snatch a reply when none was due to them in a court of law, are now tongue-tied at the bar of the public? Be that as it may, there is a little green oasis of speech in this Sahara of silence. It is the private property of a Mr Shiweshwar Dayal, who would have us know that he is not only an M.A., but also a B.L. He writes to us and refers to the three correspondents who have "rushed forward" to contradict the contradiction of the Hon. Messrs Haque and Sinha. But may not "fools" rush in where these two Behar "angels" feared for four days to tread? Mr. Shiweshwar Dayal refers also to our "editorial skill in concealing the names" of these correspondents, and calls it "highly improper and objectionable". Well, there is some such thing as sport, and we should not like to kill a brace of Behar foxes after the very first gallop. We would give the Reynolds' another chance. If Mr. Shiweshwar Dayal,—M.A. and B.L.—would earn our gratitude, we trust he would induce Messrs Haque and Sinha to demand from us the particulars of "respectability and veracity" of our correspondents. Only two classes of persons are entitled to demand these details, our subscribers and the contradicted contraditors. Unlike Mr. Shiweshwar Dayal—we hope he will forgive us if we do not repeat his academic qualifications as often as he would like—none of our subscribers has attributed to us the desire of "clever and unscrupulous journalists"—of whom he has evidently considerable experience—namely, of "manufacturing corroborative correspondence." As for the hon. gentlemen—who possess the lion's share of what Mr. Shiveshwar

Dayal calls "the interest of all concerned"—they are evidently in no mood to ask for anything in their own interest but a safe hiding place. It is clearly a case of

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silent complainers, but a volatile witness. We may state that, in this instance, it is at our option whether the names of our correspondents should be published or not, and we prefer to be persuaded to disclose them by the grace of Imperial Councillors. Should they ask us to do so, by writing to us direct, or—preferably—through a court of law, we assure Mr. Shiweshwar Dayal, M.A., B.L., that we shall only jump at the opportunity. We have since learnt on the authority of other Imperial Councillors that the fraud was far more extensively advertised than we had believed, and so our witnesses will form a line that like that of Banquo's royal issue, would "stretch out to the crack of doom". We had erstwhile praised Behar as the Province where the lion and the lamb lie together. But who ever expected that they would lie in this manner?

EVIDENTLY a misunderstanding prevails about the last date on which formal application should be received for the "Hamdard" Debentures. In the prospectus published in our issue of 27th April last it was stated that "as it is of the

utmost importance that the *Hamdard* should commence its career as soon as possible, and the Press should be set up without delay, it is earnestly solicited that applications for Debentures, together with the amount of deposit, should be forwarded within two or three days of the receipt of this prospectus". In another place intending purchasers of the Debentures were invited to send their applications "as early as possible, but it is hoped, not later than 10th May next." From the enquiries of several intending purchasers it appears that they think the time for applying for the Debentures expired on the 10th instant. That, however, is not the case. Desiring to place orders for machinery, type, printing furniture, paper and printing accessories almost immediately, and to launch the paper with as little delay as possible, those who had informally expressed their intention of buying the Debentures were requested to send the applications without any avoidable delay. It was hoped that this would be done by the 10th May, though it was naturally impossible to fix any date, for all the available Debentures could have possibly been subscribed for before that date, or many could have remained unsold even after it. On account of a misunderstanding about the last date, a good many Debentures are still available. Considering that nearly 650 different persons informally applied for no less than 1,500 Debentures, it is unthinkable that the 3,500 Debentures, which it has been decided to issue should remain unsold for long. To a great extent the misunderstanding about the last date for applying has been responsible for the delay; no doubt some of the intending purchasers have been waiting for a reminder, for there is something in the atmospheric condition of India which makes people put off till to-morrow or even the day after what they can and should do to day. Reminders are, however, now being posted, but if only our readers knew that the mere postage of so many reminders costs us a small fortune, not to mention the labour of the clerical staff and the expenditure of stationery and the printing bill, we are sure they would not wait to be reminded. We would therefore earnestly request such of them as have promised to purchase a number of Debentures and have not yet sent in the formal application duly filled in (with a deposit of Rs. 5 for each Debenture) to do so without further delay. Nearly a month has already passed since the prospectus was issued, and although the response has been very hopeful, there is yet a deficiency to make up. We trust in another fortnight not a single Debenture would be left available for sale; for if the *Comrade* is to have its own Press, as the first step towards a reduction of subscription, and if the *Hamdard* must be launched well in advance of the Government of India's advent in the new Capital, the order for the Press must be placed with the suppliers in England and Turkey at the latest by the 15th of June. But unless we have in hand Rs. 17,500 as deposit, we shall not be able to do so, and delay is as much undesirable in the interest of our readers as in our own.

IN AN April issue of our well-known Egyptian contemporary, *Almanar*, a brief account was given of the Egypt and India. reception that was accorded in Bombay to Syed Rashid Raza Effendi, the learned Editor of *Almanar*, on his way to Lucknow, where he had come at the invitation of the "Nadwah" to preside at its last annual

session. The correspondent of our contemporary expressed the hope that the visit of the famous Egyptian scholar would lead to the growth of closer relations between India and Egypt in matters religious and educational. The hope, which we too in India as fervently shared, has been realised as far as one such visit goes. The learned visitor was received everywhere with great enthusiasm. His addresses at the "Nadwah," the Aligarh College and the Deoband Madrasa were listened to by crowded audiences with rapt attention. The fame of Syed Rashid Raza as a great educational and religious reformer had preceded him to this country. It is unfortunately true, as some of our Egyptian contemporaries have observed, that the knowledge of Arabic is confined to a few amongst the Indian Mussalmans, and consequently the number of those who can follow the developments of the Egyptian reform movement with intelligent interest is limited. Fortunately, however, it is also true that, though an overwhelming majority even of the Mussalmans who have received modern education is ignorant of the sacred language of Islam, they feel an ever-widening interest in the affairs of the whole Islamic world and try to keep themselves in touch with their brethren abroad through the contemporary literature to which the English language has given them an access. Then, again, the modern press has brought the Islamic world nearer in every part. The views of the Egyptian and the Turkish papers on topics of general Islamic interest are translated and published by the vernacular press throughout India. This process is growing with the growth of the interest it has helped to create. The average Indian Musselman knows more about his co-religionists in Turkey, Arabia, Egypt, and other parts of Africa, in China and Russia than his predecessor of the last generation, and he is already beginning to perceive the essential unity of the secular problem that the Mussalmans all over the world have got to solve. Syed Rashid Raza and the movement of which he is the symbol are not wholly unknown to the average Indian Moslem. He can fully understand the scope and purpose of the great effort at reform which Sheikh Mohamed Abd, the father of modern educational and religious movements in Egypt, organised and developed for the regeneration of the Egyptian Mussalmans, for he himself has been brought up amidst the chastening influences of a similar reform movement in India. The task of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was essentially of the same nature and magnitude that confronted the Mussalmans in every other part of the world. It has everywhere called forth the same type of reformer equipped with similar ideas and almost identical methods. The message of Syed Rashid Raza to the Indian Mussalmans, with its note of earnestness, sincerity and love for Islam, was delivered in tones of passionate eloquence. They recognised in it the accents they had first begun to hear upwards of 40 years ago. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had asked the Mussalmans to get out of the ignorance and prejudice into which they had sunk, to understand the liberal spirit of Islam, to interpret it not as a bundle of shibboleths and conventions to which it had been reduced by ignorant mullahs and mullah-ridden fanatics, but as the most practical, complete, and satisfying philosophy of life and conduct and to bring it to bear on the conditions of secular progress. The burden of Syed Rashid Raza's profoundly learned discourses was the same. It must have impressed all those who had the privilege of hearing him with the underlying unity of the Islamic renaissance throughout the world. The main lines of intellectual progress and social reconstruction are the same. It may, however, be noted that allowance shall have to be made everywhere for the differences of environment. Variations in minor features of the development of the various Moslem communities should rather be encouraged than suppressed. Insistence on the cast iron mould must be avoided, for all such attempt however laudable, are unsatisfactory. Syed Rashid Raza's first visit to this country has done much to stimulate interest in Egyptian affairs. We hope it will not be his last. We wish there were a greater and much more frequent intercourse between India and Egypt.

The agitation that a section of the Panjab Press is still carrying on against the Panjab Land Alienation Act has long ceased to be reasonable. Experience has shown the Act to have been a beneficent measure which has saved the sturdy class of yeomen in the province from perpetual serfdom. The results of its operation have been carefully and exhaustively set forth with a wealth of statistical detail in the annual reports that have been issued by the provincial authorities ever since the Act came into force. Even a cursory glance at these reports would convince any fair-minded person that the Act has eminently fulfilled the objects for which it was designed. Its critics, perhaps, need to be reminded that the measure was primarily intended to prevent the agricultural land from passing into the hands of the money lenders who lent money to the agriculturist at exorbitant rates of interest and within a short time drove him out of his land. The peasant

proprietor was rapidly being bought out of his paternal acres by a class of men who knew nothing of agriculture, but had accumulated enough money by usurious methods to set up as landlords. The possession of land is supposed to confer a certain social status and dignity, and every petty baniya who had thriven by methods that can not bear a close scrutiny got some simple peasant into his clutches and soon relieved him of his landed property. Beside the huge economic evil to which this process gave birth, there was also the further danger of questions of intense political gravity rising into prominence. The agrarian discontent, if the process had not been checked, would have grown into frightful dimensions, while it would have caused intense misery and wretchedness in a manly, brave and independent race of men who supply the finest soldiers of the Indian army. It was on the strength of these considerations that legislation was resorted to. The Act has been justified by its results. The non-agricultural classes, such as the banias, cannot naturally be expected to relish a piece of legislation that puts a drastic check on their land-grabbing instincts, and their organs in the provincial press are still keeping up a feeble outcry. The *Punjabee* in its issue of the 18th instant, stumbles through a few figures which it tries to manipulate without success. It gives up the task in rage and begins to swear at the trans-border Pathan, who seems to have got on the nerves of our contemporary. The Pathan, says the *Punjabee*, can acquire land, while men of brains and capital, "who also have been hereditary owners of soil, have been arbitrarily excluded from acquisition of land." There may be men of "brains and capital" whom the Act has debarred from turning into agriculturists, very much to their own and their neighbours' advantage, but no "hereditary owner of the soil has been excluded from acquisition of land" unless the "owner" has also acquired his "heredity" like his "land." As regards the danger of the small land holders being swallowed up by the big magnate, the question is primarily one of agricultural indebtedness and the thriftless and improvident habits of the peasants. The growth of the Co-operative Credit Movement and the agricultural banks will solve the problem. The Land Alienation Act has as little to do with its existence as the winds and the tides.

As might well have been expected, the financial needs of China are being fully exploited by international diplomacy after its most approved fashion. As soon as an inkling about the intention of the new

The Chinese Loan. Republican Government to raise a large loan for administrative purposes got abroad, there was a huge commotion in the great financial circles of the world, and early bids were made by some enterprising banking firms to effect the "deal" before other competitors appeared on the scene. The Great Powers, including America and Japan, were, however, on the look out and they immediately stepped in to prevent the loan from sinking ingloriously into a mere private transaction. It offered the one chance for which modern diplomacy ceaselessly works at high-pressure. The chance was seized and the loan was—to use the parlance affected by the money-market expert—internationalised. Six Great Powers, Germany, France, England, Russia, America and Japan agreed to participate in the loan on equal terms. The usual conditions regarding the guarantees and the disposal of the money were framed and a bankers' syndicate representing the Powers began its meetings in London to settle the terms with the Chinese representatives and work out the details of the loan amongst themselves. The Syndicate has not yet reached the end of its labours. Meanwhile a curious incident has been reported which illustrates with striking vividness the real nature of the motives that inspire some of the Powers in this dubious enterprise. A "hitch" would seem to have occurred in the conference of the bankers "due to the stipulation of bankers from France, Germany, United States and Britain that each of the six Powers taking part in the loan must provide funds for its own share from its own resources." But, as is natural enough, Russia desires permission "for any Power so wishing to raise funds for this purpose abroad," and Japan supports her. Now, it need hardly be explained that Russia is kept out of chronic bankruptcy by French money. She has not a single free rouble in her pocket to lend to China. The Japanese finances too are not in a flourishing condition. Yet the desire for political aggrandisement has prompted both Russia and Japan to take part in the Chinese loan, even though they may have to borrow from others. The transparent crudeness of these tactics can hardly disguise the real purposes for which they are designed. China knows well enough the history and character of the loans that have been from time to time imposed on the weaker nations, circumstanced like herself. She may be driven to accept similar bargains by stringent financial needs. But she can have no illusions about the altruism of High Diplomacy and High Finance.

The Comrade.

The European Diplomacy and the War.

WITH the Italian attack on the Dardanelles and the series of pre-concerted descents on the Aegean islands, the Turk-Italian war has entered a new phase. From the standpoint of pure military strategy and in relation to the Tripolitan campaign the new developments can have no decisive consequence. Indeed, the net military value of these proceedings has so far been that they have stamped the whole Italian enterprise with absolute incompetence. Their face value is the much-needed diversion they have supplied to the impatient "Imperialists" of Rome. The transient illusion of strength created by the display of naval prowess cannot, however, alter the fundamental difficulties of the task. Nor can it be taken to be the final motive and justification of so radical a change in the strategic centre of gravity. After a careful analysis of the grave and ominous symptoms fast gathering athwart the new diplomatic situation, it becomes exceedingly simple to realise that it is in the setting of the new diplomatic forces that the true explanation of the Italian action is to be sought. In order to make a clear presentation of the new situation we shall have naturally to take into the fullest account Italy's colonial ambitions, the limitations of her strength, and the manoeuvring of her diplomacy.

The elementary fact to be borne in mind is that Italy set out on her Tripolitan enterprise with absolute certainty of success. The greatest obstacles in her way were the existing international usage, the treaty obligations and the public conscience of Europe. She lightly brushed them aside by taking into her confidence some of the Powers without whose consent or, at any rate, passive acquiescence she could never hope to undertake the conquest of Tripoli. France was already pledged to support her; and it has never been authoritatively denied that British neutrality was not promised to her beforehand. Having been assured of non-interference from quarters most likely to interfere, she could well afford to ignore all sentimental considerations about international morality and treaty obligations. They had been set at naught by almost every European Power within living memory. Austria had defied them in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina. France was tearing them to shreds in her dealings with the Moors. A successful aggression was its own justification, and international laws and treaties could be confidently trusted to accommodate themselves to the *juste accompli*. As to her success, she counted on her strong fleet, her large and well-equipped army, the long and patient study that she had given even to the minutest details of the expedition and, above all, on the unpreparedness of the Turks, the docility of the Tripolitan coast towns and the utter inadequacy of the Turkish garrison. Indeed, the confidence with which she embarked on the conquest of Turkish North Africa, may be gauged from the fact that she, of her own free will, pledged herself in the hearing of all Europe to respect the integrity of the Ottoman Empire in Europe and Asia and to severely localise the area of conflict. In some super-benevolent mood she even circularised the Balkan States that she would view with strong disapproval any disturbance of the *status quo* in European Turkey. The warships made a promenade along the coast of Tripoli, and a fleet of convoys landed several divisions of the flower of the Italian army. There was an outburst of patriotic enthusiasm such as even the Italian Nationalism had not witnessed at its birth. The coast towns of Tripoli, Derna, Tobruk, and Bengasi were occupied in rapid succession. Grandiloquent proclamations were made, governors were appointed to assume direct sovereign authority and the Arabs were reported to be hailing the advent of their deliverers with shouts of acclamation. The world looked on with amazement at the lightning suddenness and daring of the coup.

However, the day of reckoning dawned rather sooner than even the Turks could hope for and the glorious but short-lived romance of Italian imperialism began to vanish like a dream. Turkey resolved to sell her North African Province with her toes. The blow would have been staggering to her but for her patience, her marvellous staying power, the newly-born energy and patriotism of the Ottoman nation and the cool courage with which the Young Turk statesmen set themselves to grapple with the situation. They made a strong appeal to the European Powers on the basis of their numerous treaty rights and on the grounds of international law and justice but were soon convinced of its futility. Diplomacy is mainly concerned with facts backed by bayonets. They had to fight for their honour, their Empire, their life as an independent and respected nation. Some of the younger officers of the Turkish army crossed over to Tripoli to organise a life-and-death struggle against the invading hosts. The news of the Italian invasion had spread like wildfire throughout the Islamic Africa and the Arabs of Ingoli began to flock to the Turkish standard in defence

of their homes, their faith, and their liberties. The volunteer forces were speedily put through a rough military discipline and were organised into a magnificent weapon of attack under the able, energetic, and untiring guidance of the Turkish commanders. At all points of occupation the Italian troops were invested and daring and well-directed attacks began to be delivered on their entrenched positions. Meanwhile the Ainzara massacres gave to the world the true measure of the Italian army. The panic-stricken soldiery that could wash "the stain of Adowa" in the hecatombs of women, children and aged men was scarcely fit to face a brave and chivalrous enemy in honest battle. Month after month wore on and the only progress the Italian campaign made was the perfection of the defences under the cover of the guns of the fleet. In every stray encounter the Arabs drove the Italians back into trenches and captured quantities of ammunition and rifles. After eight months the position of affairs is exactly as it was at the time of the landing of the Italian army. An expeditionary force of 125,000 men under the command of 24 generals and a vast number of officers of the general staff is pinned to the coast line by a handful of Turkish regulars, assisted by Arab volunteers, under the direction of a Turkish Colonel. The resourcefulness, strategy, and heroism displayed by Colonels Fethi Bey and Nishat Bey in the Tripolitania and Major Enver Bey in Cyrenaica, when fully told, will rank amongst the greatest feats of defensive warfare. With the poorest materials at their command, without even the necessary equipment, they are holding at bay a powerfully equipped army trained on the latest European model, and well could the Sultan feel proud of his "children" and send them his salutations. They have deserved well of their nation, their Sovereign and their God. The strongest argument of the Turkish Foreign Minister, while replying to the inquiries of the Powers regarding peace, was that the Ottoman Government could not throw overboard the brave army whose magnificent defence had already added a brilliant page to the Ottoman military history.

The failure of the Italian army has recoil'd on the policy of the Italian Government. It, first of all, earned the derision of the whole world by hastening to annex what it was powerless to conquer. This ridiculous farce was, however, based on an astute diplomatic calculation. By taking this step the Italian statesmen sought to create a pretence of irrevocability. Europe would certainly respect Italy's "honour" even though it could not help her in her "conquest." It now only remained for her Government to prepare the ground by diplomacy for European mediation with "annexation" as its basis. But before diplomacy could effectively do its work in the repose of the chancelleries, it was necessary to make the situation intolerable to the neutral Powers by causing widespread trouble and irritation. With this object in view the Italian fleet was instructed to harass neutral shipping and commerce. Meanwhile a couple of Italian cruisers in the Red Sea began to shell various points on the Arabian coast with a view to exasperate the Arabs to revolt. Beirut was bombarded later on because the possibility of damage to many foreign interests in the city would, it was understood, react on the European diplomacy. Arms and armaments were dumped on the southern extremity of Yemen, and Syed Idris with his followers was incited to revolt. The rebellion has been almost crushed by the Turks, and it may be interesting to note that amongst the killed and wounded that the rebels left on the field in a recent fight, fifteen Italian officers have been found disguised as Arabs. Many Italian agents are touring throughout the Balkan provinces inciting people to rebellion by handsome bribes. Every possible means has been adopted to create a general sense of insecurity in the European situation.

Concurrently with these activities the Italian diplomacy has been busy seeking help in all quarters, and its efforts have not been entirely unsuccessful. It has found a willing agent in the Muscovite, who is never known to have failed fishing in troubled waters, particularly at the expense of Turkey. The Paris correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* wrote on the 1st May —

Those who know are more and more persuaded here that Russia is privately coming to some understanding with Italy. I am afraid that the repeated denials of any such agreement uttered from St. Petersburg are received with scepticism in Paris. It will, of course, be remembered that it was the Russian Government which took the initiative months ago in consulting the Powers on the question of possible mediation between Turkey and Italy. Any such mediation was stalled from the start by Italy's rash proclamation of the annexation of Tripoli and the ratification of the annexation by Parliament. Mediation, nevertheless, was proposed by Russia. Had it come to anything it could have been only at the expense of Turkey. It may, perhaps, have escaped the public recollection that at the outset the Russian intention of proposing mediation was strenuously denied. Nevertheless, the proposal was eventually made. Denials of a private understanding between Russia and Italy are now taken with a grain of salt in consequence.

The Italian motive for concluding a secret pact with Russia is only too manifest. The Russian motive, equally strong, requires some elucidation. The Balance of Power in Europe has been delicately adjusted on the lines of the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. Not only Russia wants to get a free passage through the Dardanelles

by supporting Italy in terminating the war on her own terms, but also desires to wean the latter from the Triple Alliance. This is, perhaps, the only revenge she can take on Germany and Austria for the humiliation she had to bear in 1908. It was on the strength of Russian sympathy or perhaps definite assurance of support that Italy attacked the Dardanelles. The Straits were at once closed and several ships laden with Russian grain and merchandise were held up in the channel. As was prearranged, the Russian protest was lodged at the Sublime Porte. The Italian calculation was that the closing of the Straits would lead to an enormous dislocation of international trade and the tide of feeling would turn against Turkey, in addition to the opportunity it would afford Russia to open afresh the whole question of the Dardanelles. The Ottoman Government has, however, handled the situation with admirable tact and courage. While claiming full territorial rights over the Dardanelles waters, which the British Government had recognised to the full, the Porte decided to open the Straits before the general feeling in Europe could be roused against its action. As matters stand now, the rights of Turkey to defend herself are recognised by every Power in Europe, while her solicitude to avoid, consistent with her own safety, all possible harm to international shipping has earned her universal praise and gratitude. The tactics of the Italian diplomacy have, in this instance, come home to roost.

All this, however, is a poor comfort to derive from the Dardanelles incident. Very grave complications seem to lie ahead. Russian diplomacy is dangerously active again. Italy is desperate and Muscovite unscrupulous, and their secret co-operation at this juncture is the gravest menace to the European peace. The statement of the Russian Foreign Minister has produced marked uneasiness in France, where the unusual warmth of the Russian Minister's expressions of friendship for Germany has led to inferences not very flattering to the Dual Alliance. It has been inferred that Russia is being drawn into the orbit of German diplomacy. The famous Postdam meeting had left a trail behind; it has only just dawned on the French Press that the trail lies perilously across the *Entente* principles. The Russian diplomacy has been aiming at cross insurance without caring much for the loyal constancy it owes to its public engagements. In Persia, in Mongolia, in respect of Turkey, its guiding principles can not but be thoroughly Muscovite. The note of alarm recently sounded by the well-informed St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* has come none too soon. The danger of Russia drifting apart from England as soon as her most pressing needs have been met by French money and English prestige, and pursuing her own aims, with her own time-honoured methods, ought to have been present in the calculations of the British diplomats. The Balance of Power is dangerously near its final smash. Russia has admirably exploited Anglo-French suspicions of Germany and has not scrupled to hobnob with the Teuton. Diplomatic forces have lost their equilibrium and are swaying to the side-winds that have begun to blow from Rome and St. Petersburg. The speech of the Russian Foreign Minister, by the "very effrontery of its official optimism" has led the British and the French Press furiously to think. "The lesson which lies on the surface of his speech," says the *Nation*, "is that the elaborate continental system which M. Delcasse sketched and Sir Edward Grey professed has crumbled like a house of cards... But even as we sought to play off one Power against the other, the whole aspect of the problem changed. Russia, in 1907, seemed to be definitely ranged in the Franco-British camp. To-day she bestrides the line which divides the two European groups. The event has shown the folly of our calculations. We have discovered that Russia has neither the will to keep her engagements nor the ability to act a 'brilliant second' in a European duel. The adventure of the Balance of Power has ended as it was bound to end."

Will the lessons of the present situation be utilised for the rehabilitation of the Concert? It must be clearly understood that Turkey has no special reason to welcome the resurrection of an instrument which was primarily designed to subject her affairs to organised European coercion. But the circumstances have considerably altered the character as well as the proportions of the problem now facing European diplomacy. The Turko-Italian war in its latest phase has revealed the existence of dangers to the world's peace that no responsible European statesman can ignore. The Dardanelles incident has shown what Russia would be prepared to do for the development of her designs. Her direct, though secret, incitement of Italy has thrown the systems of *entente* and alliances wholly out of gear. A distracted Government reeling under the shock of a costly misadventure will continue to be open to incitements even more reckless and mischievous. Can it be presumed, therefore, that the situation with all its potential dangers will bring the Concert into life again? The problem that the Concert will have to deal with is simple, though it requires a drastic treatment. Russia must be held in check and Italy should be forced to adhere to her deliberate pledge regarding the localisation of the war. We have been absolutely against intervention in any shape or form, for we could not see how it could be usefully

invoked without detriment to Turkish interests. The aggressive designs that have recently come to light on the part of Russia, however, urgently call for European intervention on the lines we have indicated. We are aware there is hardly any great Power in Europe that may not at this time be cherishing overt or covert designs on some part or other of the Ottoman Empire. Leaving aside the notorious Russian designs and the ambitions of the petty Balkan principalities, Austria regards Macedonia and Albania within her own sphere of aspiration. The Teuton is preparing to seek for his place in the sun in Asia Minor. France is fast developing claims on Syria, while the British occupation of Egypt, according to some accounts, is about to be "regularised". A persistent rumour has grown up of late that Anglo-Turkish relations are moving rapidly in the direction of a formal *entente*. Such a consummation would be welcomed by all Moslems, though we hope it would not be the result of the rumoured "deal" about Egypt. However, in spite of the absence of all disinterested desire amongst the Great Powers to help Turkey in the conclusion of a peace that would be truly honourable, it is still possible to expect that they will suppress Russian menace as well as its primary cause and effect, the Italian hooliganism in the Aegean, for the protection of the most vital interests of Europe. Our own Government is most fitted, by virtue of its naval supremacy, to intervene with effect. In view of the manifold dangers likely to affect British commercial and political interests that have emerged on the scene, and which drew forth one of its few strong leaders from the *Times*, we do not see if the obligations to maintain British neutrality any longer exist. The declaration of Egyptian neutrality was a mistake about which no satisfactory explanation has been given. To have exercised that neutrality with a peculiarly harsh and petty fogging rigour against the Turks reflected no credit on the methods of Lord Kitchener. If, however, a distinct improvement has taken place in Turko-British relations, we are sure they would be enormously strengthened by a decisive British action at this stage. A Turko-British understanding would be hailed with enthusiasm by the whole Islamic world. It would speedily become a great moral asset of the British Empire. It would effectively safeguard British interests in Persia. It would rob the Triple Alliance of all its aggressive terrors. It would be the surest guarantee of peace in the Balkans, the storm-centre of Europe. Is Sir Edward Grey capable of this achievement? The next few weeks will definitely settle this question.

Provincial Finance.

The Resolution issued by the Government of India in the Finance Department, dealing with the Provincial Settlements, defines the policy that will henceforth govern the financial relations between the Government of India and the local Governments. The new policy is based on the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission and was clearly set forth by the Hon. the Finance Member in his Financial Statement for the year 1910-11. After the local Governments had expressed their opinions on the contemplated re-adjustments in the existing financial relations, the sanction of the Secretary of State was sought for and obtained. The present Resolution embodies "the decisions which have been reached upon the various points at issue."

The changes introduced in the existing arrangements are not of a radical character. After a clear analysis of the principles underlying the existing Provincial Settlements, the Government of India proceeded to explain that there exist no grounds at the present time to justify any radical departure from the existing system. Before the Royal Commission reported, the system had three distinct features. In the first place it was *quasi-permanent*, i.e., the Settlements were subject to revision only in extraordinary circumstances and in cases where a glaring disparity had grown up in provincial receipts and expenditure. Secondly, the distribution of revenues between the Provincial and Central Governments was ordinarily made with direct reference to the needs of each Province. Thirdly, the distribution of the revenues accruing from various sources was effected by the method of setting apart certain main heads of revenues, called "divided heads," which yielded the residue in the shape of a fixed fractional share for Imperial purposes. In the general principles of this system the Government of India desire to make no change. After considering the various alternative methods of financing the Imperial Government which were discussed by the Royal Commission, they came to the conclusion that "it was clearly preferable to abide by the main lines of a system which had gradually been built up to meet the needs of the country, than to look about for an untried scheme of greater abstract perfection."

There is, however, one direction in which further development is desirable, and that is the giving of greater permanency to the Settlements. An effort to attain, as far as possible, some degree of finality in financial arrangements has been rendered necessary, by the loss of the opium revenue as well as by the heavy recurring expenditure that shall have to be provided for education, and

sanitation out of the Imperial revenues. Provinces will henceforth be provided, once and for all, with Settlements so framed that local Governments may develop their administrations from their own assigned sources. They will also be warned not to expect assistance from the Imperial funds except in cases of unusual stringency. This will have the effect of imparting precision to mutual relations and increase the interest of the local Governments in the husbanding and direction of their own resources. It will also increase provincial independence in financial matters and allow greater freedom of action within definite limits. With these objects in view definite rules have been laid down which will govern the financial arrangements in the future. The Government of India do not think that the existing Settlements are unjust or inequitable. After a "haggling" of many years the Settlements have achieved a rough equity and there seems to exist no need for drastic change. In some minor details they need adjustments which have been carefully carried out;

The policy of "doles" has been, in the absence of the complete provincial autonomy, considered to be necessary. The Government of India retain full power to lay down the conditions on which the grants are to be made. The important question of granting powers to local Governments for raising funds for schemes of provincial utility by provincial taxation has been considered at length, and weighty reasons have been advanced by the Government of India in support of their view that no such extension of powers seems at present to be desirable. The proposal to allow the provinces to raise loans for their own needs when necessary has also been found open to serious objections. On the whole the changes introduced embody a distinct advance in the direction of increased provincial independence and stability in financial matters. A corresponding relaxation in the limits imposed on the spending powers of the Local Governments and Administrations has been decided upon by the Government of India. A number of proposals framed in this behalf have received the sanction of the Secretary of State. The Government of India have dealt with the requirements of the local Governments in no niggardly spirit; and it now rests with the latter to make the best use of the new opportunities and pave the way for the full development of the financial autonomy to which the central Government look forward with hope and confidence.

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Amount received during the fortnight ..	1,084 14 6
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TOTAL RS. ..	16,866 2 0

Anecdote.

AMONGST the many stories told concerning Coventry Patmore the poet, the following, perhaps, is one of the most amusing :—

When Patmore lived in his beautiful old house at Hastings, a kind of Harold Skimpole contrived to make his acquaintance.

"That fellow was one of the cleverest I ever came across," said Patmore, when speaking about him to a personal friend who relates the story

"One day in the early part of our acquaintance he came to me for my advice. His wife had purchased a costume at one of the principal local drapers, but when an assistant was sent for to make certain alterations, the latter packed it up and carried it back to the shop. What should he do?

"Go to Z——," I said, naming my lawyer; and off he started.

"Summon the people," said Z——; "that is what you had better do. But wait, have you paid for the dress? If not, send a cheque and summon them afterwards."

"On my word, I never thought of that," exclaimed the other, innocently; "and as I don't happen to have my purse, just oblige me with your cheque for the amount!"

"And I'll be hanged," added Coventry Patmore, chuckling, "if he didn't bamboozle the lawyer. Instead of stepping over the way he went straight home. The dr. as was never paid for, and Z—— never got back his money."

The Persian Crisis.

News of the Week.

Reuter wired from Teheran -- A Persian frontier official at Seistan reports that Afghans claim a considerable district on the frontier and have already erected border beacons.

The Government of India is expected to deal with the question of Afghan encroachments. The matter is not regarded as serious.

Owing to tribesmen seriously threatening Bandar Abbas, the *Perseus* and the *Alert* arrived on Tuesday with a view to contingencies.

The situation at Bunder Abbas has improved as a consequence of the landing of troops and blue-jackets, and the threatening gathering of tribesmen is, according to the most recent information, rapidly dispersing, since it is proposed to re-embark the soldiers and sailors who were landed the other day, leaving however, a small addition to the Consular Guard for the next few days until the situation has finally cleared.

The tribesmen who recently attacked Bunder Abbas have now withdrawn, and the landing party from the *Perseus* and *Alert* is therefore being re-embarked, while the seventh Rajputs are going back to Jask, extra Consular Guards only being left in case any further attack should be attempted. It seems that the tribesmen, who numbered some four hundred men, abandoned the waterworks they had seized immediately the blue-jackets advanced upon them, and their firing was so erratic that there were no British casualties in the fight. Two men of the "Perseus," however, unfortunately lost their lives in the accidental upsetting of a boat in the landing. The attack on Bunder Abbas is a mere incident in the general anarchy which prevails throughout Persia, and no importance is attached to it.

Yezrim, the famous Armenian Chief of Police in Persia, who has done Persia much service, has been killed, it is alleged, by treachery, while operating against the ex-Shah's brother, Salared Dauleh, near Hamadan.

Reuter wired from Teheran -- The report that Yezrim was treacherously murdered is discredited. He was shot from the fort which was believed to be evacuated. Afterwards Yezrim's followers stormed the fort and killed all inside.

News from Persia shows that the outlook in Kerman has cleared, the rebels having dispersed, thanks to the support the Governor has received from the Persian Government.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "MORNING POST" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Teheran, April 25

Considerable anxiety is caused here by the attitude of the Mullahs, who accuse the Cabinet of selling their countrymen and threaten a Holy War against foreigners. The Russian bombardment of the mosque at Meshed has strengthened the movement.

Syed Ali, the prime mover, has been arrested for seditious utterances. A deputation of Mullahs has informed the Regent that if he persists in his intention of leaving Persia at the present juncture he will be deposed. It is believed, indeed, that Nasr-ul-Mulk's European trip has been abandoned in consequence of the attitude of the Mullahs.

(FROM THE "DAILY NEWS" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Berlin, April 26.

Telegrams from Teheran to the German Press depict a rather alarming state of things at the Persian capital.

M. Mornard, the Belgian Treasurer-General, is at loggerheads with the Government and Russian diplomacy seems to support his claims to exercise an unlimited control over all financial affairs, including the grant of concessions.

On the other hand, the clergy are preaching open revolt against the Cabinet, charging it with having sold the country to Russia. As a consequence, the chief Mujahid of Teheran, Syed Ali, has been arrested, and the Grand Mujahid of Nedjif has been compelled to issue a proclamation calling upon the people to restrain themselves and not to begin a civil war.

A Reuter's message from St. Petersburg states that the Russian Foreign Minister, M. Sazonoff, in his speech said that the situation in Persia, thanks to the agreement concluded with Great Britain in 1907, should give rise to no extraordinary complications. The unsatisfactory condition of Russo-Persian relations was due to the irreconcilability of the Democratic Nationalist party towards

Russia. It might be assumed that the present Persian Cabinet with the support of Russia and Great Britain would succeed in pacifying the country.

The question of the occupation of Persian territory by Turkey opened a new phase in the affair. If no understanding were arrived at by the mixed Frontier Commission now sitting in Constantinople the question would be decided by the Hague Tribunal.

("THE TIMES")

The leading newspapers find fault with the Foreign Minister's excessive optimism in his declaration of policy in the Duma. The *Novoye Vremya* accuses him of undue submissiveness to English dictation in Persia and exaggerated tenderness towards Italy.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, April 28.

After repeated denials that such was its intention, the Government has begun a series of senseless arrests of members of the late Majlis and other constitutional leaders. Yesterday Sardar Mohi was arrested and exiled to Kashan and four ex-Deputies met with a similar fate. To-day police surround the house of Wahid-ul-Mulk, one of the most distinguished Deputies and formerly Persian lecturer at Cambridge University, and the arrest is contemplated of Hussein Kuli Khan, ex-Foreign Minister, well known for many years at the Persian Legation in London. His brother is Oriental Secretary at the British Legation.

As no agitation is in progress the arrests appear to be due to personal vindictiveness, though many believe also that the Regent is continually obsessed with the idea of plots against his life. This obsession has been the cause of the constant desire to escape to Europe which he has shown from the first moment of his return here.

The Bakhtiaris, who claim the town of Shuster as being within their sphere of influence, are in conflict with the Sheikh of Mohammiehah.

Teheran, April 30.

The Regent has addressed a letter to the Ministers, urging the necessity of making some arrangements for the elections before his departure for Europe, which is proposed for May 15. Considerable incredulity prevails, however, concerning the Government's intention to summon any Majlis, but some believe that the imprisonment of all the advanced members of the late Assembly indicates a genuine intention to hold elections for a new Assembly, which after this precaution will naturally contain only moderate members. A separate project is also under consideration for an Advisory Council to assist the Cabinet, consisting of notables and European officials.

Serious disorders have broken out at Kerman, where the anti-Government party are threatening the town and are likely to obtain possession of it.

April 30.

Numerous persons continue to be arrested, including Prince Suleiman Mirza, leader of the "Democratic" Party in the late Majlis, who since the dissolution has devoted himself to educational work and has established a school. Wahid-ul-Mulk was arrested late last night, but has since been released on undertaking to leave the country within a week.

("THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

In a message from Teheran, Reuter's correspondent says that further arrests of members of the Democratic party were made yesterday, including two Tabriz deputies. The chief of police also handed a passport to Hussain Kuli Khan, thus intimating the Government's desire that he should leave Persia. Wahid-ul-Mulk was arrested last night, but afterwards liberated on condition that he leaves for Europe.

A later message says: -- "Sixteen persons have already been arrested in pursuance of the Government's plan to get its opponents out of the way. The Government's action is interpreted in some quarters as indicating a desire on its part to prepare the way for the election of a pliant Majlis."

Hussain Kuli Khan is one of the best-known and staunchest Persian patriots. He was educated in England and was long attached to the Persian Embassy in London. He was Minister of Foreign Affairs in August and September, 1910, immediately after the fall of the late Shah, and again from July to December, 1910. On the latter occasion he resigned largely because of the protection

which the Russians afforded to notorious outlaws and of their failure to withdraw the troops which they then had in Azerbaijan.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, May 1.

Salar-ed-Dowleh, brother of the ex Shah, has sent a telegram to the citizens of Hamadan stating that the Vali of Pushti Kuh has sworn allegiance to him and requesting the citizens to prepare to receive "His Majesty." Prince Firman Firma is said to have left Hamadan to-day to advance against him. Prince Firman Firma's force, about 1,200 strong, will be supported on the left from Sultanabad by 200 Armenian *fedas* sent out by Yerevan and on the right from Zenjan by Bakhtiaris. These latter are also intended to check the advance of Mujallel-es-Sultan from Gerus. Mujallel-es-Sultan, a former agent of the ex-Shah, now supports Salar-ed-Dowleh, and has advanced within 12 *farsakhs* (about 50 miles) of Hamadan.

The Regent's electoral rescript appears to contemplate only the election of Deputies in the district of Teheran and the peaceful provinces. It is estimated that the new *Majlis* will be much smaller than the last. The ultimate formation of a Second Chamber is also much discussed. A senate is provided for in the Constitution, but has hitherto never been elected.

Both the Bakhtiaris in the neighbourhood of Shuster and the Sheikh of Mohammerah have sent telegrams professing complete submission and loyalty to the Government. There is therefore some prospect that their difference will be composed. The Government is, of course, a Bakhtiar Government, Sam-Sam-es-Sultanch being Premier and Sardar Mohtasbem Minister of War.

The Proposed Indo-Persian Railway.

(FROM A "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" CORRESPONDENT.)

A RECENT telegram from St. Petersburg has announced the definite formation of an Anglo-Franco-Russian "Société d'Etudes" for the projected Indo-Persian Railway, with permanent head-quarters at Paris, and a meeting of the promoters of the railway was held in Paris last week, at which the articles of agreement were definitely drawn up. This step marks an important stage in the development of a scheme of far-reaching and disastrous import to British and Indian interests. A short time ago the negotiations between the parties were broken off owing to the attitude of the British group on the question of the precise route of the line. The fact, then, that the Société d'Etudes has at last been formed would seem to imply that the question of the route has also been settled, and that takes us a pretty long way towards the ultimate realisation of a scheme of whose very existence most people in England are unaware, which has never been explained in Parliament, and for which our Foreign Office, though Sir Edward Grey has admitted that it has given its assent in principle, has never offered any sort of reasoned justification.

It is proposed that the line shall begin at the Russian port of Baku, on the Caspian Sea, joining there the Russian trans-continental system of railways, skirt the Caspian along the Persian shore to Recht, and thence proceed through Kazvin to Teheran, the capital, then it would strike almost due south to Ispahan, on the border of the Russian zone, cross the neutral zone to Kerman, in the British sphere, and thence join Chahbar, on the coast, and also in the British sphere, either by direct route, as the Russians originally proposed, or *via* Bunder Abbas, along the coast, as the Indian Government prefers; from Chahbar it would again run along the coast, through the British Protectorate of Baluchistan, to the Indian railhead at Karachi. By proposing that the line should come down from Kerman to Bunder Abbas and thence run along the coast of the Persian Gulf under the muzzle of British naval guns the Indian Government hopes to make the control of the more important portion of the railway secure against its use by an enemy for military purposes, though obviously this might prove an extremely difficult and, in easily conceivable circumstances, perhaps an impossible task. The Indian Government also proposes that this portion of the line, and if possible also the portion in the neutral zone, should have a different gauge to that of the part controlled by Russia, the break taking place at Kerman—preferably at Ispahan. The line so projected would have a length of some 1,800 miles; it would cost, according to the very moderate estimate of the promoters, over £20,000,000; and it would shorten the journey from London to Bombay from twelve and a half days to seven, at a saving of some 20 per cent. in fares—all undoubted advantages if they did not happen to be purchased by laying open the frontier of India to attack, and involving us in consequence in perpetual alarm and a vast military expenditure.

The numerous schemes for a railway to India which have been projected from the thirties of the last century down to our time have all alike been by us strenuously and unhesitatingly opposed and defeated. The first to take anything like substantial shape was launched in 1859 by a group of Russian financiers enjoying the

protection of the Russian Government, among whom we meet M. Homiakoff and M. Palashkovsky, who are among the promoters of the present scheme. The idea was then, as now, to construct railway from the Caspian across Persia to Chahbar, though no further; and so seriously was it entertained that in the following year the Persian Government was induced not only to grant a concession, but also to sign a secret protocol granting Russian subjects the sole right of railway construction in the country. The idea was revived ten years later, when the railway construction monopoly was prolonged till 1910 under the terms of the Russo-Persian Loan Agreement, and almost at the same time a twin scheme was brought forward for the extension of the Merv-Kushk branch of the trans-Caspian railway right across Afghanistan to Quetta. In each case the scheme was strongly opposed in this country, and came to nothing.

It is scarcely necessary to recall the reasons for this opposition to every railway scheme connecting Russia with our Indian Empire, or for bringing her within easier striking distance of it. We have always, and justly, regarded it as the prime principle of our strategy not to allow any powerful State to come near the Indian frontier, and we have sought to bar the road to it by the maintenance of a system of buffer States. It was in order to protect India from possible attack that, at great sacrifice, Br. inst. pol. sought to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and to close the two straits leading to Constantinople against foreign navies. For the same reason our Foreign Office, though attaching great importance to the shortening of the routes to India, opposed for a considerable time the construction of the Suez Canal by the French, and seized the first opportunity to obtain a predominant control of this highway by buying up a considerable portion of the shares; and it was the same insistent anxiety which led ultimately to the occupation of Egypt itself. The same reason prompted our Foreign Office to insist on the independence and the integrity of the Persian kingdom as far back as 1834, and to maintain a similar protective attitude towards Afghanistan from at least the early sixties of the last century.

When Russia, having recovered herself after the Crimean War, found the road to Constantinople completely barred and locked, and turned her attention to Central Asia, attacking the Amir of Bokhara, we at once took alarm in view of the proximity of the Afghan frontier, and only acquiesced in the forward march of the Russian troops after Prince Gortchakoff had assured us that the object of the campaign was not conquest, but the pacification of the troublesome frontier tribes. Again, in 1872, when General Kaufmann invaded the Khanate of Khiva, we demanded an explanation from the Russian Government, and only abstained from intervention after effecting a delimitation of the Afghan frontier by which Russia was excluded from the Panjdeh oasis and the Sarakhs fortress. In 1884, however, Russia revived her claims on Panjdeh, and we nearly went to war with her over it. Ultimately we had to yield the point, and Russia advanced the railhead of her Caspian line to Kushk, within 53 miles of Herat. Shortly afterwards Russia brought forward a claim to the Panir plateau close upon the Chitral frontier, and again we nearly went to war with her in order to preserve that portion of the Afghan State. The advance of the Caspian railway from Merv to Kushk, on the remote north-west frontier of Afghanistan, was treated by Lord Midleton (then Mr. Brodrick) as a danger to India, and the proposal to construct a railway through Afghanistan from Kushk to the Indian frontier at Quetta was denounced by Lord Curzon as madness. It was, indeed, an axiom well understood and accepted by everybody that a railway which would enable Russian troops to be transported within three or four days from Moscow to some point near the Indian frontier would not only endanger the safety of our Indian Empire but also cripple our position in Europe. The policy of isolation has not only been continuous, but it has at times (as in the case of the Suez Canal) been pushed to absurd and impossible extremes.

And now, in direct opposition to this long-established policy, we find our Foreign Office actually disposed to consider in the most accommodating spirit a new scheme for a railway not only through Persia to the Gulf, which cannot be permanently opposed, but right through to the Indian frontier. This is a most extraordinary change of front. It cannot be explained by the mere fact of our present and not necessarily permanent friendship with Russia. If, however, it be not friendship which has inspired our Foreign Office with a new confidence in Russia, what else is it? A reference to dates will perhaps throw some light upon this strange phenomenon. The scheme was launched into the world on 13th November 1910, and just a week earlier an agreement had been arrived at by Russia and Germany during the famous interview at Potsdam, whereby the former Power pledged herself to construct a line from Teheran to Khanikin, on the Turco-Persian frontier, there to join a branch of the German Baghdad railway. Can it have been this scheme, involving, as it was thought to do, a German penetration of Persia, which led to the production of the trans-Persian project? The explanation may indeed appear to be ludicrously inadequate, but if there be any other it is time it were produced.

25th May.

The Proposed Railway to India.

FOR two generations there have been men, like Mr. Maclean, for example, once member for Cardiff, who have advocated a transcontinental railway to India, but until recently their influence on British policy has been negligible. Then, suddenly and inexplicably, we have begun to hear of a project for building a railway across Persia and Baluchistan to Karachi, and our Foreign Office, instead of examining critically this proposed reversal of Indian frontier policy, has given it benevolent if somewhat detached support. We have no right, said Sir Edward Grey in February last, simply for our own interests, to oppose the policy of railway development. As well say that Englishmen have "no right" to oppose a Channel tunnel. The main object of Indian frontier policy has always been to avoid a coterminous frontier with Russia and the two parties have differed only as to the means to that end. Frontier policy has passed through two stages. There was a time when, in order to save Afghanistan from Russian influence, it was thought by those in power that we ought ourselves to occupy the country. We fought two Afghan wars with that object. But that view was finally abandoned when Lord Hartington, as he then was, announced in 1881 the evacuation of Kandahar. Since then our policy has consistently been to maintain a strong and independent Afghanistan. The only question remaining was whether we should occupy the territory between the administrative Indian frontier and Afghanistan or leave a buffer zone between the two frontiers. The great frontier war of 1896, in which we employed more soldiers than we had done since Waterloo, was fought in order to destroy that zone of independence. At the end of it Lord Curzon, converted by the events of the war, announced his intention of maintaining it. India was thus provided not only with a buffer state between herself and the Russian possessions in Asia, but with an additional buffer between herself and Afghanistan. The triumph of Liberal frontier policy seemed doubly secured. But after it had been accepted by the Conservative Imperialists, it was reserved to a Liberal Government to bring it into jeopardy again. In the interests, real or supposed, of Indian defence, we went twice to war with Persia and twice with Afghanistan. In addition Mr. Gladstone nearly went to war with Russia over Petjdeh in 1884. Later Lord Midleton treated the advance of the railway from Merv to Kushk as a danger to India, and, later still, Lord Curzon denounced a proposal to connect Kushk with Quetta as madness. And now it is proposed quietly, almost surreptitiously, to reverse a policy for which we have fought four wars and were prepared, if necessary, to fight two more. Every objection to absorption of Afghanistan or to railway communication with India across it applies with far greater force to the absorption of Persia and to the proposed Indo-Persian railway. And yet Sir E. Grey says we have "no right" to oppose it.

We publish in another column an article which gathers together the main facts that are known about the new project. The railway is to start at Baku and reach Teheran via Resht, from Teheran it is to go south to Ispahan, and thence, crossing the neutral zone, to enter our "sphere" at Kerman. From Kerman, according to the original scheme, it was to proceed by the most direct route across Baluchistan to Karachi, but, according to an amendment that has been suggested, it is instead to make straight for the sea at Bunder Abbas and from there to India along the coastline. This alternative route was suggested by the Indian Government in order that in the event of war the railway may be under the guns of the fleet. It is further provided that the gauge of the railway should be broken either at Kerman or preferably at Ispahan, where it leaves the Russian "sphere." Both safeguards are illusory. The breaking of gauge might injure the railway commercially, but not as a line of invasion; and if a war broke out the diversion of the railway inland at a few dangerous points would remove it beyond the range of ships' guns. But whose interests is the line intended to serve? Not those of Persia, whose commerce would be equally well served if it stopped at Bunder Abbas and whose people will regard the railway mainly as an instrument of political subjection. It is odd that Sir E. Grey, who is not ordinarily very sensitive about Persian rights, should suddenly become solicitous about her right to have a railway that she does not want. In whose interests, then? So far as commerce goes, there would seem no very obvious gain to a maritime Power in diverting the main line of communication to India from the sea to the land from a route over which we are supreme to one of which Russia has control. Or are the interests served by the line not commercial at all but political? It is significant that the trans-Persian railway project should have come as a sequel to an Agreement which, as it has worked out, is only defended as an alternative to something worse that might have happened without it. But this railway project is an extreme application of the extreme Russian interpretation of that Agreement. Accepting that interpretation as it stands, Russia could not continue the construction of a railway beyond Ispahan. But it is actually proposed that at the point at which her destruction of Persian independence stops we should take up the work and continue it in the South of Persia; and, not content with providing Russia with an instrument of conquest over all Persia, should prolong the railway to India, and so

help to make the loss of Persian independence not merely a political danger and disgrace but a direct menace to the safety of the Indian frontier. And yet Sir E. Grey says that we have "no right" to oppose the railway.

No right, he says, in "our own interests alone." But the right to defend India as best we may, even if it is a selfish interest, is not one to be sacrificed in a fit of altruism or of enthusiasm for railways in general. But, unless Liberals have been entirely wrong in their contentions about Afghanistan, the defence of India would be gravely compromised by this railway. India is our only land frontier, Russia is the only Power that can attack it, and however anxious we may be to have Russia's friendship, our frontier defence must assume that Russia may some day be an enemy. When that day comes our position with the railway made will be the same, and worse, as if we had occupied Kandahar and Herat. At the very beginning of a war we should be faced with the alternatives of hasty evacuation or of settling the fate of India hundreds of miles in advance of her natural frontier under conditions the least favourable to ourselves. Bitter experience has convinced both Liberals and Conservatives of the madness of the fight-it-out-on-the-Oxus theory of Indian frontier defence. But even on the Oxus we should be in a far stronger position than at Bunder Abbas or Chahbar. Even if we had to fall back from the Oxus we should still have in front of India impassable mountain chains, peopled by warlike tribes, who would attack the communications of an invading army. But between Persia and India there would be nothing but desert, which we had obligingly furnished with a railway. Either everything that Liberals have ever said and that experience has taught to all of us about Afghanistan is wrong, or this railway across Persia is a danger to our hold upon India in war. Nor would the danger be delayed until the outbreak of war. The mere existence of the railway would commit us to extensive defensive preparation. A new Quetta would arise in Southern Persia, for it is barely thinkable that we should build a railway and abandon it without a blow, and the military burdens of India, great enough as they are, would be increased, to the destruction of all the credit that we might accumulate by wise and enlightened civil administration. Such a revolution in our frontier policy would still be a matter for deep concern, even if it had been long debated and deliberately adopted. But made in silence, without consultation of Parliament or even explanation, it would be a grave default against our interests and the first principles of Government for which no censure could be too strong.—*The Manchester Guardian*.

The New Persian Literature.

AT University College Professor Browne, of Cambridge, crowded into an hour an extraordinarily rich survey of Persian literature during a thousand years. It was a lecture which very few men would have been competent to give, but Mr. Browne is saturated in Persian books and things, and he can quote Persian about as freely as an Ambassador can talk French. The Persian Minister, who was in the chair, said that no one has done more than Professor Browne in the cause of Persian literature. The Persia Society, to whose members he was lecturing, is a non-political society, and the lecturer's well-known sympathies came out chiefly in his interesting account of the new literature that has sprung up from the ferment of the revolution. This is a vein of topical and satirical poetry of which he quoted a delightful example in the shape of a veiled lampoon on the ex-Shah. He saw in this phase a sign that Persian literature is not an affair of dead classics, but a living, self-adapting literature springing from among the people—unlike the comparable outburst in Turkey, which is largely stimulated from outside. He saw in it, too, hope that the strong national spirit of the Persians will emerge and survive the misfortunes of the present, and he showed how in the past the country, often overwhelmed, has always struggled free again, helped by the extreme stability of the Persian character and language. "Persian literature to-day is as good as ever it was." Many new newspapers written in admirable style have come into being since 1906. Another interesting point was his discussion of the causes of the popularity here of Omar Khayyam, whom the Persians regard, it appears, as one of the lesser poets. He did full justice, of course, to the transmogrifying magic of Fitz-Gerald, but he said that some of the finest Persian poetry depends so intimately upon rhetorical and verbal devices that it is almost untranslatable. He corrected the common mistake "that Fitz-Gerald wrote it all." The translation is faithful, but the quatrains were selected and transposed by the translator so as to make a continuous poem. What Omar Khayyam wrote was a series of isolated quatrains.—*The Manchester Guardian*.

Persian M.P. in London.

("P.M.G." Special.)

M. Haji Vakil-ul-Rouya, a prominent member of the last Majlis who is now visiting London, replied in an interview

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with a representative of the *Pull Mill Gazette*, to the criticisms of Persia's aptitude for Constitutional Government.

Considering the short time they have had and the way in which their work has been hampered, he considers that they have done a great deal and that the criticisms are unjust. "First of all," he said, "the Majlis dealt with the financial situation. At a time when there was not a penny in the Exchequer, it found the money for sending expeditions against the various rebels and it succeeded in quelling the disturbances."

"The Ministry of Finance was reformed completely. Persia's loans with the Imperial Bank of Persia and the Russian Bank were consolidated. The interests were reduced and a new loan was contracted on favourable terms with the Imperial Bank of Persia. Unfortunately almost the whole of the proceeds of that loan had to be spent on the expedition against the ex-Shah."

"It is most unjust to say that any money was wasted. There was never sufficient money to meet the necessary expenditure for the various expeditions and military measures that had to be taken. As a matter of fact, members of the Cabinet met the loss out of their own pockets. As a member of the Financial Committee, connected with all the financial transactions of the Persian Government, I am in a position to speak with knowledge and authority, and I am prepared whilst in London to answer fully any questions on this point."

"People in Europe have the impression that because Persia is an Oriental country, it has no capacity for Constitutional Government, and many of our acts and speeches are misinterpreted."

"For instance, when, in the debate on electoral reform I made a speech in favour of woman suffrage, the report reached the British Press in a humorous shape. It was said that the question was asked, 'How can women have a vote seeing that they have no soul?' No such remark was made. What was said was that women's rights ought to be protected by men, and that, in a Moslem country, women are not yet in a position to have votes."

"The Majlis has also been attacked because of the disorder in the southern part of the country and the injury to British trade. As a matter of fact however, British trade in Southern Persia has been increasing, whilst that of Russia in the north has decreased."

"Anglo-Indian trade in the south rose from approximately three millions and a half sterling in 1910 (184,898,948 krans) to four millions and a half (227,018,000 krans) last year, whilst Russian trade in the north decreased in that same period from nine millions and three-quarters (489,104,644 krans) to nine millions and a half (481,785,342 krans). There has also been enormous loss of life in the northern part of the country during the past two years. We do not deny that the condition of the south is unsatisfactory, but the Government has done all that was possible in the circumstances in spite of the difficulties that claimed its attention in other directions."

"As regards to the future is groundless. Effective measures have been taken by the Persian Government. The gendarmerie, under the Swedish officers, has already done useful work. M. Petersen, one of the Swedish officers, is in Shiraz, where he is busy organizing a force of gendarmerie and establishing a college for the training of officers."

"Three other Swedish officers, with ten Persian officers, whom they have themselves trained, have also arrived in Shiraz with three hundred gendarmes. The Persian Government has also decided to send one of the Swedish officers to Bushire to form a force of gendarmerie there for the Gulf ports. Recently the Government has purchased in Europe a quantity of arms and ammunition, the greater part of which will be sent to Bushire and Shiraz for the gendarmerie."

Morocco.

News of the Week.

The anti-French feeling here is increasing, and is aggravated by the infliction of a fine of one million francs, on the city of Fez on account of the recent rising there, although the behaviour of the inhabitants of the city was generally excellent during the Mutiny.

According to the *Times* message from Tangier, the edict inflicting a fine of a million francs on the city of Fez on account of the recent rising there, has been withdrawn. It is officially stated that the publication of the matter was premature.

Reuter wires from Mogador.—The tribesmen of Sus and Agoo districts have proclaimed Malainin as the Sultan of Sus District. The movement is anti-French and is supported by influential Kais.

Reports from Fez indicate that the situation is becoming worse and that an attack on the city is expected at any moment. The execution of those sentenced by Court Martial in connection with the recent riots has been postponed for fear of disorders.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "MORNING POST'S OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Paris, April 26.

The *Temps* publishes a Fez telegram of to-day's date reporting that several persons whose participation in the Fez disorders had been proved have already been shot. The gates of the town are being guarded by French troops and the native Governors of Fez, Jedid and Fez-Bali are being held responsible for the maintenance of order. It seems certain that the tribes in the neighbourhood of Fez were on the point of rising, and that their plan was only foiled by the speed and determination with which the French military measures were carried out. The more distant tribes are hesitating as to their attitude and some of them are being incited to revolt by bands of armed deserters.

A body of 178 Shereefian horsemen forming the Tabor of Captain Vary at Arbaa, have deserted with their arms and horses, though without attacking their European officers. It appears that they deserted on the arrival of French reinforcements at Suk el Arba, where Lieutenant Thiriet is encamped with the Shereefian infantry. The infantry had shown signs of disaffection, but according to native reports it did not follow the example of the cavalry.

It is announced at the Ministry of War that up to the present no reinforcements are under orders for Morocco, but the possibility of reinforcements being required is under consideration and definite instructions have been sent to the various bodies of troops which might be called upon. It is believed that important decisions with regard to Morocco will be taken at to-morrow's Ministerial Council.

Madrid, April 26.

According to a Melilla telegram the *Harka* has been considerably reinforced, and all the prominent Moors of the Riff have resolved to attend a meeting, which will take place in Faza, to agree on the means to be employed to stop the advance of the French troops. The Spanish garrison of Alcazarquivir has been reinforced with 300 men, and according to an official telegram the French positions near Alcazarquivir has been attacked by Moroccans.

(FROM THE "MORNING LEADER'S OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Madrid, April 25.

The General commanding at Melilla telegraphs that the recent revolt in Fez is reaching the Spanish zone of influence. It is thought probable that the rebels will incite the Kabyles to attack the Spanish garrison.

On Monday night fires were noticed on Mount Zata—a calling together of the tribes. Great unrest prevails around Muluya, and it is known that several of the most troublesome chieftains are banding together.

In the Riff country the well-known rebel leader El-Mizzian is preaching a holy war.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, April 26.

The Fez mutiny and the desertion of a squadron of Shereefian cavalry at Suk-el-Arba make the problem of the immediate measures of pacification and the future organization of the French protectorate a leading subject of discussion in the Press. It is believed that these questions will chiefly occupy the Ministerial Council, which meets to-morrow at Rambouillet under the presidency of M. Balleret. The *Journal des Debats*, which has always advocated a cautious policy, remarks that "Morocco is not like Tunis, which had a kind of unity and where nearly the whole country obeyed a Government which was relatively of an ordered type. Morocco is an artichoke which must be eaten leaf by leaf."

Ambitious projects for the immediate occupation or subjection of the country between the Algerian frontier and Taza (on the way to Fez) are condemned as being more likely to provoke fresh hostilities on the part of the tribes than to promote the pacification of the country. It is pointed out that there is at present no railway either from the Algerian frontier to the river Muluya or from the sea to Fez so that the question of supplies would be well-nigh insoluble. To attempt at present to establish a line of occupation between Algeria and the Atlantic would be to create a long chain of isolated posts which it would be difficult if impossible to defend. As an eminent French soldier recently road, "Let us take care not to occupy fresh territory before we are in a position to administer it." The French public are believed to be too sapt to suppose that everything is settled once the initial military difficulties have been overcome. They are reminded that France will have her hands full when she proceeds to enforce some measure of law and order in the regions which she already occupies—the Shawia, Rabat, Fez and the north-western part of Morocco up to the Spanish zone. The gradual arrival of European immigrants bent upon developing the natural resources of these

regions will make it incumbent upon the French authorities to see to it that the protectorate is made effective within this limited sphere

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Tangier, April 26.

News received to-night reports a serious agitation in the Gharb districts to the south of Alcazar. When the Shereefian cavalry deserted from the French camp at Suk-el-Arba, as reported in my telegram of yesterday, the infantry, who remained loyal, opened fire upon the mutineers, who, nevertheless, succeeded in getting away with all their arms, ammunition and baggage. They proceeded in the direction of Wazan, always the centre of discontent, and situated amongst the mountain tribes. It appears that on the way to Wazan they were fired on by the tribesmen of the district, who believed them to be loyal troops, and who only allowed them to pass when they were known to be mutineers.

Letters from Wazan report that all the surrounding tribes have been tampered with by messages from influential personages at Fez, who urge them to exterminate the French. It is feared that the arrival of the 175 dexterous cavalry from Suk-el-Arba may stir up the mountaineers to action. Meanwhile reinforcements of Algerian Tirailleurs have arrived in camp at Suk el Arba, where the situation was critical.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, April 28.

General Lyautey, Commander of the Tenth Army Corps at Rennes and former French High Commissioner on the Algero-Moroccan frontier, has been appointed the first French Resident General in Morocco. This decision was taken at yesterday's Ministerial Council under the Presidency of M. Fallières at Rain bouillet. General Lyautey had a long interview with the Prime Minister, M. Poincaré, and the Minister of War, M. Millerand, this afternoon at Versailles.

General Lyautey will be assisted by M. Gaillard, the present French Consul at Fez, who is to be appointed Secretary-General to the Residency. M. Regnault, the French Minister to Morocco, who, as Special Envoy to Fez, recently obtained the Sultan's signature to the Protectorate Treaty, will be appointed to a Legation in Europe.

The new Resident-General will be placed under the direct control of the Foreign Office. In order to mark the importance of the Protectorate régime the charge of Moroccan affairs will be vested in a separate department at the Quai d'Orsay. As the number of departments at the Foreign Office has been fixed at 12 by the decree of 1910, M. Poincaré has decided that the so-called "Press Bureau," which has hitherto formed a separate department, shall be reduced to the rank of a sub-department of the Political Section. Emoluments on the scale payable to a chief department have thus become available for the new Moroccan Bureau without any increase in the Foreign Office vote. M. Chassan de Marcelli, who now directs the sub-department for Morocco, will remain in charge of Moroccan affairs. M. Georges Cluchant, who succeeded M. Maurice Herbette at the head of the Press Bureau, is to be appointed First Secretary at Munich, and M. Jules Mancini, who has had nearly six years' experience of the Press Bureau, is to be placed in charge of the Press service.

General Lyautey was born at Nance in 1854, and his services will therefore be available for another seven or eight years before he reaches the age limit. Mention has repeatedly been made of his brilliant records as cavalry officer at home, and as a soldier and administrator in the French colonies. In Indo-China, nearly twenty years ago, he was attached to General Galheni, under whom he continued to serve in the Madagascar campaign. After an interval, during which he commanded the XIVth Hussars at Alençon, and subsequently acted as temporary Brigadier-General in Algeria, he was appointed to the command of the Oran division, and, in 1908, he received the title of High Commissioner on the Algero-Moroccan frontier. His conduct of the campaign against the Beni Snassen and his handling of frontier problems during his three years' tenure of this difficult post won for him golden opinions. General D'Autrade whose operations at Casablanca in 1907 remain equally memorable is said to have expressed the view that no better man than General Lyautey could possibly be found to represent France at Fez under the new régime. General Lyautey, who is the author of an interesting treatise on "Le rôle social de l'officier," "Le rôle colonial de l'Armée," and similar topics, is regarded as a future Academician.

M. François Gaillard, the new Secretary-General to the Residency, has been Consul at Fez since the Algiers Conference, at which he was present as Attaché to the French delegation. His whole official career, which began as Consular probationer at Tangier in 1895, has been passed in Morocco. Few Frenchmen know Fez and the ways of the Maghreb better than he. During the siege of the capital last year he behaved with gallantry and discretion, and his more recent services have been rewarded by promotion to the rank of Officer of the Legion of Honour.

In a preamble to the decree appointing General Lyautey Resident-General, the Prime Minister recalls the events which have led up to the establishment of the French Protectorate and

the circumstances in which the recent mutiny broke out in Fez. In order to secure unity of action all civil and military power is to be vested in a single representative, in whom the Government can place entire confidence. These powers are to be exercised under the sovereignty of the Sultan & in the interests of the French Protectorate and with due regard for the treaty rights of other Powers, especially as regards the principle of economic equality. In assigning this task to General Lyautey the Government points out that France's civilizing mission in Morocco cannot be carried out until the ground has been methodically prepared by the pacification of the country. The new Resident-General's record as soldier and administrator is regarded as a guarantee that the tribes will be induced to acquiesce in the French protectorate by the enforcement of well-considered measures in political, economic, and military spheres.

In addition to the terms of General Lyautey's commission there will be published in the course of the next few days an official memorandum dealing with the organization of the French Protectorate. This scheme will likewise be promulgated in the form of a decree.

Public opinion has unreservedly ratified the Government's action in designating General Lyautey, and the greatest possible satisfaction is expressed at the fact that a soldier has been appointed to discharge the difficult duties of first French Resident General in Morocco. The recent mutiny at Fez has unquestionably silenced in advance the criticism which might otherwise have been directed against what, in view of the history of the French Protectorate in Tunis, can only be described as a departure from Republican precedents.

In response to the Prime Minister's request for a report on the causes of the Fez mutiny on the 17th instant, M. Regnault has telegraphed that the outbreak was due to the reduction of the pay of the Shereefian troops in connexion with the establishment of canteens. M. Regnault states that there was nothing to indicate that these troops were discontented. No general significance was attached to an isolated attack some weeks ago on one of the French instructors at Fez. Indeed, the troops wanted to lynch the perpetrator of the outrage. The men have repeatedly shown perfect obedience under French discipline. No Shereefian official is charged with having failed in his duty, with the sole exception of the *Allas* (the native commissariat officer) and his secretary. An inquiry has been instituted regarding this official's conduct.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

A correspondent lately returned from Morocco gives me the following explanation to account for the massacre of Jews by the Moors at Fez. The Jews in Morocco, he says, are obliged to live in a quarter apart, are not allowed to wear hats or boots, and have to be servile in the presence of Moors. The Jews kept these regulations carefully, and the Moors never found it expedient to interfere with them. When, however, the French entered Fez last summer the Jews in the *mella* threw off all their restrictions. European hats, patent leather shoes, saddles, all appeared as if by magic. The conditional servility was thrown to the winds. The Moors were powerless to do anything. There were 2,000 French soldiers at the gates. But they observed, and laid up a harvest for the Jews to be reaped at some later date. Thus it was that the mutiny against the French officers at the beginning of this month was accompanied by the first massacre that ever took place in the Jewish quarter in Fez. My correspondent declares that the number killed was over a thousand.

(FROM THE "MORNING POST'S" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, May 1.

Reports from Fez state that the situation is calm, though a number of the mutineers are still at large in the country. With regard to the proclamation of the state of siege, the *Temps* states to-night that no protest was made by the German, Austro-Hungarian, and Spanish Consuls. They merely took note of the proclamation and reserved to themselves the right of consulting their Governments on the matter.

The two cruisers which, as stated in my despatch of last night, left for Morocco yesterday, will remain off Tangier in order to calm the uneasiness of the foreign colonies in the town, which had been alarmed by the latest news from the Gharb.

(FROM THE "BIRMINGHAM DAILY POST.")

According to a telegram received in an official quarter here from Paris, the Ambassadors in that capital of Italy, Germany, and Austria-Hungary, while taking formal note of the proclamation of a state of siege in Fez, have lodged a protest against that step on the ground that it might restrict the rights and safety of foreigners whose affairs compel them to remain in the Moroccan capital. The British and Russian Ambassadors, I am told, readily acknowledged on behalf of their Governments, however, the necessity for the proclamation, and in the answer the French Foreign Minister has returned to the other Powers he has urged that the French authorities may be relied upon not only to respect the rights of foreigners in Morocco, but to safeguard all lives and property.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Reuter wired from Constantinople on the 18th instant — The Dardanelles were opened to-day. Steamers are now passing out

The London branch of the All-India Moslem League has made representations to the Foreign Secretary urging that the extension of hostilities to the Dardanelles and places within reach of Constantinople is calculated to incite the warlike elements in the neighbouring states, and that India should organise a system of volunteering for the assistance of Turkey. It declares that "it will be impossible for our Government to repress the movement on the part of Indian and frontier Mussalmans without the risk of great unpopularity." It points out that the blockade of the Red Sea ports has caused injury which is far greater than usually imagined. Large bodies of pilgrims have been unable to leave Hedjaz for fear of capture and are suffering great distress. The Government is urged to take such steps as it may consider expedient to prevent the further development of a situation prejudicial to the interests of humanity and the progress of the Eastern world.

Reuter wired from Rome — Three Italian columns surrounded the Rhodes garrison in a position in the mountains, the only retreat from which was commanded by the guns of the warships. The Turks lost 83 killed and 26 wounded before they broke and took refuge in the ravines. Italian losses were 4 killed and 26 wounded. The Prime Minister announced in the Chamber, amidst enthusiasm, that the Turkish garrison at Rhodes had surrendered with the honours of war. There is great jubilation in Italy at the surrender of the Rhodes garrison. Signor Giolitti, the Premier, read the despatches in the Chamber of Deputies amid frantic cheering. The papers describe the victory as a defeat of entrenched Turkish regulars, not one gained over the Arab hordes. The press considers the Rhodes success as "one of the most brilliant victories of a glorious war." While occupying Rhodes the Italians took 2,300 prisoners, including 38 officers, 4,000 rifles and four batteries.

An Italian battleship has destroyed the barracks and magazine at Marmaris opposite Rhodes.

The *Daily Telegraph*, discussing Britain's position in regard to the Turco-Italian war, declares that while Britain is desirous of remaining on friendly terms with Italy, she is bound as a Mahommedan Power to consider the desires of the vast population of India. She cannot, without embarrassment, see the curtailment of Ottoman authority. Britain, the Journal adds, has recently become more popular with Turkey, because it has been felt that she is bound to defend Mahommedan interests.

Reuter wired from Constantinople:—A special council of Ministers has decided upon the expulsion of all Italians from the Empire with the exception of workmen, indigent persons and widows within a fortnight.

Reuter wired from Rome — The main part of the new fort of Tobruk is now complete. Guns and a permanent garrison will shortly be installed.

The Italians have captured the Island of Cos.

The Italian Commanders have informed the inhabitants of the Islands in the Aegean now occupied by the Italian troops that the Islands will not be re-occupied by Turks at any rate not on the same conditions as before.

A message to the *Times* states that Great Britain has acceded to the request of Turkey to appoint five English officers for the reorganisation of the Gendarmerie in European Turkey.

In spite of exemptions which include workmen on certain trades, it is estimated that the expulsion of Italians from Turkey will affect at least 16,000 persons.

The King of Italy has presented Signor Giolitti, Premier, with £4,000 for relief of Italians expelled from Turkey.

Reuter wired from Paris on the 22nd instant:—M. Isvolsky, Russian Ambassador, speaking before the Russian Chamber of Commerce, said that the French and Russian Governments were making efforts to settle the Turco-Italian conflict. They were in complete harmony with Great Britain, the friend of both France and Russia.

News by the English Mail.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Berlin.

The *Lobdenwiger* publishes a letter from Enver Bey painting the position of himself and the Turkish army in the rosiet of colours. He says he has telegraphic connections with Egypt and

Tunis, but complains that the English are causing him trouble on the Egyptian frontier. He describes decisive victories which he says he has gained over the Italians.

Rome, April 28.

The following semi-official statement is issued here:—

"A wireless telegraphic message has been received from Admiral Presbitero in the cruiser *Pisa*, stating that in order to enter into complete occupation of the island of Stampalia two companies of Italian troops were landed, with orders to carry by surprise the hills overlooking the town of Livadin and to surround the detachment of Turkish regulars encamped there. The movement was completely successful, and at dawn an envoy was sent to demand the surrender of the Turks. The latter offered no resistance. Military honours were accorded to the small garrison thus captured."

(FROM THE "DAILY NEWS" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople.

There is a rumour here that the Italian battleship *Ré Umberto* struck a reef and foundered off Seid-i-Said (in Tripoli, near the Tunis frontier) while the fleet was covering the recent Italian landing in that neighbourhood.

[The *Ré Umberto* is an old ironclad of 1,400 tons, built in 1888.]

(THE "LEGANT HERALD.")

It is reported by the Turkish papers that the Italian cruiser *Varese*, which was damaged during the bombardment of the Dardanelles, sunk off Moudros. Only the masts remain visible. It is added that the bodies of four Italians were washed ashore at Sed-ul Bahr.

Reuter's Agency is requested by the Italian Embassy to state that the rumours in circulation to the effect that Italian warships have been sunk or damaged by the Turkish fire during the engagement at the Dardanelles are absolutely devoid of foundation.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople.

A list of 75 prominent Italian residents in Constantinople, whose expulsion has been decreed, contains the names of Signor Geerbasso, Councillor of the Italian Embassy, and the two Vice-Consuls, who, with the cognisance of the Porte, remained behind on the outbreak of hostilities to assist the German Embassy in the protection of Italian interests.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, May 1

During the last 48 hours the attitude of official opinion here towards the opening of the Dardanelles seems to have completely changed. The *Tanin* this morning published a leading article explaining that the Italian bombardment of the Dardanelles was a last despairing effort to bring about the intervention of the Powers, and admitting that it had been partially successful. The journal continued:—

Russia has shown her claws and Bulgaria and Greece are excited. In each of these three States one hears much of the danger to peace. If peace is endangered these States will endanger it . . . yet we fail to see that the Government has any further interest in keeping the Straits closed. If by doing so it obliges the neutral Powers to protest and finally to intervene it will play the Italian game for them. European intervention cannot assist us, for experience teaches us that such intervention has always been to our detriment . . . If the responsibility for the closing of the Dardanelles rests with Italy, the ill-feeling caused by the consequent commercial losses is turning against us . . . Let us leave the Dardanelles open. Any attempt to force a passage will lead to the utter defeat of our enemy. By making the channel open we avoid serious political complications.

The Council of Ministers sat till past 9 o'clock this evening, and after a long debate decided in principle to open the Dardanelles to merchant shipping. The Government, while anxious to avoid political complications, also wishes to inflict the minimum of commercial loss on neutral Powers, whose benevolent attitude is undoubtedly appreciated by all the moderate elements here.

The general feeling in Turkish circles has been against the closing of the Dardanelles. They would have been rather glad than otherwise if the Italians had attempted to force the passage, being convinced that the defences are equal to the task of repelling any attack. On the other hand, from the political point of view the Porte's decision is regarded as statesmanlike and reasonable and deserving of commendation — Reuter.

Constantinople, April 27.

The anniversary of the Sultan's accession was observed with more than usual display this year. The streets were decked with

25th May.

bunting and enormous crowds proceeded to the Hill of Liberty, where in the afternoon a review of about 25,000 troops of all arms took place in the presence of the Sultan, the Heir Apparent and other Imperial Princes, the Cabinet Ministers, and members of the foreign Diplomatic Body. This evening the city was illuminated and a display of fireworks took place in honour of the day. The new iron bridge connecting Galata with Stambul was publicly inaugurated and a section of the Baghdad Railway in the Adana district was opened to traffic.

The entire Turkish Press to-day publishes patriotic articles dwelling on the importance of the day from the point of view of the consolidation of the Constitutional régime and the manifestation of union and concord which, in the words of the *Tanzim*, "will demonstrate to the world that Ottomans are strong and worthy to live"—*Reuter*

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, April 29.

Rear-Admiral Williams and most of the members of the British Naval Mission, whose contracts expired recently, left to-night by the Orient express. They were seen off by a large number of Turkish naval officers, by whom they were repeatedly cheered. In spite of many difficulties and of the restriction of its activities caused by the outbreak of the war, the Mission has done much useful work in improving the organization and training of the Ottoman fleet. Its members were received in audience before leaving by the Sultan, who conferred the Order of the Liakat in gold on each of them and presented Admiral Williams with a signed photograph of himself framed in gold. They also received valuable artistic souvenirs from the Ministry of the Marine.

(THE "LEVANT HERALD")

The expeditionary corps sent against Seid Idris, which includes several divisions of regular troops, the forces of Imani Yahia, and the force of volunteers organized by the Emir of Mecca, is reported to have surrounded the Seid's forces at Sabia (Assyr). The Seid's men attempted to retreat towards the west and a severe battle ensued. The Seid is said to have lost 480 men.

The Egyptian papers state that amongst the killed there were fifteen Italian officers, disguised as Arabs, who taught the rebels to handle the guns sent to Idris by the Italians.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Rome, April 30.

The Chamber of Deputies reassembled to-day in rather scanty numbers after its Easter recess. The question of railway finance, which stands first on the order, seems to have lost most of its interest for the Opposition, and the debate on the Commission's report, which threatened at one time to be lively, is now likely to be of a most perfunctory kind. Even in the case of the Electoral Reform Bill, interest seems to be waning, and there is every chance that the measure will pass through the Chamber without much hindrance in spite of the large number of Deputies who have declared their intention to speak on the subject. The conduct of the war is still the all-absorbing topic for the Chamber, as for the country at large, but there is little likelihood of the Government's permitting any discussion as yet, and the Chamber seems willing to acquiesce in the policy of silence.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT)

Rome

In an article upon the Russo-Italian war to-day the *Tribuna* remarks—"It was suspected that Turkey would endeavour to exploit the closing of the Dardanelles by working upon the feelings of certain Powers. The right to force the straits and our capacity to do so form our most potent weapons of offence. By what law can we be deprived of it? The operation of forcing the Dardanelles will be a long and systematic business. The closing of the Dardanelles is a political and diplomatic manœuvre intended to set Europe against Italy. We think the straits should be reopened, but the Powers should force Turkey to respect the rights of neutrals."

Constantinople, April 28.

Telegrams from Damascus report the practical destruction by fire of the bazaar quarters of the town. The conflagration, which broke out at midnight on Friday, only exhausted itself towards evening yesterday. The branches of the Ottoman Bank and the German Palestine Bank escaped, although at one moment they were seriously threatened. The troops of the garrison worked energetically, but were much handicapped owing to the absence of proper appliances for combating the fire. Several persons were killed and a number injured. The losses are estimated at £T2,000,000.—*Reuter*

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Cairo, April 30.

The action brought by the Government against Mahomed Bey Farid, President of the Nationalist Party, in consequence of a seditious speech delivered by him at the annual meeting of the party at the end of last month, was heard to-day. Farid, who during the preliminary examination some weeks ago, left precipitately for Athens

and Constantinople, has not returned. The hearing was, therefore, confined to the case brought by the Government against Aly Bey Fahmy Kamel and Ismail Efendi Hafez, directors of the native journals *Al Lewa* and *Al Alam*, respectively, who were accused of complicity, inasmuch as they had published Farid's speech in their journals. All three accused were found guilty. The Court sentenced Mahomed Bey Farid to one year's imprisonment with hard labour and the others to three months' imprisonment. Aly Bey Fahmy Kamel is a brother of the late Mustafa Pasha Kamel, founder of the Nationalist Party, and by means of a school which he directs exerts considerable influence on the youth of Cairo.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Odessa, April 26.

A Greek friend who has just returned from an extended tour in Asia Minor observed to me to-day that the complex situation in the Near East is pregnant of a potential and ultimate danger which, apparently, the presently neutral Powers do not recognize or appreciate, and it is a menace that England more especially can not afford to ignore or regard with complacent indifference. Turkey's ill-treatment, not only by Italy, but by certain Great Powers which have hitherto professed to be her staunch friends and well-wishers, may be pushed beyond the long-suffering patience and endurance of the Moslem people. My informant, who is a native of Asia Minor and a man of keenly observant intelligence, perfectly apprehends the mood and sentiment of the people, and he assured me, with marked gravity of utterance, that the dread Fatma flag may any day, and without warning, be raised in that province and a holy war proclaimed by the hodjas. Once the pent-up frenzy of Moslem exasperation and renascent religious fanaticism burst forth here or there, it will be beyond the power of the Young Turk régime to extinguish the devastating blaze before a widespread massacre of Christians and Europeans has drenched the country in blood, and, not improbably, entailed such complications as may enkindle another blaze in the Balkans and a European convulsion. My friend is no foolish alarmist. He possesses an intimate knowledge of the present temper and feeling of the people in Asia Minor of whom he speaks, and that province is to-day but a hardly suppressed volcano. The cataclysmic danger he honestly fears is no remote possibility, but an actually existent and ominously menacing eventuality should the "baying of the Turk" be much longer protracted. It goes without saying, as my informant added, that England, as a great Muhammadan Power should, and must, shape her policy in the Near East, at least for some time to come, with a vigilantly alert regard to the danger here briefly stated by an authority whose knowledge and opinion undoubtedly command, or should command, grave attention.

The International Situation.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Paris, April 30.

NOTWITHSTANDING the reassuring declarations of M. Sazonoff in the Duma last Friday and Count Berchtold's pacific statement to the Hungarian Delegations to-day, public opinion in France continues to be inspired by anxieties of various kinds. M. Sazonoff's statement was, indeed, regarded as altogether satisfactory from the essential points of view of the Franco-Russian Alliance. His references to the traditional relations of Russia and Germany are regarded as perfectly correct in substance and in tone. The attitude of Russia towards Germany may sometimes have been misunderstood by a section of the French Press. It is pointed out that there need never be any serious opposition between the two Imperial Governments save in cases where Germany identifies herself with the adversaries of Russia or yields to manifestations of German Chauvinism. The famous Potsdam conversations in the autumn of 1910 need really have had no concern for France, and their import is now better understood.

A subject which affects French preoccupations more closely is that of Russian policy in Asia. The *Journal des Débats* says that the only danger lies in the possibility that Russia might place excessive reliance upon German assurances regarding European questions, and on the strength of them engage herself too deeply in Asiatic enterprises. It says:—

If ever Russia were to be deeply engaged in the Far East while France was seriously occupied in Morocco, the destinies of the Near East would be settled in a sense inimical both to Russia and to France.

The language held by M. Sazonoff is believed to preclude any such perilous situation, since it shows that he understands this vital question. Russia is determined to maintain a waiting policy in Asia; she is acting in agreement with Great Britain in Persia, and she wishes to remain to all intents and purposes a spectator of what is taking place in China. The exception made with regard to the future régime in Mongolia is regarded as justified by the special circumstances of that region. M. Sazonoff's declarations with regard to eventual mediation by Russia are interpreted as contemporaneously

merely a large measure of autonomy for the Mongols and their emancipation from the excessive burden of Chinese garrisons. Viewed in this aspect, Russian policy appears to be directed towards the establishment of the *status quo* rather than the introduction of radical changes.

The perils entailed for Europe by an indefinite prolongation of the war between Turkey and Italy are the subject of more anxious preoccupations. M. Sazonoff's declarations regarding the Balkan States and Crete are welcomed as eminently conservative and pacific. His desire that the Powers should exercise every legitimate influence in order to facilitate the restoration of peace is entirely shared in France, but the extreme delicacy of the situation is appreciated, as well as the necessity of eschewing any kind of intervention which might conceivably extend the conflagration instead of extinguishing or limiting it. The Italian operations in the Aegean do not tend to reassure French opinion. The utmost reserve has, so far, been maintained, even after to-day's news of the sinking of the steamer *Texas* in consequence of a collision with a submarine mine in the Gulf of Smyrna. The *Temps* confines itself to remarking upon the tendency of Greek sympathies for Italy to cool down in view of the detriment to the Hellenic mercantile marine which must be a consequence of the present uncertainty of navigation in the Aegean and to the Black Sea. There is also believed to be great uneasiness in Greece with regard to the immediate future of the population of the islands in the Aegean. The Greeks feel that their kindred are likely to suffer both in the event of an Italian bombardment and in consequence of the policy of effective occupation which the Turks are already carrying out in Mitylene, Chios, Rhodes, and Samos.

(THE DAILY NEWS.)

During the last few days the responsible Ministers of four Great Powers have made important statements on the international situation—M. Sazonoff to the Duma, Count Berchtold to the Austro-Hungarian Delegations, Herr Kiderlen-Waechter to the Budget Committee of the Reichstag, and Mr. Asquith to the House of Commons. One and all agree that the situation is, on the whole, satisfactory, and express an optimism which is entirely welcome though not entirely expected. Only a short time ago the prophets were foretelling serious trouble, the melting of the snows would bring an inevitable rising in Albania, and the war, coupled with the misgovernment of the Committee, would set the Balkans ablaze. Spring is passing, and there is no sign of a rebellion in Macedonia or an adventurous stroke by one or other of the Balkan States. Undoubtedly the secret of the matter is that understanding between Russia and Austria to which M. Sazonoff referred. These two Governments are agreed to maintain the peace of the Balkans, and they have given injunctions to that effect to their client States. If Russia and Austria want peace they are not moved purely by affection for Turkey. Russia and Austria are competitors for the Turkish succession. Whenever they pursue a forward Balkan policy they can hardly escape opposing one another; but at the present time neither Russia nor Austria is in a condition to try conclusions the one with the other, or, indeed, indulge in any large and risky enterprise. The Russian army is still thoroughly disorganized and devoured with corruption, it is no menace to a strong Power or a Foreign Minister with a strong will. Russia has sufficient occupation in absorbing Persia and Mongolia. Austria, again, has internal complications and financial difficulties, and she has not thoroughly digested Bosnia and Herzegovina. Russia and Austria have, therefore, agreed upon the one course that they could agree upon, and which suits the convenience of both—that there shall be no disturbance of the peace in the Near East which they can prevent.

(THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

The Paris correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* writing on 1st May said:—

Those who know are more and more persuaded here that Russia is privately coming to some understanding with Italy. I am afraid that the repeated denials of any such agreement uttered from St Petersburg are received with scepticism in Paris. It will, of course, be remembered that it was the Russian Government which took the initiative months ago in consulting the Powers on the question of possible mediation between Turkey and Italy. Any such mediation was stultified from the start by Italy's rash proclamation of the annexation of Tripoli and the ratification of the annexation by Parliament. Mediation, nevertheless, was proposed by Russia. Had it come to anything it could have been only at the expense of Turkey.

It may, perhaps, have escaped the public recollection that at the outset the Russian intention of proposing mediation was strenuously denied. Nevertheless, the proposal was eventually made. Denials of a private understanding between Russia and Italy are now taken with a grain of salt in consequence. I have not yet seen it pointed out that M. Sazonoff's (the Foreign Minister's) recent speech certainly does not remove any existing grounds for believing that such an understanding exists—on the contrary. The secret of the impression produced by that speech upon the French

Government has been extraordinarily well kept. Every single French paper of standing has repeated the usual expressions of gratification at the reference in the speech to the Dual Alliance and the Triple Entente. Not one had even hinted till this evening that everything is not for the best in the best possible of diplomatic worlds.

But as a matter of fact the impression produced here by M. Sazonoff's speech was not altogether pleasing. I am letting the cat out of the bag when I say that when the first reports reached here they were read by French diplomacy with some uncomfortable surprise. A couple of hours after the speech was known here diplomats to whom I talked on the subject confessed that their first impression of it was disagreeable, "but wait until we have the full report" was their consolation. The full report arrived, and the impression was to a great extent confirmed. It would not be fair to repeat all that I was told on the subject, but the gist of it was: "There seems to be a very great deal about Russian friendship with Germany and with Italy in our ally's pronouncement."

There is not the slightest doubt that a private Russo-Italian entente would be unpopular here, both in practice and on principle. At the outset of the Turco-Italian War the French Government and French opinion rather favoured Italy. The Government had, of course, years before, agreed to allow a free hand to Italy in Tripoli. French opinion was at first impressed by the remarkably swift beginning of the Italian campaign, which, indeed, surprised Europe. Since that everyone's estimate of the Italian operations has very much changed.

VIA VIENNA and PARIS comes a strange report sent by the *Central News*. This is to the effect that the recent assassination of the Prince-Governor of Samos and the present agitation in Cyprus and Crete are the result of a scheme concerted in Rome which aims at the creation of the kingdom in the Archipelago, the crown of which would be offered to the Duke of the Abruzzi.

Such a State would form an outlet for Italian colonisation, and would turn the balance of power in the Mediterranean in favour of Italy.

(THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

A most significant if somewhat amusing message is transmitted by the Rome correspondent of the *Temps* giving the official Italian view on the Dardanelles question. In official Government quarters, the correspondent says, the attitude of the Porte in refusing to reopen the Straits for fear of an attack on the part of the Italian navy is regarded as "specious and insincere." "The Porte," the official voice declares, "as indeed all the other Powers, knows perfectly well that Italy is not contemplating at present forcing the Dardanelles, inasmuch as she has another very definite plan for naval action in the Aegean Sea, which does not at all necessitate her attacking the Dardanelles. The artillery duel which took place on 18th April between the Ottoman forts and the Italian warships was provoked by the fire from the forts, as the Italian fleet had only in view to make a demonstration with a view to inducing the Turkish squadron to come out and fight. Naturally, as the forts were the first to fire, the warships replied, but the forcing of the Straits no more entered the programme of the Italian Admiralty than it does now."

"The Turks in insisting on closing the Straits on the pretext that the Italian fleet may force the passage are simply seeking to embroil Italy with the neutrals, or to obtain from the latter a guarantee that Italy would not enter the Dardanelles. But the Italian Government is not inclined to lend itself to such tactics. . . . And it places all responsibility for closing the Dardanelles and for all the consequences therefrom upon Turkey."

The Dardanelles.

BY PERCEVAL LANDON.

We had just missed the early morning pilotage through the Dardanelles and for four or five hours we had been steaming slowly up and down in front of the jaws of the famous strait waiting for the return of the guiding gunboat. There was a strong south-westerly wind blowing sheets of fine spray horizontally off the crests of the waves, and sky and sea alike were grey and troubled by the promise of a storm. In the course of the morning four or five other steamers, chiefly Greek coasting tramps, came up and joined in our chilly patrol. On the northern side of the strait, the white and now deserted lighthouse of Sidd-el-Bahr stood out against the dull ochre of the promontory, and four hundred yards to the east a conspicuous minaret lent a touch of distinction to the little collection of mud hovels and blankwalled houses of the town. It looked innocent enough in all conscience, but we knew that it was the seaward outpost of the fortifications, and we knew, too, that the three-quarters of a mile of chilly, pewter-coloured sea that stretched between Sidd-el-Bahr and Kum-Kaleh, on the Asiatic side of the channel, was strewn thickly with mines, through which only a narrow path of safety curved and re-curved under the northern cliffs for fourteen or fifteen miles.

Kum Kaleh lies just within the actual opening, crowding down upon a low spit of land where a break in the southern cape exposed a view of the land behind and allowed a scanty stream or two to find its way through the bunched shingle to the sea. It was curious to look through the ship's glasses at that wide, flat beach, with its few poplars beside the creeks, and realise, as one counted the very stones, that that landingplace was more famous than any other beach in history. Not even the curving sands of Marathon or the shelving reefs of Trafalgar are quite so certain of immortality as that strip of land whereon Agamemnon and Achilles drew up their hollow ships in order, and set out their encampments for the ten long years of the siege of Troy. Here the hardest fighting of all took place; here the dead Greeks were washed to and fro in their bronze armour beside their galleons, until Achilles took fire at the death of Patroclus, rose up from his sulky retreat, and drove the Trojans headlong back to those dull, wrinkled mounds that are all that is now left of Ilium. Well, after many years, there is war again by the banks of the Simois and Scamander.

At last the first of a long line of ships in Indian file, crept out from under the European shore, and as she met the first hard stress of the wind, she quickened her pace with what seemed visible relief that the journey across such perilous fields had been safely accomplished. One after another they come out, one of them is a sister ship to ours and she runs up a cheerily cynical little message wishing us a happy passage. As soon as the last of them is on her deep sea route, the small ash-grey Turkish gunboat that has been their pilot turns in a slow circle, her scarlet ensign blowing out like a board behind her in the rising gale. The signal "D R U" orders us to fall in astern and follow her. The directions are obeyed with minute care, as may be imagined, and we move into the Dardanelles as delicately as ever did Agam.

The fortifications of the straits are placed on the northern bluffs, though, of course, Kum Kaleh itself is strongly defended. For the present purpose of the Turks the fairway of the straits is naturally mined to the south. Only an exiguous channel is left to the north, in order that any ship daring to run the gauntlet, on the strength of stolen information, should be driven to pass beneath their heaviest guns, in just such a position that no adequate fire could possibly be returned. It would be out of the question to do much harm to the Turkish forts in passing, and, short of taking the defences in rear, only a sudden dash could hope to get even a couple of ships of the Italian fleet through the Sea of Marmora. Of course, since the recent bombardment—which was never intended to be a serious operation of war—the whole width of the Dardanelles has been sown with mines and a raid has been made practically impossible.

The Turks have powerful searchlights in position, and are said to have had no fewer than 800 new mines ready for immediate use for precisely such an emergency. Nor is an attack from the land side likely to be attempted. The Turks have hardly cared to conceal their preparations for beating off any landing parties. There are on the European side two places where small streams descend through ravines into the sea and afford the only possible chance of disembarking a few thousand men. These are known as the Donuz and Saghan creeks respectively, and the Turks have made them both practically impregnable. From the height of the deck of our small steamer one could count the muzzles of scores of field guns commanding the beach.

As is natural, the main fortifications of the cliffs above are carefully concealed. Only on the farther bluff of the Saghan Creek, which commands a full ten miles of the Dardanelles, has there been no attempt at masking the guns, though here, too, they seem rather placed there as a decoy than for serious work. The possibility of running the Dardanelles is naturally a common topic of discussion in Constantinople at this time. The best-informed opinion seems to be that, a surprise being out of the question, a hostile fleet would almost certainly lose half its ships in the attempt and that even those which managed to get through would be seriously injured by the plunging fire of the forts through unprotected decks. Moreover, it is asked what possible good could result from the presence of one or two Italian men-of-war in the Sea of Marmora. The Italians do not intend to land one man on the shore and it would be almost puerile to bombard the meaningless and antique defences of Constantinople itself. It is also not forgotten that the Italian ships would be prisoners in the Sea of Marmora for the remainder of the war. Why, then, has Italy bombarded Kum Kaleh?

The answer is simply that Italy has adopted this means as a political rather than a military operation. She knows well enough that no serious attempt upon the Dardanelles is feasible. But something had to be done to terminate a war that has assumed a character of permanence of which Rome never dreamed last autumn. At this moment the Turks are in exactly as strong a position as they were when the first shot was fired. The war has cost them about two million pounds in all. The Italians have spent over forty millions, and there seems a prospect that the same, or a similar relative expenditure, will be continued until Italy cries "Enough."

But that such should be the end of the war is rightly unthinkable from an Italian point of view. There must then be some new strategy to clear up the *impasse* of this fight between the whale and the elephant—and, be it noted, the position that has been reached is full of significance for Englishmen.

What Italy now intends is that, at any cost to the peace of Europe, the other Powers must be drawn into the struggle. Their commercial interests must, if necessary, be jeopardised by the war's continuance. In particular, Russia must be made to feel that, at least for her if not for others, the free passage of the Dardanelles is an absolute requirement, whatever other nations are doing. In order to draw Russia into the quarrel, Italy has simply taken the only possible action in her power to close the straits logically. Russia should have a bone to pick with Italy rather than with Turkey, for a distinct understanding was arrived at last year that this war should not be prosecuted in the Aegean—but Italy is becoming hard pressed, and at all risks she intends to provoke intervention. Her action in the Dardanelles is a plain challenge to the other Powers, and, on the whole, it is likely to be successful. Nothing is farther from Russia's intention than to provoke an international complication at this moment, but, on the other hand, and for private reasons, she is anxious to pose as the friend—the most valuable friend—of Italy, and she happens to be in a position to bring pressure to bear upon Turkey. That Russia's consent was obtained before the late bombardment of Kum Kaleh, with its necessary result of the closing of the Dardanelles, is, I think, clear. Russia has sought a *locus standi* in this business for many reasons and her action in concentrating troops near Khni and Urmiah is probably not unconnected with the apparently futile operations of the Italian fleet in the Aegean.

For at the moment the Turks are not a whit depressed at the thought of the war lasting another three years. In some ways the challenge has been of the utmost service to her. She has had an excuse for putting her military arrangements in order, and she has taken full advantage of it. Nowhere in the world could you see a more satisfactory body of fighting men than Turkey is now turning out daily. They are bullet-headed, healthy, simple-living soldiers, only too anxious to have a chance of vindicating the military strength of Turkey after the long series of injustices which they believe—and, perhaps, from their own standpoint, not without reason—Turkey has had to put up with from Christian Powers during the last few years. It should not be forgotten that the ordinary Turk has not been in the least impressed by the armed display of Italy. He is more apt to notice the facts that, on the one hand, one small, unaided province of his dominion has held a first-rate Christian Power at bay, while, on the other, he has enjoyed the very important advantages that the action of Italy has instantly brought to an end both the trouble he had been having in the Yemen and the doubtful loyalty of the Senussi in Africa. To obtain the latter alone Turkey would probably have been willing to pay seven times the cost of the present war.

To return to the Dardanelles mines for a moment. It is only right that foreigners should know that the strong current of the straits makes it difficult, if not impossible, to prevent the dragging of mines. If in addition to the mines tethered by a sinker, the Turks have released some hundreds of floating mines with a long life, the passage of the Dardanelles will be for some time attended by risks that one would hardly think a merchantman justified in taking, apart from the fact that the friction set up by the strong tide in the strait will in many cases wear through the steel connecting cable of a sinker in a few days.

THE *impasse* of the Turco-Italian War has come to a head with a suddenness that has found Europe unprepared. The closing of the Dardanelles has brought home to almost every country the reality of a struggle that had become to most observers merely a distant and unmeaning parade of arms. Russia has taken the lead in protest, and her special interests justify her in doing so.

A glance at the map is sufficient to explain the importance of the Dardanelles to Russia. Through it ebbs and flows the whole of the trade of her southern "granary" provinces and of the oil-bearing Caucasus; by it alone during these latter months have ships had access to Russian ports: in short, the closing of the Dardanelles is a source of immediate and tangible harm and loss to Russian interests. So much is obvious. Obvious, too, is the fact that besides being a water road to Russian ports, the Dardanelles is the only sea avenue to Constantinople, and the excessively delicate question has arisen whether, and, if so, to what extent, a nation, in order to protect herself against military risks, may cause certain harm to neutral Powers. Put in that form the question seems to be covered by an undisputed custom of international law, called the *ius adgredi* which permits a belligerent to inflict necessary damage upon the property of neutral, provided—and here is the *caveat* of the problem—that full compensation is *admodum* given. Unfortunately, the only cases of recent date—the right of France to sink British ships in order to obtain a *Prise de guerre* was admitted in 1870—afford comparatively simple and direct instances of such damage. The Dardanelles issue presents difficulties that

the frail machinery of international law is quite unable to deal with. For Turkey, so far as can be seen at present, will flatly decline to pay compensation and will claim the inherent right of any country to protect itself in its own waters. This raises a far more serious matter.

The first contention of the Ottoman Government is, of course, that, as Turkey owns both sides of a strait rarely more than a mile in width, the Dardanelles form an exclusively Ottoman lake.

It is argued by Turks that they have exactly as much right to close them in time of war as England would have to close the Thames under similar circumstances. I have myself heard Turks of the highest position lay down this principle as a postulate of the most elementary nature. Against this contention, it may, however, be urged that the cases are by no means identical. Whether it is so laid down in treaties upon international law or not, there has arisen in late years a tendency to include among a nation's spheres of interest any necessary avenue to her coasts. If Denmark went to war with Sweden and mined the narrow waters of the Sound between Elsinore and Helsingborg, Russia would speedily have something to say. Perhaps, cynically stated, the ruling aspect of the matter is that no weaker Power may inconvenience a greater Power without paying full compensation, even if the weaker Power is admittedly acting within its rights.

But Turkey is unlikely to admit the duty of making compensation. She may concede that harm is being done to neutrals by her action, but at the same time she brings forward two cogent arguments why she should not pay for it. She contends, first, that the neutrals have had abundant notice of a state of war which might at any moment compel Turkey to close the Dardanelles, and which, as a matter of fact, has been taken into consideration in marine insurance rates for some months; secondly, she urges that if any compensation has to be paid, it should be claimed from Italy rather than from Turkey. The Ottoman Government has been attacked. Its capital is threatened. There is only one efficient way—by closing the Straits—of stopping the danger. The Turks have taken it and cannot be held responsible for any loss to neutrals.

"Softly, softly," replies the other side, "but the Dardanelles are not a Turkish lake. The strait has been extraterritorialised by the treaties of 1841 and 1856, and the very existence of the Ottoman Government in Europe is directly bound up with the clauses of those agreements. Half Europe then combined no more to guarantee the existence of a Muhammadan power upon European territory than to regulate the world's traffic through the Dardanelles. The freedom of the Straits is at least as important to the high contracting parties as the preservation of Turkish authority upon European soil. At the present moment the chief object of the European convention of 1856 is set at nought by the action of Turkey. If she wished to defend Constantinople from outside attack, there were fleets and forts for her purpose. She has not built the one, and the other she knows to be inadequate. But that does not justify her in blocking an internationally guaranteed highway and she must pay the penalty for doing so. It is a pretty quarrel, and will, no doubt, be solved in the ancient and honourable way, by which he who has the power takes, and he who can keeps. But the significance of the present state of affairs does not end here."

I have no hesitation in saying that the entrance to the Dardanelles was bombarded by Italian warships a few days ago with no other purpose than that of dragging the other European Powers into a struggle over which Italy was losing grip and that was rapidly becoming unpopular in every town in the peninsula. At all costs, Italy has to find some way of stopping this futile and expensive wrangle. She is stale-mated both on land and sea. At a conservative estimate, the war is costing her a pound for every shilling it costs Turkey, and she knows that therein the inevitable issue of the rash enterprise will be found, if by some means the other Powers could not be drawn into the conflict. Under cover of the dust thus raised Italy might have some chance of retreating without dishonour.

What could she do? The passage of the Dardanelles was the most obvious international necessity which she could threaten. She was herself no party to the treaties of the nineteenth century. On the face of it, it seemed a justifiable operation of war to attempt to seize the entrance to the strait which led to Constantinople. But this was not her real aim. She knew perfectly well that a few shells thrown at Kum Kaleh would cause the immediate release by the Turks of as many mines as would completely block the Dardanelles to all shipping, and thereto she looked for the needed assistance. She had no wish to hold the fort. Nothing was farther from her thoughts than the occupation of even an acre of Turkish territory. All she wanted—and it is the most familiar of all devices in Persia and elsewhere in the East—was that great inconvenience should be caused to other Powers more effective than herself, and she trusted to their appearance in the area—in which she herself was barely holding her own at great cost—as giving her the means of retiring honourably from an unwanted and provoked war.

But international politics are not matters of such simplicity and it may well be asked whether the external Powers that Italy proposed thus to invoke were willing to play their part. Quite frankly, it may be answered that the issues involved by any interference with Turkish affairs are so serious that no Power would have stirred a finger to help Italy in this crisis unless there seemed a chance of thereby advancing another piece on the huge game of European chess that seems to-day to be drawing inevitably to a grim close. Who, then, could be most benefited by a change in the embarrassed but still nominally valid relations between the greater States of Europe? The answer comes pat—Russia, and it is Russia who has acted.

Some two years ago Austria-Hungary slightly upset the balance of the Balkans by annexing in name property that she had already long enjoyed in fact. In itself this was of no very great moment; but its achievement ruffled the guarded calm of the European deep. Russia resented her action. Germany promptly intervened with an ultimatum. Russia, still crippled by internal and external trouble, submitted to Germany. But they knew very little of the long, silent, almost blind purposes of Muscovite policy who could think that there would not be a day of reckoning Russia, at the present moment, aims simply at the detachment of Italy from the Triple Alliance. I have no space in which to set out the far-reaching results of her success in this endeavour, but it would be a terrible and sufficient revenge for the humiliation then inflicted upon her, and it is one that, whatever new treaties or prolongations of existing treaties are about to be signed, is possible at this moment, more within her power to achieve, than it has been at any other time during the last twenty years.

Italy is now persuaded that it is worth her while to make use of the pressure that Russia, and Russia alone, can bring to bear upon Turkey to put an end to the war. In return, Italy may or may not be willing to relax the ties that bind her to Austria, who, it should never be forgotten, is her bitter and almost traditional foe. Whether this defection be actually within her political horizon or not, we may be perfectly sure that the assent of Russia was obtained before a shot was fired by the Italian squadron outside the mouth of the Dardanelles, and it is in the possible results of this sudden understanding between Italy and Russia that the true significance of the present crisis is to be sought.—*The Daily Telegraph.*

Undaunted Turks.

Some interesting information with regard to the progress of events in Tripoli has reached London from Mr. Stuart Smallwood, the war correspondent, who has accompanied the Turkish and Arabian forces at Derna and Tobruk. Mr. Smallwood says that the Italians are despised as fighters by the Arabs, who show great contempt for their fire, which in the difficult country is often very badly directed. The Arabs are resolved to fight to a finish even if they, in their own words, are compelled to eat earth and grass. The dress of the Arab troops so closely resembles the ground they crawl over that it is very difficult to see them 300 metres away even from the rear, much more so for the enemy. Great numbers of Arabs are armed with Italian rifles. In attacking they do not fire at long ranges, but creep up to the enemy, and their first shots are probably fired at distances of 300-400 metres, consequently there is very little waste of ammunition with them. The Arabs have again cut off the Italians' water supply in order to induce them to come out and fight, but with no results. All their water, wood and fuel is brought from Italy. Some writing-paper and envelopes captured from the Italians have the motto "Seioper Avanti Savoia" (but they don't) under an allegorical, but premature picture of Italia as a woman holding aloft a national flag over a map of Tripoli. The number of the Italian infantry in Beighazi is 15,000, in Tripoli 25,000, in Derna 20,000 and in Tobruk 15,000. There are in addition 23 batteries of artillery. "Enver Bey (who was reported to have died) can, if he likes, make himself a Sultan of the Tripolitans," adds Mr. Smallwood. "I doubt, however, if he is the man to do so, though he does not fail to see his opportunity, I do not think he will use it. He is immensely popular and deeply revered as the representative and son-in-law of the Sultan by the Arabs, who approach his presence as one might that of a king. He has to submit himself to be kissed all over—even when he is out riding or walking. He is determined to stay in Tripoli while the war lasts, and even if Turkey should make peace while the Italians are on Tripolitan soil the conditions of the contract will not prevent him from continuing the war with the Arabs alone."—*The Daily Chronicle.*

Arab Girls on the Battlefield.

(FROM THE "DAILY CHRONICLE" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, April 23.

What greatly increases the fierce, fanatical enthusiasm of the Arab warriors in the sandy deserts of Tripoli and Benghazi in the presence of a large number of girls, the so-called "Amariyehs"

(Menders), as well as of whole regiments of half-naked valiant Arab boys.

According to the sacred writings of Islam, neither the very old nor the very young must be excluded from warfare, especially when it becomes necessary to meet an infidel invader or when the Moslem faith itself seems in danger. Thus, in the Arab camps of Tripoli and Benghazi there are at present numbers of old men of about 80 years of age and of male children not exceeding the age of eight.

Both of them fight with admirable courage. Many a grey beard has put to utter shame much younger warriors through their exceptional knowledge of war tactics and through their complete disregard of difficulties and dangers. The vehement fanaticism of the old, too, is a most formidable weapon, frequently more deadly than the vigorous courage and endurance of the young.

Every one of the boys has a rifle. It is rather amusing, say, those who have just arrived here from the field of battle, to see such a little fellow carrying in a most warlike spirit his rifle, which is longer by far than himself.

With regard to the "Amariyehs" or Menders, these are young Arab beauties, girls between 16 and 18 years of age. They derive their name from their office. Their duty is to "mend" the courage of the fainting, to rebuke the wavering and to inspire the brave. This seems to be an old Arab custom much in vogue in North African districts.

The Menders have also other duties. They bring water to the thirsty into the foremost ranks of the warriors. They help to transfer the wounded to the ambulance hospitals. They snatch the dying from the field of battle that they should not fall into the hands of the enemy.

Many an Amariyeh has fallen a victim to her splendid vocation.

A pathetic story is told of an Amariyeh who had accompanied her lover into the battlefield. Both of them were assigned to a company of warriors near Tripoli. They all swore that they would "tear their hearts out of their bosoms" rather than yield to the "Macaroni." The latter proved, however, much stronger. The Arab fighters fell one by one. The lover of the Amariyeh was mortally wounded. When the girl saw that there was no escape she lay herself alongside his expiring body. She did not commit suicide, but when the enemy came he found the couple dead, entwined in the last desperate embrace of the eternal farewell.

The Problems of Turkey.

The Neue Freie Presse publishes an interview which its Constantinople correspondent had the other day with Husein Hilmi Pasha, formerly Grand Vizier, who no doubt will one day occupy the post once more. Hilmi Pasha had just returned from his European tour, and in reply to the first question as to what his views were on the subject of peace, deliberately declared:—"I can express, with all the necessary reserve fitting every Ottoman, my profound conviction that an honourable peace is impossible to us so long as the efforts at mediation do not start from the abrogation of the Italian decree of annexation For us," he continued, "there is only one great danger, that we should conclude peace before our military strength has broken down. Then I am convinced—we should lose the twelve million Arabs—not merely those who are defending Tripoli, but all the Muhammadans in North Africa and Arabia. I do not say that they would attack us or even proclaim their independence, but the trust that the Arabs have gained in the power of Turkey, owing to the leadership of our officers, would be gone." In the course of his further remarks on the situation, Hilmi Pasha touched upon the well-known pacific sentiments of Said Pasha, the present Grand Vizier, and on his own candidature for the post. He said:—"Said Pasha has the reputation of being a pacifist. But you can well imagine that his personal views are bound to sink into the background in face of the will of the nation expressed by the majority in Parliament. His well-known remarks about the possibility of concluding peace were presumably only a way of speaking which had better not have been employed, but had, as a matter of fact, nothing to do with the dissolution of the Chamber. For the rest, the Grand Vizier, though physically weak, is mentally and morally perfectly sound, and has no intention of withdrawing. And since there is no personal quarrel between him and the Committee majority he will probably obtain from the new Chamber a vote of confidence, in order, perhaps, then to retire with all honour for reasons of health." As regards himself, Hilmi Pasha said:—"I have since my retirement repeatedly declared to my friend Talaat Bey and others that I would not again accept the post of Grand Vizier for three years. I thus have before me still some eight months. Apart, however, from that, everybody has his views, and my own are this: Our entire foreign policy is inseparably connected with our domestic policy. To me it is an axiom that if we make a good domestic policy, if we reform the Administration, and, above all, further the

economic interests of the people, we shall find among the Great Powers only friends, irrespective of whether they belong to the Triple Alliance or the other group. Otherwise the internal confusion will unavoidably create also foreign conflicts. For my part I can at least say that I left to my successor, Hakki Pasha, the country in a state of perfect domestic and foreign peace. There were then no bands in Macedonia, no revolt in Albania, no disturbances in Kurdistan, no rising in the Hauran and no Arabian question in Yemen. On the other hand, I settled foreign conflicts such as the Bosnian and Eastern Rumelian questions which I had taken over from my predecessor. But I have no wish to act once more, as the French say, the part of a gravedigger, and to bury old corpses. At any rate, I should not be able at one plunge to find my way through the acts of the conflict over Tripoli, as Said Pasha has done by means of a daily study of the question, in spite of his illness." Hilmi Pasha concluded by expressing once more his conviction that "the future of constitutional Turkey depends much less on questions of system than upon the fullest possible satisfaction of the economic needs of the people and upon the grappling with every apparently insignificant local question. In this respect," he added, "the successful journey of Hadji Adil Bey, the Minister of the Interior, is a good omen. Of what use, for instance, to an Albanian is constitutional freedom of speech, which he does not understand, though he has always had it? But secure to him regular work, regular earnings and a piece of land which would free him from misery and idleness, and he will become the quietest and most loyal citizen of the Empire"—*The Manchester Guardian*

The Italian Plan of Operations.

(THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

The Italian Government continues to regale the European public with grand notions of its forthcoming exploits through the intermediary of the Rome correspondent of the *Temps*. In his latest message the correspondent somewhat gratuitously reiterates that Italy has no intention whatever at present of forcing the Dardanelles, but is contemplating a different mode of procedure which is certain to bring the Porte to its knees. This procedure consists in occupying a series of islands in the Aegean and in thus interrupting telegraphic communication between the Continent and Asia Minor, "to the great damage of the interests and the prestige of Turkey." Moreover, it is the intention of the Italian navy to occupy certain islands in the Archipelago, to bombard the forts, the barracks and the konaks (Government buildings) on the Turkish coast, to suppress all contraband of war, to destroy the Ottoman mercantile marine (?), and so forth. "The application of these rigorous measures against Turkey," the correspondent assures us, "has already begun, and will be continued calmly without haste for days, for weeks, perhaps for months—in fact, so long as may be necessary to bring the Porte to reason. Italy expects to derive therefrom a great advantage both politically—a few shots against the Turks sufficed to bring about at Samos a Hellenic movement—and economically."

The boast, however ill-founded, that it was the Italian action which brought about the assassination of the Prince-Governor of Samos is characteristic of the kind of bravado with which this mouthpiece of the Italian Government is trying to rouse Europe and the Porte. His conclusions, however, are anything but inspiring even from an Italian point of view. "One must be prepared," he says, "to witness a certain relaxation, in view of the heat of the season, in the land operations in Africa. As against this the naval operations are to be conducted with redoubled vigour during spring and summer. In this way Italy expects to finish her enemy methodically and without precipitation. As for the Arabs, Italy is convinced that, firmly as she is established on the Libyan coast, she will gradually overcome their resistance by a colonial war, which may perhaps last long but of which the outcome is assured in advance."

From Balance of Power to Concert?

THE Europe of sixty years ago was startled and faintly amused, when Cavour decided to take his share in the Crimean War. To-day it is an Italian attack which has revived all the dormant perplexities and ambitions which centre in the Dardanelles. Our fathers and our grandfathers would have felt that the first of British Imperial interests was imperilled before ever a shot had been fired at the Straits. It has required a slowly developing object-lesson to revive in us the perceptions which with them had become instinctive. Day by day the fleets of grain-laden ships have gathered beyond the forbidden passage. The captains have had to knock at the doors of the Embassy, and the shippers to remind the Foreign Office that something like seven millions sterling is lying waiting while the Italians perform their meaningless evolutions in front of the Turkish ships. A temporary solution, we suppose, has been reached; and Turkey has been induced to re-open the Dardanelles, no doubt

under a guarantee from the Powers that Italy will not be allowed to repeat her senseless exploit. So long as the Dardanelles were exposed to the threat of a forced passage, it was right and inevitable that every step known to science should be taken to make the passage dangerous. If the loss fell on the commerce of Europe, and on the merchants of the City and Odessa, their complaint lay against Italy and not against Turkey.

The closing of the Straits has been a temporary incident in this monstrous war. But it is probable enough that it may serve to bring the whole dispute at last within the purview of the Concert's diplomacy. A discussion in which the future of the Straits is involved is precisely what Russia has desired ever since M. Isvolsky first proposed a Conference to regulate the Bosnian affair. The universal benevolence of the speech on foreign affairs which M. Sazonoff delivered to the Duma at the end of last week may, indeed, be a conscious prelude to an embarrassing demand. The Russian Foreign Minister laboured through a series of paragraphs to emphasise the intimacy of his affection for every Power in turn, and his references to Germany and Italy were, if possible, more cordial and certainly more emphatic than the assurances which he addressed to France and to ourselves. Was he addressing, in anticipation, a Council Board from which he will presently ask the opening of the Straits to the Russian fleet? That is a matter of speculation, but of the many anxious aspects of this Italian war, not the least disquieting is the close association which has declared itself between St. Petersburg and Rome. Russia seems in this conflict to be the Tertius Gaudens, and if her repeated efforts to rob the Turks prematurely of some of the fruits of their obstinate defence should eventually succeed one may be sure that she will claim her commission on the transaction. Italian policy is manifestly directed towards bringing about some mediation favorable to herself. She has realised that the conquest of Tripoli will be an affair of many years. She cannot think that the occupation of the Aegean Isles would seriously embarrass Turkey. But the cutting of cables, and the peril to navigation, illustrated by the rather mysterious disaster to the *Tarvis* near Smyrna, are inconveniences which powerfully reinforce the argument from the closing of the Straits, and also illustrate the perils to civilisation arising from a great naval war. There is, as we have urged from the outbreak of the war, a case for the most drastic intervention. The Concert, if it was too weak to prevent the outbreak of the war, ought none the less to have contrived to limit its area to Africa. If it allows itself at last to act in response to these recent Italian provocations, public opinion will expect it to bear in mind that it is dealing with a piratical adventure, and treating with a Power which is palpably unable to make good her own ambitions. To impose any solution which required the Turks to abandon their sovereignty over Tripoli would be to deal a fatal blow to the last vestige of any conception of international right.

The speech of Mr. Sazonoff to the Duma merits, meanwhile, a certain attention. It was a tedious performance which suggests no very notable intellectual equipment in the speaker. It was notable only for the effrontery of its official optimism. It betrayed some gift of subconscious humor in the passage which explained that the Power now engaged in suppressing the national existence of Finland has imposed a quasiprotectorate on Mongolia, because the Chinese are so deplorably lacking in consideration for the national habits of thought of the Mongolians. The promise to withdraw the Russian troops from Persia when the Persian Government is strong enough to assure order, reads like an echo from the 'eighties of our own promises to withdraw from Egypt. The Persian Government has been strong enough to suppress its Parliament, and this week it is arresting deputies and exiling the leaders of the Opposition. Could a Russian Minister ask for more convincing proof that order is restored? But the real significance of the speech lay, to our thinking, in the rather unconventional passage dealing with Anglo-German relations. M. Sazonoff explained that Russia had herself found salvation by the Potsdam bargain, and had thus restored her "traditional friendship" with Germany. He went on to applaud Lord Haldane's tentative in Berlin, and trusted that we, in our turn, would reach an arrangement with Germany. He even spoke of Russia in a phrase which may have meant much or nothing, as a powerful intermediary between Germany and Great Britain. These, no doubt are excellent sentiments. We have no doubt, that they are also sincere. M. Sazonoff is a convinced votary of peace. Has not peace given him Persia and Mongolia? He is equally friendly to Germany and Great Britain, for each in turn has presented Russia with something she desires. From their rivalries he and his predecessors have extracted the reversion of Persia. If he means to-day to assist in a reconciliation, we may be sure that this good office also will be profitable.

It would be foolish to carp at the really excellent advice which M. Sazonoff gave us. We join with him in hoping for the best and largest results from Lord Haldane's mission. The lesson which lies on the surface of his speech is that the elaborate Continental

system which M. Delcassé sketched and Sir Edward Grey perfected has crumbled like a house of cards. We set out to restore Russia to her position as a Great Power. We made to her in Asia, on the morrow of her collapse, concessions which would have been generous had she been triumphant. Our aim was to hold her as a weight on our side in the balance of power. At every step in the gradual betrayal of Persia our subservience was explained and defended, because it was necessary to pay this great price in order to have her alliance in our rivalry with Germany. The strangest development of this policy is unquestionably the assent which our Foreign Office has given to the construction of a Russo-Indian Railway through Persia. This departure from every tradition of Anglo-Indian strategy is inexplicable, unless it was a mere retort to the Bagdad Railway. We were nervous at the German approach to the Persian Gulf, and under the influence of that mood we actually sanctioned the building of a Russian road to India. But even as we sought to play off one Power against the other, the whole aspect of the problem changed. Russia, in 1907, seemed to be definitely ranged in the Franco-British camp. To-day she bestrides the line which divides the two European groups. The event has shown the folly of our calculations. The Bosnian crisis, in which, perchance, we allowed Russia to be intimidated by an unanswerable German intervention, was the beginning of the end. Russia had to recognise that she could not face the enmity of a Continental Power, and in due course she went to Potsdam. The *Temps* said of that episode at the time that it was a proof that the Triple Entente had ceased to exist. To-day we have, from M. Sazonoff himself, an admission of the justice of that observation. Of course, the Dual Alliance exists, and the Triple Entente as well. But so also does a Russo-German entente. Russia, in short, has entered what Sir Edward Grey would call "the orbit of German diplomacy." The adventure of the balance of power has ended as it was bound to end. We have discovered that Russia has neither the will to keep her engagements nor the ability to act "a brilliant second" in a European duel. She has at least given us the legacy of her good advice. The signs all are that we intend to follow it, if our Foreign Office has the ability to cut a path where it sees a goal. —*The Nation*.

Italy's Difficulties.

By their naval reconnaissance in the Aegean and the exchange of shots with the Turkish forts at the mouth of the Dardanelles, the Italians have acknowledged in effect that they are making no progress with the war in Tripoli, and that they are compelled, in disregard of their self-denying ordinance, to carry the war into European waters. This is exactly the result which those who took a long view of the Italian adventure in Tripoli always feared. What further results will flow from the same impulse to get effectually at the enemy time alone will show. But the systematic reconnoitring of the Italian Navy in the Aegean and the seizure of the island of Stampalia, which is no doubt to serve as a naval base, mark a new phase in the war. And this is true whether we suppose that Italy has decided actively to make war on Turkey elsewhere than in Tripoli, or whether we suppose that she is only uttering a "warning."

The difficulties of making war with Turkey are enormous, as Russia has not yet forgotten, and a frank recognition of them is the only basis on which the Italian Government can think out their future campaign. When most countries are conscious of being in very hot water, they are anxious to get out of it even by a movement wanting in dignity. But it has become Turkey's normal occupation to be in hot water. It must not be supposed that because she is distraught she regards that fact as the beginning of the end. She knows from experience that it is not. The anxieties of Turkey cannot be transferred to the account of Italy in the form of a corresponding degree of confidence. The great danger which the Italians ought to avoid is that of entirely reconstructing their plans and substituting for the old ones naval and military enterprises that would most likely be disastrous. The Tripoli campaign so far has merely been disappointing—bitterly disappointing, it is true—but it has not been in any shape or form disastrous. To send the Italian Navy into the Dardanelles and to land a large Italian force in European Turkey or Asia Minor would be to run up against the peculiar natural advantages or latent strength of Turkey. Yet we cannot disengage from ourselves that the Italian Government will be exposed before long to strong and impatient criticism at Home if the war makes no headway, and will be tempted to save its face by some showy adventure. The landing of Italian troops in European Turkey would probably raise the whole Balkan question, as of course there is no State in the south-east of Europe which is not waiting for an opportunity to cut off from Turkey, when she is sufficiently embarrassed, the piece of fat for which it has long been waiting.

The only thing likely to restrain the Italian Government from satisfying by rashness the present enthusiasm for the war in Italy is a proper appreciation of the difficulties of making war with Turkey. The first of Italy's troubles is the unexpected behaviour of the Tripolitan Arabs. The whole Tripolitan coup, was based on the

assumption that directly the coast towns had been captured the Arabs, more intent on trade than on religion, would throw off any toove allegiance to the Sultan that they might still profess and welcome the Italians as the guarantors of new opportunities of wealth. In the conquest of nations there have been many delusions like that, but none perhaps more complete than the Italian miscalculation. The Turkish garrison and the Arabs of Tripoli and Cyrenica bickered continually before the war, but now they have become friends and comrades in arms under the common pressure from without. Ought, then, the Italians to penetrate into the interior of Tripoli in spite of the opposition and dislike of every Arab, man, woman and child? We believe that tame though a policy of patience must necessarily appear it is the only sound one. A desert campaign which has no objective and which would end in pursuing innumerable small bodies of tribesmen who scatter and form again like mountain mists would be madness, and ruinous madness, too. The chief blunder, no doubt was the formal and premature announcement of the annexation of Tripoli. That infuriated Moslem sentiment of every shade and degree. It would have been much better to prefer the substance to the form, and to have settled down to some such tenure (more or less illogical but perfectly practical) as Great Britain has in Egypt. But it is characteristic of a Latin race that it always wants to occupy a sharply defined and terminologically defensible position. It is useless now to lament this error in political tactics. The Arabs and Turks, who might have been kept apart, are united, and the proper method for Italy remains one of patience. The Arabs may be indiferent now to every Italian bait, but in a few months or years they will feel the inconvenience of having imports shut off from them along the whole littoral. Smuggling there will be, of course, for the Italians cannot possibly prevent it along 1,200 miles of coast, but, all the same, the rifles and other European goods which represent the amenities of Arab life will be irregular in supply and higher in cost. This is not an heroic argument for soldiers to use in prosecuting a war, but it is the only one likely to tell in the long run that would not be exhausting to Italy herself. Of course whenever the Turks or Arabs approach the Italian positions it will be proper to attack them, but we are certain that in all essential respects the right policy of Italy is to "sit tight" in Tripoli and wait for the Arabs to come to them for trade.

Of course if the political disposition of the European States in Europe had been otherwise, Italy would have had a very easy course open to her. She might have landed troops in Albania or in Epirus under cover of her ships' guns. The Albanians probably would have been well enough disposed towards them, and the effect of such an invasion on Turkey would have been very great. Albania is the one part of European Turkey where Italian troops might have landed with a real prospect of influencing the course of the war. A glance at the map will show how simple an expedition would have been from the naval port of Otranto to the Albanian coast. The south east corner of Italy is a perfect base to such operations. We do not say that Italy could have carried the war through Macedonia to the gates of Salomika, which to day has a political prestige equal to that of Constantinople; but the mere occupation of Albania would have been a most powerful lever in her hands. All this was impossible, however, because of the Triple Alliance. Italy had to mould her plans to suit the susceptibilities of Austria. We even suspect that before she declared war she was constrained to give a definite undertaking to Austria that she would not invade Albania. As it is, Italy has to operate in the Aegean, where she is a considerable distance from home, and that is quite another matter. She cannot keep ships there without some apprehension as to what the Turkish Navy may be plotting to do. The obvious remedy is to get rid of the Turkish Navy. But, unfortunately, the Turkish Navy is inside the Dardanelles, and another glance at the map will reveal the terrors of a naval attack on the Dardanelles. Ships that sailed in there would go straight to their doom. The narrow channel is completely controlled by forts. There would be no chance of escape. Even if the site from the forts were so poor as to miss at short range, the channel would no doubt be strewn with wrecks. The only possible way to seize the Dardanelles would be to land an army near Gallipoli, in the Gulf of Saros, and reduce the Turkish forts singly. Nor would the capture of the Dardanelles, even if it were possible, avail Italy very much. The Turkish trade which passes from the Black Sea or the Sea of Marmora into the Aegean is an insignificant proportion of the whole. Italy would not be crippling Turkey, but provoking other nations by touching their interests. We feel sure that Italy will not try to force the Dardanelles with her ships, and we hope that she will not take the risks of a land war with such excellent natural fighters as the Turks in their own country.

Even when we have reckoned up the obvious advantages of Turkey, other points which make her an extremely awkward customer to wage war with can be mentioned. The Young Turks, for instance, have their back against the wall. They live by prestige alone. It is necessary for them to defend the cause of Islam against a Christian nation with extravagant set-upuluousness, or they would suffer from the

suspicion, which peculiarly attaches itself to reformers in Turkey, of being lukewarm in the faith. The Young Turks, in brief, cannot afford to yield. Further, we must remember that the war in Tripoli is a very cheap war for Turkey. It may be that in indirect ways it is costing more than the Government thinks; but the expense is not apparent, and the Turks therefore do not feel it acutely. The actual loss in trade through the severance of Tripoli from the Empire is next to nothing. Italy's difficulties are so numerous that we suspect that if the war is seriously carried into Europe or Asia Minor, it will be with the active help of some other Power. We trust that such a dangerous expedient—the long-delayed Balkan scramble would then probably begin—will be avoided. It is a danger, however, and we had better recognize it. Meanwhile we trust that Diplomacy has not said her last word in the way of mediation. We should like nothing better than to see Italy mistress of all her difficulties. In a way her troubles are unnecessary because she and Turkey, apart from Tripoli, have a large measure of common interests. It would be a charming irony indeed if circumstances forced the two countries into a working understanding which had never been contemplated by statesmanship. After all, is the blessed word "Annexation" so essentially blessed? Might not Italy even now give up the "word" if the "thing" were assured to her? The Italians are the most skilful diplomats in the world. Surely they will not let themselves be injured by the fact that they said too much in their original proclamation!—*The Spectator*

Why Italy Wants Tripoli.

Sig. Crispi's memoirs, published in English in two large volumes, are not very thrilling reading. He tells again, in the first volume, the story of the fight for Italian unity, with the conflict between Garibaldi and the men of the south, and Cavour, the astute and sneaky patriotic Minister of Victor Emmanuel.

The second volume contains the story of the formation of the Triple Alliance. Crispi profoundly mistrusted France. Napoleon III. had been the enemy of unity, and he saw no difference in essentials between him and the statesmen of the Third Republic. The alliance between Italy and Germany and Austria gave his country the international status it needed, and has undoubtedly been of immense importance. It must be remembered that Great Britain in the eighties was closely associated with Germany, and Italy's entrance into the Triple Alliance was welcome in that country.

Recently, largely owing to the policy of M. Delcasse, Italy and France have become friends—but the Triple Alliance still continues.

The most interesting chapters of the memoirs are the last, and they explain Italian ambitions in Tripoli. Sig. Crispi wrote to the Italian Ambassador in Berlin on July 18, 1890.—

I must revert to the question of Tunis once more. The occupation of Tunis by the French in 1881 produced the downfall of the Ministry. The country was deeply mortified, but at that time Italy was isolated.

To-day, however, the Triple Alliance exists, and the change of sovereignty in Tunis would produce two consequences—the withdrawal of the present Minister and a general conviction in the minds of the people that the Triple Alliance is of no use.

This second consequence would be fatal, and the Berlin Cabinet must take it into serious consideration.

I am convinced that if Germany will make it understood at Paris that the execution of the treaty of July ninth might lead to war, the government of the Republic will consent to an adjustment with Italy.

Communicate this opinion of mine to the Chancellor of the Empire.

Five days later he wrote to Lord Salisbury, then British Foreign Minister.—

Should this change of denomination in Tunis be allowed to take place against our will and without encountering opposition on our part, Tripoli's turn would soon come. That the Government of the Republic desires to occupy that region is proved beyond doubt by the frontier incursions that are continually taking place.

In this case one Power alone would dominate Northern Africa from Morocco to Egypt, and this Power would control the freedom of the Mediterranean. As for Italy, she would be permanently menaced by France, and Malta and Egypt would not suffice to ensure the position of Great Britain.

In the presence of such peril as this we must prepare ourselves, and prevent the accomplishment of France's plans.

As Tunis cannot be rendered independent and the Protectionist prevented from one day or another regaining a sovereignty, it is of great importance that we provide against Tunis, especially

pation of Tripoli by France by forestalling her in taking possession of that country.

If we held Tripoli, Bisserta would cease to be a menace either to Italy or Great Britain.

We are your necessary allies, and our union guarantees your dominion in Malta and Egypt. Thanks to this union Italy would no longer have to fear a double and simultaneous military expedition directed against her from Toulon and Bisserta.

Lord Salisbury agreed with the Italian point of view. Cataiani, the Chargé d'Affaires in London reported, to Rome a conversation he had with the British Minister on July 31 —

He furthermore made the following declaration.—The occupation of Tripoli by Italy must be accomplished regardless of what may happen in Egypt, that is to say, whether Egypt remain under British control or in the hands of the Sultan. The interests of Europe demand this occupation, that the Mediterranean may be prevented from becoming a French lake. The only point to be further considered is whether the present moment be the best suited for putting this undertaking into execution.

But Lord Salisbury counselled moderation and waiting, and Signor Crispi fell before his ambitions were realised. It is curious to note that he had no fear of Turkish resistance.

Turkey is not strong enough to safeguard the freedom of the Mediterranean. She is incapable of arresting the encroachments on the territory of Tripoli that have been going on for the last nine years along the Tunisian frontier. It is therefore more than probable that she will be unable to offer opposition to the occupation of this region. Owing to her peculiar position, Turkey possesses only "the strength of the weak", she is capable only of sowing dissension among the strong, who are obliged to exercise great forbearance for fear of what may supervene. But this privilege which the Sultan enjoys must not be allowed to constitute a permanent danger to the other states which hold sway in the Mediterranean and whose duty it is to safeguard their own existence there, and maintain their rights inviolate.

As it has happened, it is the Arab tribesmen who are making the Italian occupation of Tripoli difficult and perhaps impossible. Signor Crispi counted on their iner-ship —

Sid Hassuna Karamanli showed himself disposed to support Italian occupation, he being convinced that if we do not occupy Tripoli, others will speedily do so. He declares he can command all of the hill tribes, as they are all his devoted followers. He asked for time to prepare the ground and for money, not for himself but for the sheiks. He would be willing to accept a form of government similar to that of Tunis, and declares that by such an arrangement opposition on the part of the Arabs would be avoided and the country pacified. He has no doubt Turkey will resist our advance, but if deprived of the help of the Arabs she will soon yield before the Italian forces. He recommends the utmost caution, as he is closely watched by the Governor-General. He says the country is weary of the Turkish occupation.

The world changes in twenty years. The Arabs may be weary of the Turks still, but a Moslem revival has occurred, and they prefer government by the Crescent to subjection to a Christian Power.—*The Daily Express*.

The Turkish Parties.

THE Constantinople correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, whose knowledge of Turkish affairs is unrivalled, reviewed the electoral situation in an article which is interesting both from the view it took of the contending parties, and for the general optimism with which it regards the chances of Parliamentary government in Turkey. "The party of Union and Progress," he says, "which regards itself with some justification as the founder of the new political organisation of life, has in the course of the last Parliament kept a firm hold on the reins of power. Sometimes it would succumb to the fierce attack of the Opposition, and sometimes it would itself undertake a cleansing operation among its members. That was natural. It was only by the gradual separation of chaff from the wheat, and through the fire of party discipline that it could at all attain the consciousness of its own worth. It has passed during the four years on which Turkish Parliamentary government now looks back through some exceedingly difficult situations which have severely tried its power and existence. Both domestic and foreign policy have played it some nasty tricks, and have seemed more than once to counteract with its success its endeavours to create a united Ottoman fatherland. These have been for the party years of serious test, from which it now emerges from the electoral campaign hardened and steeld."

"Nothing even approximating this can be said of the parties of the Opposition. One misses here entirely anything resembling a programme. The decentralisation of the Administration, and, together with this, the creation of a sort of Federal State, only serve

in the hands of these parties as a bait to catch adherents. There has never been any serious intention on the part of the leaders of these parties to carry out the promises they make. The lack of sincerity which pervades their words could only deceive a few Nationalist hotspurs, while producing in the more serious elements of the Opposition a contrary effect. Both the Liberty and Concord party and the minor groups are utterly bereft of conscientious leaders and faithful followers. Besides, the Opposition has never possessed any organisation. It has latterly devoted most of its strength to personal squabbles, which indeed filled the last two sessions of the Chamber. In the course of the electoral campaign it has lost rather than gained in the matter of organisation. The resignation of Damad Fazil Pasha, the Sultan's son-in-law, from the leadership of the Liberty and Concord party has been a specially hard blow to it. This meant the loss of the most brilliant name on its list. The party also showed a complete misconception of the situation when it tried to exploit for its party purposes the war in Tripoli. This cost its parties some adherents.

"On the other hand, the Committee party, enjoying the support of the Government, has well understood how to make use of the situation in order to extend its organisation to the most distant corners of the Empire. From the point of view of impartiality this action of the Government cannot, of course, be justified, nor can one justify the strengthening of the press law and the arrest of a few hotspurs of the Opposition. The Government and the Committee party, however, declare that, in view of the need for securing the orderly development of government and for counteracting the centrifugal tendencies of the Opposition, the use of the power possessed by them is a matter of urgency and a high patriotic duty."—*The Manchester Guardian*.

Openings in Turkey.

THE Quarterly Trade Journal of the British Chamber of Commerce of Turkey says "With Turkey undeveloped as it is to-day, Great Britain has a trade of fifteen millions. What will happen when the vast resources and natural wealth of the land, with its million miles of area and its population of twenty-five to thirty millions, are opened up? This consummation may not be immediate, but it is an imminent possibility, and it behoves Great Britain to watch events. Last when the time comes British trade and enterprise should not find itself left in the race, hopelessly out-distanced by its more far seeing rivals."

"The more alert and attentive capitalists of France and Germany, of Austria and Italy, have already realised that in Turkey there are possibilities to-day which did not exist in the past.

"Dependent as Great Britain is on foreign countries for its food supply, the opening up of Asia Minor and of Mesopotamia and Eastern Syria, the granaries of the Roman Empire, is another point not to be neglected, and, provided that capitalists can obtain the security required to assist in the development of these countries, by railway construction, the making of ports and roads, by irrigation and drainage works, and by the introduction of electric light and traction, will assuredly bring with it reciprocal advantages.—*The Near East*

Turkish Railways.

M Ray, Director of the Constantinople-Salonika and Smyrna-Salonika and Smyrna-Cassaba railways, publishes his yearly report, from which we gather that the total length of lines exploited in Turkey in 1910 amounted to 6,228, and in 1910 to 6,322 kilometres. This slight increase in the mileage will be much higher in subsequent years owing to the opening of the Homs-Tripoli, Sona-Panderma, Baba-Eshi-Kirk-Kilisse lines, sections of the Baghdad and the prolongation of the Aidin railway. Besides, work on the Hodeidah-Sana line has progressed rapidly.

Exceptional progress has been made in the receipts of the railways already being exploited. The total receipts for 1910 were 67,576,000 francs, as against 55,908,000 francs. This increase is mainly due to good harvests, especially those in Anatolia. The abolition of the tekerce, or passport, has also influenced the passenger traffic favourably. In the order of their kilometric receipts, Turkish railways can be classified as under —

Beyrout-M'zerib	...	...	18,589
Mersina-Ardana	...	...	18,511
Smyrna-Cassaba (old line)	...	...	17,537
Oriental Railways	...	...	17,321
Aidin Railway	...	...	16,938
Salonika-Monastir	...	...	16,288
Aniye-Adabazar	...	...	16,175
Jaffa-Jerusalem	...	...	15,729

Hajdar-Pasha-Angora	...	...	13,256
Mudania-Brussa	...	...	11,069
Salonika-Constantinople Junction			8,369
Eski Shehir-Konio	...	...	8,292
Rayak Aleppo	...	...	7,913
Smyrna-Cassaba (extension)	...		5,934
Hejaz Railway	...	...	3,657
Baghdad Railway (Konia-Bulgurlu)			2,571

The increase in receipts corresponds to a proportionate decrease in the kilometric guarantees. In 1909 the State paid in guarantees 19,255,000 francs as against 14,208,000 francs in 1910, or a decrease of 5,047,000 francs. On the other hand, the Oriental Company which has a special contract with the Government, had to pay into the Exchequer 3,543,000 francs in 1910 as against 2,589,000 francs in 1909. So that when all circumstances are considered, the results of 1910 were extremely favourable both as regards the satisfactory exploitation of the lines and the general situation of the Exchequer.—(The Near East)

TURKISH RELIEF FUND COLLECTION IN INDIA

Name of place.	Name of person in charge of the Fund	THE WEEK'S PROGRESS.				PROGRESS UP TO DATE.				REMARKS
		Amount Collected	Amount Forwarded	To whom for warded and through what Agency.	Amount collected	Amount forwarded	REMARKS			
Karach (Sind).	Sard. H. A. Haroon	Rs. 219	A 6	M O Charges	Rs. 19,873	A 7	Rs. 16,580	A 7	For week ending 18th May	

WAR CARTOONS.

The "Times of India" says : -

"Eight Cartoons which originally appeared in the 'Comrade' have lately been reprinted for purposes of framing.....The spirit of Caricature.....does not thrive in India, nor are most of the political Cartoons executed with sufficient skill to make them really telling contribution to any controversy. The 'Comrade's' artist.....knows how to draw.....and has a good deal of the right spirit in him.....Of these eight Cartoons, four deal with the War in Tripoli; one of these.....is a capital piece of work.....as a whole the set is.....very remarkable. The 'Comrade' is to be congratulated on their production."

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Anecdote.

IN THE days of the suffragist movement in America Miss Susan B. Anthony, the social reformer, had no more bitter opponent than Horace Greeley, the famous editor and journalist. It was for a long time his custom to wind up all debates with the conclusive remark "The best women I know do not want to vote."

When the New York Constitution was being altered in 1867, Miss Anthony laid a trap for him, says a biographer. She wrote to Mrs. Greeley and persuaded her not only to sign a petition herself, but to circulate the paper and get three hundred signatures among her acquaintances.

In Committee Mr. Greeley, who was chairman, had listened to the debate, and was prepared to introduce to the Convention an adverse report. He was just about to utter his usual "settler" when George William Curtis rose.

"Mr. Chairman," said he, "I hold in my hand a petition for suffrage signed by three hundred women of Westchester, headed by Mrs. Horace Greeley."

The chairman's embarrassment could hardly be controlled. He had found that one of the "best women I know" wanted to vote.

MANY stories are told of the wit of Sir H. Beerbohm Tree and one of the best is related by Miss Constance Collier. The incident happened while she was rehearsing for the part of the heroine in a production at His Majesty's Theatre. The author of the play was there, making various suggestions.

"In this scene," he said, "the hero should pick you up, Miss Collier, and carry you off the stage across his shoulder."

Miss Collier objected, but the author insisted, till Sir Herbert came to the rescue.

"I saw a play in Italy once," said the latter, "in which the hero caught hold of the heroine by the legs and banged her head on the floor."

"Splendid!" exclaimed the author. "What was the play?"

"Punch and Judy" was the actor's retort.

Corporation of Calcutta.

NOTICE.

Applications are invited and will be received up to the 21st July 1912, by the Health Officer to the Corporation from Mahomedan Hospital Assistants for the two posts of Sub-Registrars of deaths at Begnani and Tilyulia Burial Grounds.

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C. C. CHATTERJEE,
Secretary to the Corporation.

MUNICIPAL OFFICE,
Calcutta, the 26th May 1912.

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افسالوں کو پر مکر محوجیت رہ جائے
تھے اور ہے۔ اُنہے اس کے مصنف کو
نادہ دیتے تھے کہ وہ کیا بالائیں دماغ سے
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کالوں کے ۶ چھوٹے کالے ہو جائے میں اور
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Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 22. Anna 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, June 1, 1912.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1.

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the visit is regarded as specially important in view of the problems of naval strategy in the Mediterranean which are now being considered by the British and French authorities. Discussing the suggestions for an Anglo-French Alliance he points out that Anglo-French relations in the Mediterranean and the Near East are not yet sufficiently clear for such a step. Commenting on suggestions of certain French journals that the naval defence of Egypt and Malta and the route to India be left solely to the French Fleet, the correspondent says that these represent interests so vast that they cannot be summarily disposed of in speculations about the future basis of Anglo-French relations. French opinion generally indicates that there are many difficulties in the way of the suggested Alliance, especially the inadequacy of Britain's army.

Relying to suggestions from various quarters that the Anglo-French Entente should be converted into an alliance, the *Manchester Guardian*, in a significant statement, declares that there is no ground for such a perilous change in our policy which would render the international system more unstable and greatly increase the prospect of a European war.

Bizerta is a heavily fortified port on the coast of the French protectorate of Tunis. It has one of the finest harbours in the Mediterranean, and is a few miles south of Sardinia.

Though the suggestion of an Anglo-French alliance is generally received with coolness by the Press of both countries, it is regarded as beyond doubt that the Malta meeting will have an important bearing on the naval position in the Mediterranean, where, according to the French view, the growing strength of Italy and Austria will tend to neutralise the French contribution to an Anglo-French alliance. In this connection the *Daily Telegraph* points out that if the Dominions make some sacrifice and respond to Mr Churchill's appeal, the idea of withdrawing battleships from the Mediterranean could be abandoned. The *Telegraph* outlines a scheme by which our kinsmen would enable us to provide an Imperial Service Squadron, which would be based at Gibraltar, and would be the pivot force of the Empire. It might consist of eight Dreadnoughts and twelve smaller cruisers, costing three millions annually. The *Telegraph* suggests the following annual contributions—Canada £500,000, Australia £700,000; New Zealand £400,000; South Africa £250,000, and the United Kingdom £750,000. It suggests the creation of an Imperial Naval Committee on which the Dominions would be represented, and says that the Imperial Squadron should be largely manned and officered by those from Overseas Dominions.

Sir Ian Hamilton, who is at Malta, has postponed his visit to England till after the departure of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill, whose coming conference with Lord Kitchener continues to engross British and French papers. The *Times* states that Messrs. Asquith and Churchill will afterwards visit Bizerta.

The *Westminster Gazette*, in an article, says there could scarcely be a more inopportune moment for irresponsible talk of a French Alliance and hopes that the good sense of the message from the Paris correspondent of the *Times* will check it. "We may be sure," the journal adds, "that a large extension of military liabilities is no more to the minds of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill than the idea of leaving British interests in the Mediterranean to be guarded by another Power." The *Journal des Débats* welcomes

The Week.

The Mediterranean Strategy.

The British position in the Mediterranean is being much discussed. The military correspondent of the *Times* says none of us can see our way clearly until the conditions at the close of this mischievous war are fully known. Anyhow, if battleships are withdrawn from the Mediterranean, Malta, Gibraltar, and Egypt must be strengthened sufficiently to make them stormproof until our naval supremacy is re-established, which means ultimately an addition of many millions to our naval estimates.

Lord Charles Beresford, addressing a Unionist meeting in Cardiff, congratulated Mr. Churchill on the statesmanlike and courageous methods which he had introduced into the Admiralty. Lord Beresford was perfectly certain that the meeting between Mr. Asquith, Mr. Churchill and Lord Kitchener would result in increasing the garrisons at Malta and Gibraltar and in Egypt, and so remove the great risks now existing in connection with our position in the East. In conclusion, he violently attacked Mr. McKenna's administration at the Admiralty.

Lord Kitchener started for Malta on the 26th May, where he will meet Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill.

A message to the *Times* from Paris says that it is announced that Messrs. Asquith and Churchill, after conferring with Lord Kitchener at Malta, will visit Bizerta. According to the same correspondent

the suggested Alliance, but deprecates exciting susceptibilities, especially regarding compulsory military service, which it says is a question Britain must decide for herself.

Lord Kitchener arrived at Malta on the 20th May followed by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill.

Reuter is informed that the reports attributing an international political character to the meeting of Lord Kitchener, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill at Malta are wholly unfounded. It is known that Lord Kitchener is taking advantage of the presence of the Ministers near Egypt to express to them his views on the situation in the Mediterranean, but greatly exaggerated inferences have been drawn therefrom.

The *Times* in a special article points out that the British naval changes in the Mediterranean do not constitute the abandonment of the Mediterranean now or in the future. It prints extracts from the speeches of Mr. Churchill on 18th March and 15th May, and says—"In view of these it is difficult to understand how the idea that we were about to entrust our interest in the Mediterranean to anything but a British fleet can have obtained credence." The *Times* in an editorial article says recent discussions on Anglo-French relations have had an excellent result in showing the strength and cordiality of the mutual regard between two nations. That very fact is a reason against the suggested transformation into formal Alliance of an *entente* which has already been tested in actual crisis and has proved equal to the strain. The situation, says the *Times*, is certainly not for pessimism and with the facts of European and the imperial situation before them discussions between Cabinet Ministers and Lord Kitchener at Malta are not likely to take a despondent turn.

The Press Act.

LORD CREWE, replying to a communication from the Institute of Journalists protesting against His Lordship's statement in the House of Lords on the 21st February, says—"The general expression given on behalf of the Institute to the sense of loyalty and responsibility of the English newspapers in Calcutta, from which I am in no way disposed to withhold concurrence, makes it more necessary to emphasize that no newspaper in British India can, on the ground of its general views and sympathies, regard itself as beyond the reach of the statutory limitations which it has been found necessary to impose for the regulation of the Press in India. There appears to exist a misapprehension regarding the scope and purposes of the Indian Press Acts which are not confined to the suppression of seditious and treasonable conspiracy."

Industrial Training.

LORD CREWE has appointed a Committee to enquire into the facilities available to Indian students for industrial and technological training in this country, with special reference to the system in connection with the State Technical Scholarship established in 1904. The Committee is composed of Sir Theodore Morrison, Sir Krishna Gupta, Mr. Reynolds, late Principal of the Manchester Municipal School of Technology, and Professor Dalby, of the Imperial Science College, South Kensington. It is understood that the Committee will visit the University centres in the United Kingdom and hear the evidence of Professors and others on whose co-operation the success of the system depends.

There are now 27 State scholars undergoing instruction in England, in America and on the Continent. Though it is believed that the system rests on a sound basis, it is held that it may be capable of improvement. It is recognised that if the full benefit that may be derived by the scholars and Indian industries is to be obtained, there must be a somewhat wider and more systematic survey than hitherto of existing facilities here. The difficulties met by scholars on returning to India are matters for investigation there and not in England, and the present enquiry is regarded as preliminary to a full examination of the system by the Government of India.

Mesopotamia.

A CORRESPONDENT to the *Pioneer* describes the great irrigation scheme for Mesopotamia prepared by Sir William Willcocks, the contract for carrying out which has been placed by the Turkish Government in the hands of Sir John Jackson. The whole scheme is estimated to cost about thirteen and three-quarter million sterling and to irrigate the area of over three and quarter million acres. The agricultural works in connection with the irrigation scheme are estimated to cost twelve and-a-half million sterling.

China.

TANG SHAO YI has tendered his resignation in consequence of the violent attacks of the National Council on account of prodigal expenditure. The Cabinet is endeavouring to persuade him not to resign. The revised budget estimate for 1912 provides for a revenue of 297 million taels, and an expenditure of 576 million taels, including extra army expenditure of thirty million taels, and provisional administrative expenditure of 110 million taels.

A manifesto has been issued in Peking directing that the disorder in Turkestan shall be suppressed by the military. With regard to the position in Kashgar and Russia's warning to the Chinese Government, news has reached Kashmir showing that the "new province," as it is called, has at last felt the effect of the revolutionary

movement in China. There has been something like revolt against the established order of things and the permanent Chinese officials have been ousted from their posts. Several local Governors are reported to have been killed and Kashgar like Szechuan and Yunnan, is in the hands of the revolutionary party. No mention is made of foreigners being molested but apparently Russia considers the safety of her subjects endangered.

A telegram from Urga states that the Mongolian authorities have ordered the expulsion of Chinese from the town. Urga is situated in North Mongolia, in a basin surrounded by hills, on the north side of the plains of Gobi. It is the sacred city of the Mongols, and an important centre of trade, several routes across the Gobi converging to this point, whence a different mode of carriage is adapted for convenience across the hills and through the valleys to the north. The principal trade route is that from Kalgan in North China to Maimachin and Kiakhta.

Afghanistan.

THE Afghan Tribal levies are making slow progress at the Khost frontier, where they are opposed by the Mangals and Jadrans with some of the Suliman Khel. The regular troops have not yet entered the valley.

In connection with Khost affairs, information has been received that the Afghan General Nadir Khan, with a force of Regulars, arrived on the 17th May at the Altumar Pass, on the borders of Khost, with a force of some three thousand Regulars and some Mountain Artillery. The pass was held at the time by a small combined force of Ghilzais and Mangals, who were temporarily dislodged by the Afghan forces, but who, it appears, were able later to re-occupy the Pass. General Nadir Khan and his troops when last heard of were still encamped at the Altumar village.

A frontier correspondent says there was great lack of energy at Kabul in preparing a field force for Khost. It was not until the Amir's arrival from Jellalabad early in May that preparations were completed. The want of organized transport was at the bottom of the delay.

The *Englishman's Frontier* correspondent wired from Peshawar on the 27th May that the Amir has sent 40 elephants from Kabul to the Khost country for transport purposes. A Jellalabad correspondent writes that the Afghan tribal levies have entered Khost and severe fighting took place between the Mangals and Jadrans and the Afghan tribal levies, in which heavy losses occurred on both sides. The Amir's regular troops are still stationed outside the Khost country, and are unable to leave for Khost illaka, owing to insufficiency of transport arrangements. Owing to the hot weather, Kabul ponies (Yabus) are unable to carry on transport work for the troops at Khost therefore the Amir has made other transport arrangements. Mir Said Jan, the successor of Mulla Huda, has returned to Huda in Jellalabad district with a party of leading Mullahs from the Khost country who went there by order of the Amir to preach loyalty to the Jagi and Mangal tribes.

News now coming in from the Khost border points to the possibility of an amicable settlement of the trouble in that part of Afghanistan, negotiations having been opened between the Commander of the Afghan troops and the rebel Mangals.

There is no fresh news from Khost, but there is a rumour that the number of Suleiman Khel with the Mangal rebels is increasing. The pressure upon the Governor of Khost at Matum has been relaxed since the Afghan regular force appeared at Altumar.

New Delhi.

COLONEL COLE laid the foundation stone of the Secretariat buildings in temporary Delhi this morning in the presence of the principal residents.

No successor has been yet appointed to Mr. Ward, Engineer to the new city, who is laid up with enteric fever.

Eighty-seven bungalows for subordinates are being erected west of the Ridge, the work proceeding day and night.

The question as to the date on which the Government of India will formally take over the Delhi enclave is now under consideration. The best time would probably be in September, as various details remain to be settled.

The Indian Collieries.

We have been requested by the Chief Inspector of Mines in India to publish, in advance of his Annual Report, the following figures relating to the output of Coal in British India during the year 1911:—

Province.	Tons.
Bengal ...	1,468,904
Central Provinces ...	211,616
Punjab ...	36,575
Eastern Bengal and Assam ...	394,893
Baluchistan ...	42,598
North-West Frontier Province ...	140
TOTAL	13,042,705

TETE À TETE



Apropos of a statement about money sent from India to Turkey for the relief of war sufferers falling into Italian hands, which we had published some months ago, a kind friend sends us an extract from a letter, dated 20th April, 1912, from the Inspector-General, Ottoman Red Crescent Society, Constantinople, stating as follows :— "With regard to your statement concerning the news given by your Press that we have no means of sending money to Tripoli and that a large portion of the relief fund fell into the hands of the Italians, we declare that these rumours are without foundation. To the contrary, we have various means to send money from every Islamic congregation. We are taking this opportunity of letting you know that the Muhammadan World is sympathising with us and our Relief Fund is receiving contributions from our brothers in faith, which funds are being distributed to the wounded and the families of the killed." We much regret that we should have been led to publish such a misleading statement. Our only excuse is that it was made to us by a very responsible Moslem leader whose word we had no reason to doubt. Since publishing it we have made efforts to satisfy ourselves as to its correctness, for it had caused much uneasiness to our readers and others. This we had announced in an earlier issue and were awaiting an authoritative statement from Turkey when the above extract was received. We are heartily glad that the earlier statement is proved to have been in correct and only regret that we ever published it.

An Important Correction.

The Inspector-General, Ottoman Red Crescent Society, Constantinople, stating as follows :— "With regard to your statement concerning the news given by your Press that we have no means of sending money to Tripoli and that a large portion of the relief fund fell into the hands of the Italians, we declare that these rumours are without foundation. To the contrary, we have various means to send money from every Islamic congregation. We are taking this opportunity of letting you know that the Muhammadan World is sympathising with us and our Relief Fund is receiving contributions from our brothers in faith, which funds are being distributed to the wounded and the families of the killed." We much regret that we should have been led to publish such a misleading statement. Our only excuse is that it was made to us by a very responsible Moslem leader whose word we had no reason to doubt. Since publishing it we have made efforts to satisfy ourselves as to its correctness, for it had caused much uneasiness to our readers and others. This we had announced in an earlier issue and were awaiting an authoritative statement from Turkey when the above extract was received. We are heartily glad that the earlier statement is proved to have been in correct and only regret that we ever published it.

THE Resolution of the Government of India in the Public Works Department, which was published in the Gazette of India of 18th May 1912, embodies an important scheme "which provides for the abolition of the dual cadre, the equalisation of the period for promotion to executive rank in the two services, and the increase of the pay of the Provincial officer to an amount which shall bear, as nearly as possible, the same proportion to the pay of the Imperial officer, as that which existed prior to the introduction of the new scales in 1908."

The scheme that has hitherto been in force since 1908 was introduced with a view to substituting time scale of pay for the graded system of promotion formerly in force and to effecting a complete separation of the Imperial and Provincial Engineer establishments "by placing them in two distinct cadres with different rates of promotion to executive rank." Under that scheme an Assistant Engineer in the Provincial service reached the executive rank after ten years while his *confrère* of the Imperial Service got promotion to the same rank two years earlier. The complete separation of the services, moreover, emphasised the distinction that, in some of its results, is nothing if not invidious. The two cadres exist side by side in complete isolation in every branch of the public service. Not only the system holds out but scant promise of official recognition in the shape of promotion to deserving Indians, but it also casts an unmerited slur on the members of what Mr. Dadabhooy Naoroji called the "Pariah Services." It was, therefore, inevitable that the Provincial Engineers should feel aggrieved, even though some advantages had been held out to them in the matter of pay. We are glad the Government did not take long to realise that "the members of the Provincial Engineer service attach much greater importance to being borne on a combined list with their Imperial *confrères*," and recognised the desirability of abandoning the attempt "to carry out fully the recommendations of the Public Service Commission for a separate Provincial Service, so far as the Public Works Department is concerned." The revised scheme abolishes the dual cadre and equalises the period of promotion to executive rank. Henceforth an Assistant Engineer, whether on the Provincial or the Imperial list, will attain to executive rank after 11 years. The rates of pay now sanctioned for the members of the Provincial Engineer service, it must be noted, are not wholly free from certain anomalies. The Assistant Engineer in this branch of the service will get the starting pay

of Rs. 250 per mensem with an annual increment of Rs. 25. After eleven years, he will be promoted to the rank of the Executive Engineer with the salary of Rs. 535 per mensem, the rate of subsequent annual increase being Rs. 35. After twenty years those who attain the rank of Superintending Engineer, 3rd class, will receive Rs. 1,200 per mensem, the pay of the 2nd class and the 1st class Superintending Engineer being fixed at Rs. 1,400 and 1,600 per mensem respectively. The pay of the Provincial Assistant Engineer will be 65 per cent. of that of the Imperial Assistant Engineer. The rate of annual increment in the case of the latter is fixed at Rs. 40, while in the executive rank the rate rises to Rs. 50. After twenty years, i.e., in the last grade of the executive rank, the pay of the Provincial Engineer will be 68 per cent. of that of his Imperial *confrère*. The Superintending Engineers of the Imperial Service will get Rs. 1,500, Rs. 1,750 or Rs. 2,000 according to the class of the rank they hold. There is no distinction of pay in the case of the Chief Engineers, who will get the Imperial rates of pay irrespective of the service to which they belong. Now the very first anomaly that strikes us is that a Superintending Engineer of the Provincial Service will, in the 3rd class, be actually getting less pay than the Imperial Executive Engineer in his twentieth year of service. They will be getting Rs. 1,200 per mensem and Rs. 1,250 per mensem respectively, i.e., a subordinate will be paid Rs. 50 per mensem more than his superior officer. If the gradation of ranks in a service is based on the importance of work and increase of responsibility in the ascending scale, we do not know how to justify this disparity of treatment. As regards the general scale of pay sanctioned for the Provincial service, we see very little reason to feel satisfied with the present state of things. The higher rates of pay allowed to the members of the Imperial Service can only be justified on the ground that they, as a class, are more efficient. If the difference continues to exist only on the score of relative efficiency we trust steps will be immediately taken to bring the Engineering Institutions in this country up to date in general equipment and raise the standard of training they impart to the required level. It is sometimes maintained that the Europeans, who mainly comprise the service, have a higher standard of living and consequently their salaries should be proportionately greater. Whatever force there may be in this contention, it does not justify a differential treatment when the requirements of efficiency have been fully satisfied. It must, at the same time, be remembered that the Indians have often to support a larger family in addition to a number of distant relatives and dependents, and the proportion of their private expenditure becomes much larger in the aggregate. Again, a growth in the standard of living, we have been often told, is the true measure of the economic progress of a country. If the Indians are paid at a lower rate because their standard of living is lower, we do not know how that standard can be raised. Here we have the ugly dilemma that confronts the poet —

در میان فر را تخته بندم کرد
نماز می گویی که نامن نم مکار باش

THE latest news from Persia lays bare another Russian intrigue in process of development, with Salar-ud-Dauleh as the tool. A semi-official states-

ment comes via St. Petersburg that the brother of the ex-Shah has asked the Regent to call a conference for the consideration of the manner in which the government of the country should be carried on. His patriotic counsel is accompanied by a characteristic bluster, and he warns the Regent that, if his demand is ignored, he would march with his 150,000 men on Teheran. It is apparent now that Russia has taken Salar-ud-Dauleh under her wings and is secretly encouraging him to push forward his scheme for the overthrow of the Government and to set up a Russian dictatorship with himself as a nominal despot. He has selected what is called "the neutral zone" as his base of operations; and it is not at all difficult for him, under the present disturbed conditions of the country, to collect a rabble round his standard by holding out temptations of pillage or threats of violence. The patronage that the semi-official press of Russia is extending to this latest adventurer and the sympathy with which his bellicose manifestoes are being published can hardly be mistaken. It needs a very wide stretch of the imagination to realise the vast and intricate organisation that Salar-ud-Dauleh must have established in order to keep himself in touch with his official channels of communication. The insistence of Russia on one of the conditions of the joint loan, which required the army of the Fedais to be disbanded, acquires a new significance in the light of recent events. The Fedais are the patriotic civilians who voluntarily enrolled themselves into a standing force for active service in the cause of order and good government. They could be trusted to shed their last drop of blood in defence of their country. But the Salar-ud-Dauleh coup had to be developed and, therefore, they were required to get out of the way. The Anglo-Russian responsibility in the matter cannot be recognized by diplomacy, because, farsighted, the rebel has elected to plant himself in "the neutral zone." The Persian Government is technically free to adopt any measures it thinks best to suppress him. Under the cir-

stances we think the Persian Government should seek the help of the Turkish authorities for the expulsion of Salar-ud-Daulah. It would be the easiest and most practical method of ridding the country of an adventurer who has appeared in his original character as the Russian protege. We know a similar suggestion was vetoed some time ago by the Russian dictators at Teheran. But there stands no diplomatic or treaty obligations in the way of the Persian Government if it boldly insists on adopting any measures it deems necessary in a part of the country that the Anglo-Russian Convention has left out of the scheme of partition. We trust the Regent will act boldly at this juncture before the latest Russian *coup* is decisively launched.

We wish to draw the attention of the Trustees of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, to the announcement recently made by the Honorary Secretary of the College, with the permission of the President of the Constitution Committee, to the effect that, in accordance with an earlier decision arrived at on

the subject, the Trustees are *ex officio* members of the Committee and are, therefore, fully entitled to take part in its discussions and to vote. The next meeting of the Committee is to be held at Lucknow on the 2nd and 3rd June. We need hardly say that a serious importance attaches to this meeting in view of the fact that the constitution of the proposed University is to be finally settled as far, at any rate, as the Mussalmans themselves are concerned. We trust the meeting will be a thoroughly representative and well-attended gathering and its deliberations will be marked by the earnestness and high purpose that the importance of the occasion demands. We await its decisions with deep interest.

Not very long ago we had occasion to refer to the methods with which the *Imrak-e-Bazar Patrika* had sought "Disreputable Journalism" to traverse some disagreeable statements made by a correspondent of the *Times*, which it had characterised as "disreputable journalism."

We had regretted that the *Patrika* should have delighted to use the same weapons which it had so righteously set out to discredit with all the wealth of its picturesque innuendo and not very choice vocabulary. Experience, however, has shown that the methods of our contemporary are its most effective weapons, that they are the only weapons it has learnt to use, and that it is idle to expect that exposure and ridicule would alter the nature of its psychology. The *Patrika* is an apt illustration of what Indian journalism can become in certain hands under certain contingencies. Those who occasionally turn its columns for the sake of the queer amusement they afford, must have greatly relished the crude subterfuges and almost childish insincerities with which the "Young Behar" is being held up to public derision. It has not forgiven the Beharees for the frank and unalloyed joyousness with which they have hailed their deliverance from the yoke of Bengal. It is, in turn, imploring them, threatening them with disaster, taunting them with a disorganised exchequer, a roofless secretariat and a houseless Lieutenant Governor and shedding crocodile tears over the loss of peace, goodwill and harmony divine. All this, however, is the *Patrika's* way and one can even feel a certain amount of pity for the mental and moral crisis through which it is passing. But the apparent fatuity of our contemporary sometimes conceals elements of deliberate mischief. A couple of paragraphs in its issue of the 28th May furnish an instance in point. After quoting a long extract from 'our Bankipur correspondent', bristling with dark rumours and insinuations, for which it characteristically disclaims all responsibility, it, nevertheless, proceeds to comment on "the pieces of interesting news" with that freedom from scruples beloved of its methods. Its 'Bankipur correspondent'—the *Patrika's* "correspondents" are, by the way, as numerous as its wishes—sends it "a piece of news" to the effect that "a mandate has come from a certain higher quarter to some of the local magnates to engineer a widespread agitation for a High Court at Bankipur . . ." The only comment that the *Patrika* deems it necessary to make is that no "artificial" agitation can hope to succeed as long as the Government of India is presided over by "a ruler shrewd and lynx-eyed enough to distinguish between chaff and grain." It then asserts that the people of Orissa, Chota Nagpur and "a vast number of

Beharees have no interest in having a High Court at Bankipur" "Indeed, if a High Court is at all needed for Behar," continues the *Patrika*, "it is mainly for the benefit of a section of the local lawyers, and possibly also for that of Mr. Ali Imam when his term of office expires." Whether a High Court is needed for Behar or not, we trust the Beharee will argue it out with the *Patrika*, if indeed, the former has not already exhausted all its wealth of vituperation in teaching us "a much-needed lesson." As regards the lines we have italicised, we confess we have never come across a viler and more disreputable exhibition of paltry innuendo in the course of our Journalistic experience. There is a more honest effrontry even in the gutter Press that thrives on the reek of personalities. The insinuation is unworthy of any newspaper having the least pretensions to good sense, decency and ordinary Journalistic decorum. Bengalee Journalism is, no doubt, resourceful and not very chary of methods. But there ought to be some limit to the growth of the chartered libertines of the Press, even though the variety is so prolific in Bengal. If this is how the *Patrika* guides "public opinion" and represents the grievances of "the people," we can well understand the sighs of relief with which the Beharees have got their deliverance.

Such questionable stuff is wired to India by Reuter in the shape of The War News

Turko-Italian war news that it becomes an exceedingly difficult process to separate the grain from the chaff. Sometimes it is all chaff, and no amount of search can lead to the discovery of a single grain of truth. It is not difficult to produce scores of instances in which Reuter has cabled to this country purely Italian versions of events in Tripoli and elsewhere which subsequent information has shown to have been utterly baseless and false. To take a recent instance, we were informed by Reuter towards the end of April that a telegram to the *Daily Chronicle* from Constantinople on the 26th April states that the Italian bombardment of the Dardanelles destroyed Kumkaleh Fort, killing 300 Turks. Needless to say, the news was absolutely incorrect and the Turkish Minister of War sent a categorical denial of it to the Press. As a matter of fact, only one soldier was killed and one wounded, one horse was killed and the dormitories of the barracks were destroyed. The Minister had also offered "to authorise a Foreign Military Attaché to visit the Dardanelles forts and report upon his inquiries." Dr. Sandler, the author of the report to the *Daily Chronicle*, had also formally denied the accuracy of his statement and explained that "he had been led into error on the subject of the Turkish losses at the Dardanelles and had telegraphed to the *Daily Chronicle* in perfectly good faith," and that "as soon as he realised that his good faith had been surprised he expressed his regrets to the authorities and telegraphed a denial to the *Chronicle*. In spite of all this, however, no correction has been forthcoming from Reuter. It would be interesting to mention here that the Italian losses in the Dardanelles fight were considerable. Notwithstanding positive official denials, it has now been established, beyond any possibility of doubt, that the Italian cruiser *Vereze* was sunk and some of the battleships and minor craft were severely damaged. The Mutessarif of Leunnoor has captured a huge quantity of flotsam that had been washed ashore from *Vereze* and has sent it to Constantinople. The Milan correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* gives a detailed account of the injuries sustained by the Italian fleet. The following extract from his report will, we are sure, be read with interest:—"Despite the repeated assurances of the Italian Government that no damage whatever had been sustained by any of the ships in the recent attack on the Dardanelles, news is leaking out which tends to show that this statement must be accepted *cum grano salis*. In addition to the admissions made by a member of the expedition aboard Admiral Viale's flagship, as regards the 'piercing of the *Gurkha*'s armour-plate in several places, and further admissions about the damage aboard the *Ferruccio*, confirmed by its commander in a published letter, *La Sera* (Milan) prints an interview of its Catania correspondent with a naval officer belonging to the *Gurkha*, who has just been invalided home, in which the officer states that during the attempt to blow up the Turkish war-vessel anchored in the Straits at midnight on 18th April two torpedo destroyers, the *Perego* and *Aldo*, did really succeed in penetrating the Dardanelles, but on account of the thick darkness prevailing and the great velocity at which they were travelling the destroyers sank with all hands.

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collision and were so badly damaged that they had instantly to withdraw, escorted by others near the entrance. This is the real reason why the attack was abandoned."

THE Government of India have issued an important Resolution on the question of improvement and Sanitation. Strengthening the sanitary services in this country. The administrative machinery of the Sanitary Department itself is claimed to be fairly efficient. The improvements that are sought to be effected "are in the direction of further decentralisation of the control, of widening the field of recruitment by throwing open the higher posts to fully qualified Indians of proved aptitude, and of strengthening the staff in some provinces in which at present it is admittedly inadequate." The local Governments have been empowered to select their own Sanitary Commissioners from officers serving in the Provincial Sanitary Departments. The number of Deputy Sanitary Commissioners has been increased by eight in order to ensure greater efficiency of supervision. An important departure has been made in the matter of the appointment of these officers by throwing the posts open to qualified Indians, while the appointments will no longer be reserved for members of the Indian Medical Service. Another important feature of the improvements embodied in the Resolution is the creation of the appointment of Health Officers for large municipalities as well as smaller towns. The qualifications fixed for a Health Officer of the 1st class are rather high, as he would be required to have a British diploma of Public Health. The necessity for this, however, is considered to be temporary as the Government of India trust that the restriction would be removed as soon as facilities have been provided in this country for the training of Indians as Health Officers. The Government of India undertake to give financial assistance to the provinces whose funds do not allow of extra expenditure on Sanitation. The schemes outlined in the Resolution mark a distinct advance in the sanitary reform movement in this country. We hope the solicitude shown by the Government will induce the local Governments to put more energy and zeal into their work in this direction.

With its issue of 10th May 1914, the *Near East* completes its first year of existence. The occasion has been appropriately marked by the insertion, in its columns, of letters and special articles from prominent statesmen, journalists and men of affairs, which testify to the useful work the journal has accomplished during its short career. "Intended primarily for the benefit of Turkey, Egypt, and adjoining countries," says the *Near East*, "it has seen its circulation during this short period extend all over the world. Interest in the Near East is no longer confined to the United Kingdom and the Continent of Europe, for our subscribers are now to be found in British dominions in both hemispheres, in the United States of America, where many Armenians and Greeks have settled; and in India, whose Moslem population is, not unnaturally, as Lord Hardinge has said quite lately, and the Aga Khan tells us so forcibly this week, in the deepest sympathy with the troubles of their co-religionists abroad". We congratulate our contemporary on the rapid growth of its sphere of influence, and hope its efforts to achieve the great ends it has in view will continue to be inspired by sympathy, impartiality and breadth of outlook. It would be but bare justice to recognise the special pains and care with which the journal has hitherto been conducted. Its columns are a mine of useful information. In addition to an extensive correspondence devoted to Near Eastern affairs, a large variety of topics bearing on the political, commercial and financial conditions of those countries, are dealt with every week, and an enormous mass of interesting information is thus brought together in compact form. Our readers must be familiar enough with the *Near East*, as we have on several occasions reproduced articles and extracts from its columns. The paper meets a distinct want; and if its policy is based on sympathy and fairness towards the countries and races whose cause it professes to advocate, we have no doubt but that it has a very useful future before it. Its views on the momentous problems of the Near East have on the whole been characterised by moderation, though we must confess, it has been, at times, difficult to distinguish the standpoint of a professed friend of Turkey, Persia and Egypt from the angle of vision of a British Imperialist. We must also admit that our contemporary is not very admirably served by some of its correspondents, notably from Cairo, Salonica and Constantinople. The bias in these cases is only too painfully apparent, and one feels a conscious effort being made to distort facts to fit in with preconceived theories of political development in the East. Under the circumstances, our contemporary cannot be said as yet to have risen to a stage of self-discipline and balance which are so necessary for the realisation of its ideals. If its ambition to become the organ of Moslem opinion is to be achieved, it shall have to thoroughly identify itself with the Moslem standpoint.

The Comrade.

The Dacca University.

THE administrative changes announced at the Durbar were too tremendous and sudden not to have stirred the feelings of people forcibly, and although this may not justify the fitful lamentations of the Anglo-Indian community in Calcutta even to-day, in which the most pitiable mourners are some of our local contemporaries, it certainly explains the passionateness of many protests made at the time. When time has swept a little longer over the country, and things attain their proper level, a just critic would, we believe, declare that the new régime in India was one of good measures badly carried out. And this verdict would not be confined only to the changes announced at Delhi but to most of the acts of the present Government. Wrong methods have involved right measures in unnecessary odium, and statesmanlike projects have received an undeservedly bad reception because of unstatesmanlike procedure.

The proposed Dacca University is one of them, for the time and place at which it was first announced, and the manner of that announcement were such that a beneficent educational measure was bound to be regarded with a remarkable unanimity as a malicious political blow or an unsatisfactory political compensation. Replying to a deputation of some Bengalee gentlemen of great eminence, His Excellency the Viceroy said in conclusion: "I am hopeful that the large issues of educational policy, on which the future of India so greatly depends, will be viewed with a wide outlook, and apart from personal or political interests." Earlier in that speech the Viceroy had declared that "the constitution of a University at Dacca and the appointment of a special educational officer at Dacca rest solely on grounds of educational policy, both general and local," and had advanced the most convincing argument in support of the declaration, viz., that "before the arrangements announced by His Imperial Majesty were considered, the Government of India.....had included in their educational programme the constitution of teaching and residential universities, including a University at Dacca." But if these purely educational projects had not been announced, with some dramatic accompaniments, to a Moslem deputation which waited on His Excellency at Dacca to know what compensation his Government had decided to offer to their long suffering and depressed community for the loss of its recently acquired political power, the Viceroy would have been spared the trouble of attempting to convince the Anti Partitionists *Redavv* that "it was never the intention of the Government of India that there should be a line of cleavage in the Educational Department of the new province as between the two Bengals," and that "no proposals which could possibly lead to the internal partition or division of Bengal would meet with any support from the Government of India." Could it convince anybody that the numerical Moslem majority resulting from the Partition which led to all the excesses of the Anti-Partition campaign, and the disappearance of which caused the campaigners unsigned jubilation which would have known no bounds if it had not been tempered by the back-stroke of the change of Capital—was a thing of no value to the Mussalmans? We are sure we are in the right that whosoever may have thought so, the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal—or, for the matter of that, of any Province—did not think so. We are equally sure that when the deputation waited on His Excellency at Dacca, its members expected some compensating boons that would in some measure reconcile them to the loss of their numerical majority in the now defunct province. What then could have been more natural than the idea that the Viceroy's announcement of a University at Dacca and the appointment of a separate educational officer was the long expected compensation? The Mussalmans and the Hindus alike took it as such, and while the former regarded it as wholly inadequate and even irrelevant, the latter saw in it the re-incarnation of the spirit of the Partition and opposed it. His Excellency, of course, explained at great length to this deputation how it came about that it was to the Moslem deputation at Calcutta that he had first announced the educational projects of his Government. But the mischief had already been done, and there has been little attempt during the four months that have elapsed since the announcement of the Government's educational policy at following His Excellency's well-meant and very necessary advice that these educational projects should be viewed with a wide outlook and apart from personal or political interests. Almost the only attempt to discuss the proposals on their own merits has been made by Mr. P. Chaudhuri in a very thoughtful and well reasoned paper recently read by him at a meeting of the Constitutional Club and reproduced in three successive issues of the *Bengalee*, and we hope it will arrest the attention of the Committee now appointed to frame a scheme for the Dacca University, even though it is somewhat general and discursive.

We had explained our own attitude towards the proposed Dacca University in the issue of 17th February last, in which we

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had stated that, in the first place, our previous remarks "have not been directed against the promised University as such, but against its being debited to the long-suffering Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal"; that, in the second place, we had some misgiving that "the University at Dacca may help to cut off the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal from the Moslem University"; and that, in the third place, "although the creation of a teaching University at the very doors of the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal is bound to lessen the value of another teaching University at Aligarh, that is no reason why those who advocated the latter should come in the way of the former." In fact, we had gone still further and added that, "for our part, we wish every University in India was a teaching University, and if the creation of fresh Universities means more education or better education, we shall continue to accord them a warm and a cordial welcome." Finally, we had stated that "we have already admitted our readiness to admit that the people of Eastern Bengal would receive greater consideration for their special requirements than they have been doing at Calcutta."

To these views we still adhere; but, we must confess, we note with regret that in one important particular the project of the Dacca University as it is now embodied in the Bengal Government Resolution, which we publish elsewhere, is even less favourable to the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal than we and they had at first understood. The terms of reference to the committee which His Excellency the Governor in Council is pleased to appoint are wide enough and "leave full latitude to the Committee in framing their recommendations." But the Bengal Government's resolution goes further than any published statement of the Government of India in rigorously limiting the jurisdiction of the University to the town of Dacca so that "it should not include any college which is beyond the limits of the town." When His Excellency the Viceroy's announcement at Dacca was published on the 3rd February last, there was nothing in it which could lead one to suppose that the Dacca University would not include in its jurisdiction the whole of Eastern Bengal, and in view of the fact that His Excellency discussed with the Moslem deputation "the future situation of the Muhammadan community in the new Presidency," and impressed upon them that "educational progress would be the surest safeguard for the promotion of Muhammadan interests," the inference was not wholly unwarrantable that the jurisdiction of the University would not be confined to a single town. Later, on the 16th February, His Excellency replied at length to the Hindu deputation at Calcutta in terms which have been embodied, and often reproached, in the letter of the Hon. Mr Sharp to the Government of Bengal, and although he dissociated his Government from all notions of an educational partition, and although he then for the first time made it clear that the Dacca University would be a teaching and residential University, that did not necessarily imply that the scope of the proposed University would be restricted within such narrow territorial limits. In fact, the Viceroy explicitly left "the question of the scope of the Dacca University and of the position of the special educational officer" to "the new Governor to consider and advise", and if it was left to the latter to reject even "the creation of a separate cadre for Eastern Bengal," although the Viceroy could not himself imagine that it would command itself to Lord Carmichael, it was reasonable enough to hope that the new Governor would also be given an opportunity of recommending within what limits the Dacca University should have jurisdiction.

It may be said that the very definition of a teaching University excludes every chance of a Mufassil College being affiliated to it. But even the Hon. Mr. Sharp in his letter to the Bengal Government gives a wider scope to such a University, desiring that it should bind together the colleges of "a single town or a single circumscribed area." We have no desire to follow the startling doctrines of the Hon. Sir Asutosh Mukherji, who laid it down in his very remarkable and emphatic Convocation Address, delivered in the spirit of a critical reply to the Government's recently announced administrative and educational measures, that "the reproach sometimes levelled against the existing Universities that they are merely examining bodies..... does not rest on solid ground"; that "the criticism that they are not residential in character is very wide of the mark"; that the Calcutta University "is and has always been a teaching University"; and that "it is a residential University," simply because the colleges which submit their scholars to its examinations teach all and house a small fraction of their students. But without endorsing such assertions, it may be said that the change from a University the jurisdiction of which covers the area of three whole Provinces and a Chief Commissionership to one confined to a single town is too tremendous, and that the relief provided by detaching four colleges out of fifty-two, and at the most 2,000 out of nearly 14,000 students, would not remove to any very appreciable extent the congestion in the Calcutta University. We are not in love with what are rather loosely called "federal Universities," and are inclined to endorse the Government of India's estimate of such Universities. But we emphatically hold that the rigorously circumscribed single town Universities cannot satisfy fit into the cosmopolitan of the loosely knit together, sprawling, and impersonal institutions which have hitherto existed, and remained uncondemned by Government even when the advocates of

the Moslem University challenged a comparison between their scheme and the existing order of things. It is true that the teaching University will not benefit by any compromise, and it is also true that any time spent by its teaching staff in inspecting Mufassil Colleges affiliated to it would in some measure divert its attention from its proper work. But it is equally true that a College not at a great distance from such a University would be far better inspected and looked after by it than by another located at a place two days' journey from the latter. Imagine a College at Narasingunge or even at Comilla supervised by the Syndics of a University at Calcutta, not one of whom comes from Eastern Bengal, when it has a University next door to it at Dacca under the supervision of a Syndicate composed equally exclusively of Eastern Bengal people. No doubt the affiliation of such Colleges to a teaching University would be a compromise and not stern logic. But it would be a compromise beneficial alike to the distant Calcutta University and the neighbouring Mufassil Colleges, while impairing only to an inappreciable extent the efficiency of the teaching University located next door to such Colleges.

This is a purely general and educational aspect of the question. But there is a local and Muhammadan aspect as well. Much as Sir Asutosh Mukherji may discourse in the vein of the Greek hero of Tennyson's poem, Ulysses, he will find it difficult to convince people that Calcutta did not act like the Upas tree towards its distant undergrowth. The rapid advance of education in Eastern Bengal after the Partition is proof enough of the necessity of giving to Eastern Bengal a University of its own instead of giving one to its capital city only, and in the words of the *Times of India*, which, in an "intelligent anticipation of events," foreshadowed the scheme of the Dacca University, "it demands no change of policy from those in authority, for it is but the continuance of measures which would have been pushed to their logical conclusion if the development of Eastern Bengal and Assam under its own Government had not been abruptly arrested, and it is designed to secure the fulfilment of ends specifically declared in the despatch." If in these days the wishes of loyal and contented Mussalmans count for anything with Governments, we may add that the resolution moved by the Hon. Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhury, and carried unanimously in the last session of the All-India Moslem League, while heartily welcoming the Dacca University, urged on the Government "the desirability of extending the operations of the proposed University over the districts of Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong Divisions, so far at least as the general control and supervision of the educational institutions in those areas and the prescription of the curricula of studies and the examinations are concerned." This humble petition of the Mussalmans has also gone the way of the rest, and the assurance given to the Hindu deputation that no suspicion of a partition of Bengal would be tolerated by the Government is made doubly sure by this limitation of its scope and jurisdiction.

۱۲۰۰ میں اسے کیا تھا!

(Oh, the many aspirations that have turned into ashes!)

We have been taught recently to believe that the facts most likely to be unsettled are the "settled facts" of our Government. But that may not be for all. In the case of the Mussalmans, we have to accept the hard reality that "the moving finger writes, and, having writ, moves on," and we cannot encourage them with the hope that their loyalty, or, at any rate, their contentment "shall lure it back to cancel half a line" or that such tears as they can shed can "wash out a word of it." But in one matter the sheet is still blank and it is not too much to hope that the "moving finger" may write thereon something not unlike what the Mussalmans desire. That is the appointment of an educational officer for Eastern Bengal. We have always attached to this proposal more importance from the Muhammadan point of view than to the Dacca University; for even if such an officer sought out the easiest bit of work to do, and in order to gain official glory, paid more attention to the forward Hindus than to the backward Mussalmans—a thing which is only too common to-day—even in that case the limits of 33 per cent. are soon reached, and his successor could get little *lendas* except by falling back on the Mussalmans that constitute 66 per cent. of the population of Eastern Bengal. But we doubt if the Hindus of Eastern Bengal need any such officer to encourage them. Among the reasons that have induced the Government of India to locate the new University at Dacca are two that present a contrast worthy of careful consideration. They "are the high level of intelligence" declared to be characteristic of the Hindu middle class population of Eastern Bengal and hence "the educational progressiveness of these districts" on one side, and the backwardness of the Muhammadans on the other. We believe the Hindus of Western Bengal are on no lower a plane of intelligence, nor are the Presidency and Burdwan divisions less progressive. But whether that is so or not, the Mussalmans are almost equally backward throughout the Presidency and East and West, North and South are all alike in this respect. The only difference is that in Eastern Bengal they are more numerous, though in districts like Jaffna and Madras they constitute a clear majority of the population over in Western Bengal. Whether it is

then, be better to appoint a separate officer for the Mussalmans alone, though of the entire Presidency rather than for both the Hindus and Mussalmans, but exclusively for Bengal? The wise union-loving Hindus of Bengal and the perverse separatists of Islam would alike favour such an arrangement, and we cannot believe that a proposal favoured by the Hindus would be rejected by the Government simply because the Mussalmans also approved of it. The Government which, in the matter of a desire for partition for any kind or shape, is so anxious to be an improvement on Caesar's wife, would in this way please the Hindus, and spare them the humiliation of being looked after by a protector of the poor and of the ignorant. As the poet of the perverse separatists has said —

* شرکت غیر میں نہن چاہئی غیر میری
غور کی ملے، ملے با شب فرقہ میری

(My amorous proprie^s desires not even a sharing of sorrow / Let the night of separation be either wholly my rival's or mine)

It may be asked how it would be possible for such an officer to inspect schools and colleges in which both Hindus and Mussalmans study together. Such a question would be based on a misinterpretation of our suggestion. We do believe that the Department of Public Instruction has not paid enough attention to Moslem students and we fear it has not always dealt fairly with Moslem employés. Not to say these things out of mere politeness will do good to nobody, and as we do not ascribe evil motives to the officials, we do not think they would hear any grudge against us for indulging in some frank truths. We trust in future this will not be, and the only remedy for these evils is a watchful central administration rather than a new type of educational officers. We would, therefore, propose that the students must be left to the present set of officials strengthened by the appointment of a good many more Muhammadan officers of the rank of Inspectors, Additional Assistant and Deputy Inspectors, and that these officials must be left to the present head of the Department who is, we feel sure, as much convinced as we are of the necessity of encouraging Muhammadan officers under him in order to have his Department freed from the evil of having cliques based on divisions of caste, creed, and family. In other words, to a very large extent, the special officer that we would suggest would have little to do with Muhammadans, once they have crossed the threshold of schools and colleges. His chief concern must be with those—and they number millions—who should be at some school or college and are not. It should be his duty to bring these to the doors of the schools and colleges, and having brought them there, to leave them, for the most part, to the Department of Public Instruction and the Universities. He must set about his business by inquiring from every source, but chiefly from Moslem source, what it is that keeps the Mussalmans back in each locality from taking advantage of the facilities provided by Government for the education of the people. We have answers of our own to offer to questions like these, but they can wait for another occasion. For the present we may only say, in general, that it is not always reasons connected with the Department of Education that keep the Mussalmans back, though such reasons are not wanting, nor few. There are social, political and religious causes which are at the root of the matter, and to our mind it is not always an educational expert that can get to the bottom of these affairs. What we have in our mind when we suggest a separate officer for Moslem education, is a Civilian, not very young, but yet one that has not shed the enthusiasm for education and reform which his university education has created in him, one who has larger sympathies than the average Civilian and fewer prejudices, yet one who has personal leanings towards Mussalmans, based not on favoritism, but on a clearer understanding of their point of view, their prejudices and position, one who has been able to win the confidence of the community in his earlier official career, and would not, therefore, find their minds like a sealed book, but would get them to communicate to him freely and frankly their desires and ambitions, their complaints and grievances, equally without fear and without a desire to flatter. Such officers, though they are not too numerous, are not, on the other hand, too rare either, and it is men of such character and temperament, whether their personal leanings be towards Hindus or Mussalmans, that succeed in leaving behind them a fabric of real, solid work which is never achieved by the more humdrum and featureless individuals that soon shed their youthful fervour in the blighting atmosphere of Anglo-India Clubs and talk of what the East loves and the Oriental requires, as if such generalisations were axioms of Euclid or part of Holy Writ, which none but the ignorant and the profane could question. An officer of the type that we have described above would diagnose the disease of the Mussalmans and, gathering experience of their peculiar malady, suggest remedies suited to their constitution and temperament. It will not be entirely left to him whether the draught prescribed should be given to the patient, nor need other communities fear that the personal leanings of such an officer would lead to favouritism in the case of one community. It will be the Government itself that will have to dispense the prescription and in this case the dispenser will have the power to modify

the prescription. Such an officer need not, and we think, should not be subordinate to the Director of Public Instruction, though he is certain to consult the latter, on many occasions he should be directly subordinate to a member of the council and should have access to H E the Governor like Secretaries to Government. Being a Civilian he will be in a better position than an Educational officer to know a large number of influential people in the community and would carry more influence with them. In many cases, we confess, the disease of the Mussalmans is only indifference and the cure is not in the hands of the Government but in their own. In that case it is not the physician that they require but the preacher; and an officer such as the one that we have described would act as a missionary deputed by Government to convert the community from its creed of indolence and apathy to one of energy and progress. This is the remedy that we suggest, and, we believe, we have in this matter the support of the entire Muhammadan Community. To the Government we shall only say, "You have tried your own remedy in Bengal for the last 150 years and that remedy has not yet cured the patient. Is it not time to try ours, even though it be only for a while and as an experiment? You have sought the right goal but chosen the wrong path. Is it not time to let others lead you even though you are conscious of your own superior wisdom? You have tried and, to be frank, you have failed hopelessly. Why not try what we suggest and wait and see?"

All that we have said about the special Educational officer may appear to be somewhat irrelevant in a discussion of the Dacca University, but we submit that the problem is one and it is impossible to separate the two questions without laceration. In the second place, all that we know is that a teaching and residential University is sanctioned in principle by the Secretary of State and is to be located at Dacca and confined to the colleges within the town. More than that we do not know and must wait for the report of the Committee which His Excellency the Governor in Council has been pleased to appoint. It has a wide enough latitude given to it for its deliberations and we trust even those of its members that have hitherto opposed the foundation of such a University at Dacca would work on the Committee with the one desire of making the University the best that they can with the materials at their disposal. The Committee is composed for the most part of educational experts and, so far as we can judge, there is no point of view that is likely to be left unrepresented on the Committee. The situation of Dacca with its four colleges and several Oriental Madrasas with its thousands of school boys and its palatial untenantanted public buildings in addition to the beautiful scenery of its river, so well described by Mr Bradley-Birt, is one that lends itself well enough to the purposes of educational architects, and, as one representative of Eastern Bengal has said since the partition was annulled, if Dacca is not to know the din and turmoil of politics inseparable from a seat of Government, it may be a blessing in disguise if it becomes a city of learning with the calm and quietude of a cloistered University.

Some War Publications.

1

THE war that is dragging on in Tripoli—and now elsewhere also—is unique in many respects. But one of its worst features has been the scantiness of reliable news, and there is much truth in the assertion that for all that we have been able to know of the operations, we might have been living in the Middle Ages and not in the twentieth century which prides itself so justly on having reduced distances and revolutionised the means of communication throughout the world. It is true that wires were kept very busy when Italy first bombarded Tripoli and then landed her troops in the Tripolitane and Cyrenaica. But after less than a month, silence reigned supreme and it was broken only by the War Correspondents of newspapers and news agencies who left Tripoli because they could not stand the blood-lust and butchery that took the place of courage and military skill of "the descendants of the Scipios." Truth will, however, out, and although we have been unable to secure a continuous and regular account of the military operations which we could well believe, we have had glimpses of the truth, sometimes revolting in its awfulness, and at others disgusting in being excessively ridiculous.

So far three publications¹ have been issued from London. The first deals with the circumstances that led to the war and the international problems, political and legal which it has created. The next to be issued is a brochure which is a *résumé* of the articles contributed, in the main, by Mr. McCullagh and the evidence of other War Correspondents with the Italian Army in support of

¹ 1. *The Tripolitan War and its Problems* by Sir Thomas Buxton (London : Constable and Co., Ltd. Rs. 4-6).

2. *Italian Wars in Tripoli and Muslim Fighting in Africa* (W. Spaniard and Sons, Peter Lane, London. A.R. 2.)

3. *With the Turks in Tripoli* by Ernest M. Bennett. (London : Methuen and Co. Ltd. Rs. 3.)

his assertion about Italian atrocities. The last is the narrative of a War Correspondent who remained with the Turco-Arab forces for about a month and returned to Europe shortly after New year's Day.

Sir Thomas Barclay, who is a member of the Institute of International Law, naturally looks upon the war with the eye of the jurist. But in the hundred pages of his book, he devotes a good deal of space to the history of Italy's designs on Tripoli, and the British interest involved in the annexation of the Tripolitania and Cyrenaica to the Italian Kingdom. He quotes from Cesare Balbo's "Delle Speranze d'Italia" ("The Hope of Italy") written in 1842, a passage showing that Italy had dreamed of "external expansion" long before there was anything more of Italy internally than a "geographical expression." He wrote that "Whether it be to Tunis or to Tripoli, or to an island, or to any part of the Eastern Continent, matters not." Mazzini too seems to have exclaimed, "Northern Africa belongs to Italy," and Bismarck, too, wrote to the Italian patriot that "The Empire of the Mediterranean must be the constant pre-occupation of Italy, the fundamental thought of the Florentine Cabinet." He also quotes Baron Blanc, the Italian Foreign Minister, who said in a speech in the Italian Chamber in 1894 that Napoleon III. had officially given his assent to an Italian occupation of Tunis and that, at the Conference of Berlin in 1878, it had been suggested that Italy might secure her position there without objection from the Powers. Sir Thomas then traces the designs of Italy on Tripoli from the resentment caused by the occupation of Tunis by France in 1881, leading to the resignation of the then Italian Cabinet and the alliance of Italy with Germany and Austria on 30th May 1882. Mr. Bennet quotes a conversation of Napoleon III. with the Prince Consort as early as 1857 in which the French monarch suggested that "a part of Tripoli might be given to Sardinia," and when the French had occupied a part of Northern Africa, where Italian settlers greatly outnumbered the French, Crispi set to secure the definite reversion of Tripoli to Italy. He constantly wrote to Lord Salisbury on the subject, assuring him in those pre-Tripoli days that "the Republic is bent on occupying that region [Tripoli] as proved by her incessant encroachments on the Frontier . . . If we had Tripoli, Bizerte would no longer be a menace either to Italy or Great Britain." In reply, Lord Salisbury consoled this ardent Italian minister by saying that "he agrees that when the day arrives for any alteration, great or small, it is indispensable that the occupation of Tripoli should be undertaken by Italy." How lightly political brigandage is regarded by the cultured diplomats of Europe can be judged from a very sporting remark of Lord Salisbury, who was also responsible for the elegant expression of the turf, that in supporting Turkey in 1878 "they had backed the wrong horse." Changing the metaphor, his lordship said, in reply to Crispi's pressing appeal, that "the Italian Government will have Tripoli, but the sportsman who wants to shoot his stag must wait until it comes well within the range of his gun, so that it does not escape, even if wounded." Italy has, however, not had the requisite patience of the sporting stalker and has blazed away long before the monarch of the glen came within its range. But we do not know if this was not done with the implicit or explicit consent of another British Foreign Minister. Sir Edward Grey's favourite occupation, which is fishing, demands still greater patience.

It is only too clear that the Powers, and specially France and Great Britain, had assured Italy of the reversion of Libya to her in return for her non-interference in Morocco, where in the pinches she had been showing some activity of a more or less anti-French character. Great Britain could not have been a mere Rodolfo to the Iago of France, and there is every likelihood of a similar non-interference having been purchased in Egypt. All this was done, in the first instance, in December 1901, when assurances were exchanged between France and Italy. Since then, as Sir Thomas Barclay proves, Italy has constantly watched over the two Turkish Provinces with a sort of jealous suspicion. The *Giornale d'Italia* of 24th September 1906, complained of the progressive French assimilation of all the routes of traffic from Tripolitana inwards on which the future prosperity of the country depends. "It will result," says this paper, "when the time comes to keep engagements entered into with us on the subject of Tripolitana, in our getting nothing but a bare bone." This was said *apropos* of the French occupation of the Oasis of Bilma on the route from Tripoli to Lake Chad, some 300 miles south of the most southern point of Turkish savoy in Tripolitana, and within the French sphere of influence as fixed in the agreement of 1899. In 1908 suspicion of German plans seems to have grown up in Italy, and just before the Turkish Revolution took place Italy pressed on the attention of the Sultan grievances very much like those alleged as grounds of the present war, and the Italian Government even made a naval demonstration and obtained satisfaction of all points; one of them being the recognition of the Italian Post Office they had established under the protection of their worshipped *Altaghani*. In February 1910 attention was called in the Italian Parliament to the encroachment of France on the Tripolitanian

frontier, as if it were already Italian soil, and still more recently Italy went the length of protesting against the sending, by the Ottoman Government, of military transports to Tripoli. As Sir Thomas well says, this could hardly predispose the Turks to a favourable view of Italian activity in their African Vilayet. Italy's action showed that she openly regarded her interest in Turkish North Africa as one of incipient sovereignty already. No wonder then that when rumour gained currency that Germany was about to lease a port or coaling station in Tripolitana, the Italian Government regarded this as an unjust interference in a territory which the Italians had practically brought under their sovereignty even before it was annexed, just as they have now annexed it even before it has been captured. In view of this history it is amusing to read Dr. Dillon's defence of the Italians and especially of Signor Tittoni, who, in 1905, considered the protectorate by Italy of Tripoli as a *sine qua non* for the maintenance of the equilibrium in the Mediterranean.

Dr. Dillon wrote in the November issue of the *Contemporary Review* that "for the time being all that he asked the Porte to grant to his countrymen in the African Vilayet was encouragement and furtherance for their commercial and industrial enterprise. Had this been accorded, Italy and Turkey might not have been at war." We wonder whether Dr. Dillon has ever smiled or laughed in his life and if so, whether his risible faculty is fully maintained to-day. For, surely, it is highly diverting to hear anyone talking of encouraging and furthering Italian commercial and industrial enterprise "for the time being" in order to prevent a war which gives to Turkey a better chance of protecting her territory than the peace beloved of Dr. Dillon and Signor Tittoni. Sir Thomas Barclay, who has no undue leanings towards the Young Turks, concludes the chapter on "Italy's real case" by saying that, this may explain Italy's resort to form unprecedented by peaceful negotiations, but it does not exonerate her from the guilt of unprovoked aggression or exempt her from the duty of fully indemnifying Turkey and adjusting her legal position with reference to the other parties to the treaties of 1856 and 1878. He is of opinion that "tacit acquiescence by the co-contracting powers is a sort of licence to others to commit further breaches, and this can only foster that spirit of distrust and unrest among nations which is at the root of the present disastrous competition in military and naval expense." But we do not see what good it would do to Turkey or to the world at large if the Powers "provoked" a *post factum* legalisation of Italy's action, as Russia's violation of the Black Sea clauses of the treaty of 1856 had been legalised in 1871. What good will it do if, in the words of Sir Thomas Barclay, the Powers "accept the inevitable," and, as he hopes, "re-affirm the sanctity of treaties?" This is the most curious make-believe that we have come across, and it shows that even Sir Thomas Barclay is more anxious for the shadow than for the reality. Sir Thomas Barclay's love of peace and justice is more anaemic than full-blooded, and we doubt if such pleas for the sanctity of treaties would result in much practical good. It is not of justice for the sake of justice or of peace for the love of peace that Sir Thomas is an advocate, but even the less solid foundation of expediency cannot be altogether disposed, and possibly the more commercial-minded amongst the Britons would find much food for thought in the following passage from the introduction. We, however, trust that England is something more than a nation of shopkeepers, and that not only those issues will move an average Briton which touch his purse. Sir Thomas Barclay says:—

Among these (the questions arising out of the war) is one of paramount and permanent importance to this country's interests throughout the world, and on which it is right to stimulate criticism to an attitude of sincere, promising energy, namely, that treaty engagements shall be respected and that public opinion shall not be hushed into indifference by benevolent assurances which at the first contact with concrete situations are swept into the back ground as mere plow-wishes. The sanctity of treaties and good faith among nations is not merely a theoretical or moral proposition. It is the very foundation of that international stability on which the calculations, public and private, of whole nations are based. Financial and industrial markets alike are disturbed by the mere rumour of an international difference between European Powers, and the restoration of confidence means that the Powers in question have come to a tacit compromise by a treaty which they will both scrupulously respect. If this is not the wish of the parties to a treaty, and there is a tacit reservation that either may violate any inconvenient clauses of it, as soon as international or foreign complications interfere with the other party's ability to enforce respect for them, we revert to a state of international chaos—a chaos in which the possibility that war without provocation, without real grievances, on any trumped-up pretence, may break out, upset the markets, baffle the calculations of merchants and manufacturers, and involve whole industrial populations in that state of distrust and uncertainty as to the immediate future which necessarily follows every disturbance of international peace. Peace is the greatest interest of an industrial proletariat, because it stands for stable markets, and on stable markets depend the contracts ahead which stand for whatever security of tenure there is in manufacturing communities. The present war, whatever outcome there may be, whatever tacit or express understandings mutual States may have entered into with the aggressor, it is to be hoped, will be regarded as an exception in the history of an age which pride itself on its humanity and moral progress, and in which those who do the work of war as well as those for whom it is conducted to realize how much they are the slugs of political leaders.

We have not the same profound faith in the good that has already been done by the Hague Conferences that Sir Thomas Barclay has, and we are not disposed to agree with him that one thing at least which the Hague Conferences have done is "to make the treaty of peace a final closing up of all difficulties and leave as little as possible for permanent resentment or revenge." The instances of the treaty which terminated the Hispano-American War and the Treaty of Portsmouth which settled the titanic struggle between Russia and Japan, and a comparison of these with the settlement of the Franco-German War are not very convincing, because it is not the spirit of magnanimity but of competition, that is often cruel, which seems to actuate the Powers to-day. If anything is characteristic of some at least of those who cry down war in time of peace and disturb the peace themselves, it is the action of Signor Moneta, the leader of the Peace Movement in Italy, and one of the laureates of the Nobel Peace Prize, who justifies the brigandage of his country and writes in the *Vita Internazionale* that, "the energy and rapidity of action evidenced by the Government is praiseworthy."

Sir Thomas Barclay draws attention to the fact that "from the first notice of the existence of any grievances to the declaration of war the interval was exactly five days," and says that only on one previous occasion, namely, that of the outbreak of the Franco-German War, did anything occur in our time resembling the present war as regards precipitation. It is also worth noting that with regard to the arbitration agreement concluded by most of the powers, they with one exception, have excluded from their operation matters affecting their "vital interests" or "national honour." And when the Marquis di Giuliano sent his ultimatum to Turkey, he took care to state that the issue between his country and Turkey constituted "so far as Italy is concerned a vital interest of the very first order." This, says Sir Thomas, was evidently intended to enable his Government to meet any suggestions as to arbitration. But, as he points out, by an odd coincidence, *Italy happens to be the one State which has thus far had the courage to enter into a treaty undertaking to submit to arbitration all differences, whatever their nature, between the parties, without the customary exception of "vital interests" and "national honour."* He refers to the treaty which Italy concluded with Argentina and which seemed, during the Hague Conference of 1907, to have been intended to serve as an example to others. Here we have an Italian laureate of peace extolling an unprovoked and unrighteous war, and the Italian nation, that meant to be a model to others, falling even below the low standard of international morality of other European nations.



Dacca University.

GENERAL DEPARTMENT—EDUCATION.

Darjeeling, the 27th May 1912.

RESOLUTION NO. 567 T.—G.

READ—

A letter from the Government of India, Department of Education, No. 811, dated the 4th April 1912.

In the letter appended to this Resolution, the Government of India have announced the decision that a University shall be established at Dacca to serve as an example and test of a teaching and residential institution for higher education, and to afford some relief to the University of Calcutta in the discharge of the immense and growing volume of business with which it is called upon to deal.

1. The Governor in Council fully endorses the tribute paid by the Government of India to the high traditions of the Calcutta University, which are worthily maintained under its present progressive administration. The many years of earnest endeavour and useful work which stand to the credit of the University amply justify the esteem and regard in which it is held by the educated classes of Bengal. No scheme likely to diminish the influence or to injure the reputation of the Calcutta University would therefore commend itself to the Government. But future progress will not be commensurate with past achievement, unless full account is taken of the altered conditions which result from the great expansion of higher education in India and from the development of modern educational ideals. A stage of progress has been reached which requires both fresh development in the activities of the existing Universities and the creation of new centres of University study and research.

2. It is a subject of legitimate pride and satisfaction that the Government of India should select Bengal as the Province in which the first new teaching and residential University is to be founded, and it appears to the Governor in Council that no locality more suitable than Dacca could have been selected for the purpose. The city is already an educational centre of great and rapidly growing influence; it lies in an area which is renowned for the intelligence and educational activity of its Hindu population; and it is an important Muhammadan centre. Moreover, spacious sites and commodious buildings are available which will render it possible to establish a teaching and residential University at a comparatively small capital cost.

4. The experiment will thus be made in very favourable conditions. In order that these may be utilized to the best advantage and that the scheme may be brought to a successful issue, it is essential that it should be framed with the most deliberate care, and that the fullest opportunity should be afforded to all who are interested in higher education to express their views and to proffer their advice. The Governor in Council has considered carefully the manner in which these objects may best be achieved, and has decided to entrust the framing of the scheme to a strong and representative Committee, which will in due course submit a report to the Local Government. This report will be published and circulated for comment and advice. After full consideration of the suggestions received, the Governor in Council will make such amendments as may appear necessary, and will then submit to the Government of India the scheme called for in paragraph 9 of their letter.

5. In pursuance of the plan outlined in the previous paragraph, the Governor in Council is pleased to appoint the following gentlemen to form a Committee for the purpose of framing a scheme for the establishment of a University at Dacca.—

R. Nathan, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., President.

G.W. Kuchler, Esq., C.I.E., M.A., Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.

Dr. Rash Behary Ghosh, C.S.I., C.I.E., D.L., Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.

Nawab Sayid Nawab Ali Chaudhury, Khan Bahadur of Dhanbari, Mymensingh District

Nawab Seraj-ul-Islam, Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.

Babu Ananda Chandra Ray of Dacca.

Mohamed Ali, Esq., Syndic of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh.

H.R. James, Esq., M.A., Principal, Presidency College, Calcutta.

W.A.J. Archibald, Esq., M.A., LL.B., Principal, Dacca College.

Mahamahopadhyaya Satish Chandra Acharya, Bidyabhushan,

M.A., PH.D., M.R.A.S. Principal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

Dr. Brajendranath Seal, M.A., P.H.D., Principal, Victoria College, Cooch Behar.

Babu Lalit Kumar Chatterji, M.A., Principal, Jagannath College, Dacca.

C.W. Peak, Esq., M.A., Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta.

Shaikh-ul-ulama Abu Nasar Muhammad Wahid, M.A., Superintendent, Dacca Madrasa.

Mr. D. S. Fraser, I.C.S., is appointed Secretary to the Committee.

6. The Hon'ble Justice Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, Kt., C.S.I., M.A., D.L., Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, has kindly consented to advise the Committee on the problems which they are called upon to consider, and the Governor in Council trusts that they will take full advantage of the opportunity thus afforded to them of benefiting from his unrivalled experience in the conduct of University affairs.

7. The new University will be of the teaching and residential and not of the federal type. It should, to use the words of the Government of India, bind together the colleges of the city, but it should not include any college which is beyond the limits of the town. The object of the scheme being to diffuse the benefits of higher education, it must not involve any such additional cost to the students as would discourage them from taking full advantage of the facilities which will be offered. Subject to these instructions, the Governor in Council desires to leave full latitude to the Committee in framing their recommendations. Their report must be of the complete character which the instructions contained in paragraph 9 of the Government of India letter require, and must be accompanied by a financial estimate sufficiently detailed to enable the scheme to be laid before the Secretary of State. The Committee are authorized to consult any authorities whose assistance they may need, and the Governor in Council trusts that all persons whose help may be thus invoked will be willing to afford it.

By order of the Governor of Bengal in Council.

J. H. KERR,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

No. 811, dated Simla, the 4th April 1907.

From—The Hon'ble Mr. H. Sharp, C.I.E., Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education.

To—The Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General (Education) Department.

I am directed to address you on the subject of a proposed University in Dacca.

2. It has long been recognized that the federal type of university which has been implanted in India, though convenient at the outset by reason of the proximity of institutions and their situation at long distances from one another, contains radical defects. Among these may be cited the want of corporate university life and the growth of external examinations. The Government of India

have also observed with concern the unwieldy dimensions to which the federal universities in India have grown, and they foresee that the natural expansion and increase of colleges and of secondary schools will tend to aggravate the evils which the present state of things cannot but produce—namely, imperfect supervision, monotonous uniform curricula and methods of instruction, a mechanical system of examinations and the absence of oral tests.

3. The Calcutta University has 52 affiliated colleges in which are enrolled 13,375 students. Within the provinces which it serves, there are also over 600 recognized high schools for boys with over 150,000 male pupils. During the past year the pupils and students examined by the University in various standards ranging from the Matriculation to the Mastership of Arts, etc., was over 14,460. These figures offer a striking contrast to those in the universities in other countries. Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh each possess a total of between three and four thousand students. The Glasgow University has between two to three thousands pupils. Manchester 1,554 students, the University of Wales 1,703. The numbers in the other English Universities appear to be less than 1,000 in each. In Germany, Munich and Liepzic are large universities with over 4,000 students. Vienna has nearly 10,000, and Naples and Rome respectively, over five and two thousand. The numbers in other universities of Germany, Austria and Italy are comparatively small.

4. While the federal university in India retains its present position, the attention of its authorities cannot fail to be engrossed by the supervision and examination of the vast body of federated institutions. University teaching and the development of higher study and research (which form an integral part of the duties of a university) cannot obtain the financial support and the energies which they deserve. A due representation of the various portions of the country in which a higher standard of literacy is springing up and of which the educational needs are assuming larger proportions and local characteristics) cannot be ensured upon the councils of a single examining body. The inspection of numerous and distant colleges is too great a strain upon the University Inspector and the Professors or other educationists whose services are utilised by the Syndicate on this behalf. Yet, without regular inspection the standards demand by the University at the time of affiliation may easily be departed from. Above all, it is difficult to foster among students a reverence for a central institution and a loyalty to its ideals when that institution is remote and impersonal.

5. The recent history of universities in Europe confirms the necessity for circumscribing their limits in India, and the desirability of forming more numerous centres. The inadequacy of existing systems to meet the local circumstances and the severe strain imposed by increasing numbers upon the Calcutta University were urged in 1916 as reasons for the establishment of a university at Allahabad. The argument of numbers is far stronger to-day. The Government of India consider the creation of new universities an important factor in educational progress. It is eminently desirable that these should be, where possible, of the teaching and residential type, binding together the colleges of a single town or a single circumscribed area.

6. Dacca presents itself as a very suitable centre for a new university of this type. The town contains four colleges, as well as high schools and educational institutions of other kinds. The residential system in colleges, in order to be fully effective, should be preceded by a residential high school system. And it is believed that this is not unattainable at Dacca. Though the educational interests of the place are large, there is no representative of Eastern Bengal and Assam on the Calcutta Syndicate. Under the regulations such representation appears to be impossible. Even were it rendered possible, the regular attendance of one or more members from Eastern Bengal could never be secured at the numerous Syndicate meetings which the overburdened responsibility of the university at present renders necessary.

7. Furthermore, the Hindu middle-class population of Eastern Bengal is characterized by a particularly high level of intelligence. A separate and accessible centre appears to be clearly called for in order that the educational progressiveness of these districts may be encouraged, full scope afforded to the intellectual activities of their people, and the opportunity for advanced studies placed in their midst. While until the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal have a university nearer to their doors, in the guidance of which they can have a voice (there are at present only 6 Muhammadans on the Calcutta University Senate of 100), and in which there may perhaps be a Faculty of Islamic studies, there seems but little chance of a large access of Muhammadan students to the college classes.

8. The Governor-General in Council has accordingly decided that a teaching and residential university shall be established at Dacca. This will, in the first place, serve as an example and a test of the new type of university indicated above. In the second place, it will afford some relief, though only to a limited extent, to the present congested state of the Calcutta University. The Governor-

General in Council appreciates highly the excellent work done by the Calcutta University in the past; and he recognizes that notwithstanding the difficulty of increasing numbers, it continues to maintain its high traditions. But if its welfare in the future is to rest assured,—if above all it is to assume its proper place in the guidance and propagation of higher studies,—it is essential that it should find some relief from its present congestion.

9. The Government of India accordingly request that, with the permission of His Excellency the Governor in Council, they may be favoured with the views of the Local Government in this matter and with a complete scheme embracing proposals for the constitution of the Senate and the other controlling authorities of the university, the lines on which regulations and courses should be framed, and a financial estimate. I am to request that, with the permission of the Governor in Council, the financial estimate may be sufficiently full to enable the scheme to be laid before the Secretary of State, who has approved in principle of the establishment of a University at Dacca but has reserved judgment as to the details of any scheme that may be laid before him. As regards a residential system for the schools of the city, a separate communication will be issued.

10. From the allotments made this year the Government of India have decided to make a recurring grant of Rs. 45,000 for the new university, and a non-recurring grant of Rs. 10,00,000 for the initial expenses of the university and for a full residential scheme for the students and pupils of colleges and high schools in Dacca city. No provision has been made in your budget estimate for 1912-13 for either of these grants, but an assignment from Imperial to Provincial will be made through the Land Revenue head after the 1st April 1912 (and when the schemes have been considered by the Government of India); and any necessary addition to the budget grant will be sanctioned during the course of the year.

—The Calcutta Gazette.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

	Rs. A. P.
Through Mohamed Husain, Esq., Asansole—	
Maulvi Mohd. Husain, Esq.	10 0 0
Messrs Md Sharfuddin, Sardar Sheikh Bqr Ali, Sheikh Jagan Mian, Abdus Samad, and Abdul Hamid, Rs. 5 each	25 0 0
Messrs. Sardar Dost Mohd. Khan, Afzal Hussain, and Jalal Mia, Rs. 2 each	6 0 0
Mingroo Mia, Korhwani, Rahman Ali Bakhsh, Markat Ali, Mosahib Ali, Panchkouri Mia, Mohd. Azam Sahib, Maulana Md Hanif, Md. Din, Munshi Mia Rafiq, Mutroo Mia, Mohd. Din, Abdul Gan, Md. Osman, Md Hashim, Abdul Gani Khalifa, Md. Ibrahim, Bafati Mia, Ramzan Mistry, Bakar Ali, Lalu, Surmali, of Ismail, Surmali, Dukandar Reysaz Ali, Haji Dahoo, Sheikh Imaman, Mahomed Ibrahim Kashmiri, Khawja, Kashdir, Nazr Ali Khan, Re. 1 each	33 0 0
Minor Subscriptions ...	12 10 0
Hamid Jan Khan Sahib, Moradabad	1 0 0
M Nawab Ali, Esq., Barabanki	4 45 0
Miraj Din, Esq., Moga	2 0 0
S. Azmatulla, Esq., Tanjore	10 0 0
Amount received during the week	103 9 0
Amount previously acknowledged	10,866 2 0
Total Rs. ...	10,969 11 0



Anecdote.

THE Rev. A. H. Stanton, who has just entered upon his fiftieth year as curate of St. Alvan's, Holborn, tells this amusing anecdote:—

A Visitor to St. Alvan's having confessed that he liked the service, but objected to the incense, Father Stanton gravely remarked:—

"I am very sorry, my friend."

"Why?" asked the stranger.

"Well, you see, there are only two odours in the world—incense and brimstone—and you will have to choose between them."

Persia.

News of the Week.

News received from the Perso-Afghan border shows that such Afghan encroachments as have occurred are in the district north of Seistan, where the boundary has not been demarcated.

The Governor of Kerman has defeated the rebels.

A telegram from Salar-ed-Dowleh is published in St. Petersburg in a semi-official manner. Salar-ed-Dowleh announces that he has proposed that the Regent should hold a conference consisting of the Representatives of the court, cabinet, army and the tribes for the purpose of finding a solution of the present calamitous situation. Salar-ed-Dowleh undertakes to abide by the result of the Conference, but says that if his proposal is rejected he will assume the offensive with his hundred and fifty thousand followers.

The Muhammadans of Panipat assembled in a public meeting in Imambara Kalan to express their deep sorrow and indignation at the cruel and barbarous action of the Russians at Meshed and bombardment of the holy tomb of the 8th Imam. It was resolved to send a telegram to H.E. the Viceroy.

A serious conflict has occurred on the Turco-Persian frontier. Four hundred Turkish horsemen invaded Persian territory at Kotour, near Urumiah, and encountered Persians. A number were killed, and prisoners were taken on both sides.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, May 5.

Two hundred armed Afghans have crossed the Persian border near Yezdun and a larger incursion is said to be preparing.

A Government victory over the forces of Mujalleh-es-Sultan is reported from Hamadan.

Lord Lamington has arrived here.

Teheran May 8

In a conversation to-day Lord Lamington said that he welcomed the British decision to withdraw the extra Consular guards from Shiraz and Ispahan at the earliest opportunity. He considered it of the utmost importance that as soon as satisfaction for the attack on Consul Smart had been obtained these troops should be removed. The position in the South was one of extreme difficulty, but Consular guards were no solution.

The situation created by Prince Firman Firman's defeat, though not unexpected, is serious. Yezdun left to-day to take command at Hamadan, but unless he rallies the beaten forces the capital may be exposed once more to the pretender's advance. The continued halt of the ex-Shah at Odessa also causes uneasiness.

The Government has applied to the British and Russian Legations for another small financial advance. The request is receiving consideration.

(THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

We have received from a correspondent recently at Meshed the following account of the now notorious bombardment of the mosque of Imam Riza by the Russian force of occupation.—

Since Saturday (30th March) every Muhammadan has been in full mourning. It was on that day that the world witnessed the most inhuman behaviour of the Russians towards Islam. The holy Imam's Shrine, which is situated in the centre of the town, with a mass of people in it, was suddenly bombarded by the Russians. Hundreds of human beings—men, women and children—met their deaths on the spot. The shrine and the adjoining mosque, after being turned into ruins, were used in the worst manner as a stable for horses. The Imam's property—precious stones, ancient work, and such like valuable articles, costing an enormous sum—was looted, but afterwards a document was obtained at the point of the bayonet from the chief of the shrine saying that nothing had been touched. There was no reason for Russians to take such action.

The following details will explain the matter. Some three months ago a Russian expedition of about 2,000 men with artillery and a big supply of ammunition reached Meshed with the intention, as it proved, to create disturbances in this peaceful province. Immediately after the arrival of this expedition the Russians set to work and started intrigues. In the first instance they caused the suspension of local papers; they were also successful in organising indirectly a paid party of rebels against the present Government. The leader of the party, Yousoff Khan, a Russian spy and a notorious reactionary, took *hast* (sanctuary) with his followers in the Shrine of Imam Riza, saying they did not want any law or Constitution.

There the rebels began disturbances. The local authorities were ordered by the Central Government to use force and expel the rebels from the shrine, but they were trying to get over the difficulty peacefully and made such an arrangement as to avoid any collision with the Russians, but in this they unfortunately failed. The situation grew worse and worse every day, and at last

circumstances made the Governor-General and other officials resign. The bazaars were now closed and business was at a standstill. A few days after the resignation of the officials, that is to say on last Saturday, at about 5 p.m. the Russians opened fire on the shrine and the Gohar-Shad Mosque. The bombardment lasted three full hours. The number of killed and wounded has been estimated at between two and four hundred, all innocent, and chiefly pilgrims, who had come from thousands of miles to pay respect to their holy Imam and offer their prayers.

But what became of the rebels and why they were not injured or arrested is a mystery to be solved. The town is now entirely in the hands of the Russians.

An official denial has been given to the charge that the Persian Government was shirking the new elections for the *Mejlis* and the reassembling of Parliament. The government on the contrary fully intends to order the elections, but it will do so on a method of its own. By experience it has been found that extreme democrats of mischievous opinions manage to win the votes of constituencies and to get returned to the *Mejlis*. Politicians of this class have done much to embroil Persia with Great Britain and Russia, and it is proposed that during the coming elections these men should be arrested and kept in a safe place, not to be released until the elections are over and Parliament is duly constituted without them. Some of us may admire Persian wisdom as displayed in this fashion and think that a similar process if applied to some of our own political notoriety-seekers would do no great amount of harm.

(THE "MORNING POST.")

The Councillor of the Persian Legation informs Reuter's Agency that the Persian Government is resolved to take the earliest opportunity to reassemble Parliament and with that end to hold the necessary elections. At the same time the Persian Government recognises the fact that much of the late trouble with Great Britain and Russia and the ensuing political difficulties and Cabinet crises were due to the presence in the *Mejlis* of certain extreme Democrats, whose actions were not consonant with patriotism, at a time when Persia desired to be on the friendliest terms with Great Britain and Russia, and when the united action of all parties was of urgent necessity. Before ordering the elections, therefore, it is considered necessary for the future welfare of Persia and in the interest of good relations with foreign Powers that every precaution be taken to ensure that there shall be no repetition of the previous difficulties. The Government is determined that during the elections no undesirable element shall be in the country or shall be represented in Parliament. The Government is not opposed to the Democratic Party, which will be freely represented, but it is opposed to the few extremists of that party. After the elections these extremists will be released and free to go where they like. The Government also intends to create a Senate in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

The Trans-Persian Railway.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "NEAR EAST."

SIR,—I have been much struck with the well-informed, able and impartial manner in which the *Near East* has during the year of its existence discussed the momentous problems embraced under its title. One of these questions will soon come to the front, and will deserve the close attention of all patriotic Englishmen. I refer to the projected scheme of the Trans-Persian Railway. People in England seem to be either unconscious of the existence of such a project or indifferent to its nature. And yet it may have vital consequences, not merely for Persia, but for British dominion in Asia. I counsel everyone to follow the development of the matter closely in the pages of the *Near East*.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON

1, Carlton House Terrace, S. W.,
26th April 1912

The Troubles of Persia.

Pre-occupations nearer home have caused the affairs of the Middle East to receive scant attention of late. We fear that in the interval they have shown few signs of improvement. All that can be said of Persia during the last few weeks is that, if things are not much better than they were, at least they are no worse. At Teheran the most depressing feature of the situation is that the evolution of a strong and stable Government is still a matter of desire rather than achievement. The REGENT, whose persistent anxiety to leave for Europe is not the least perplexing complication of the moment, has announced his intention to summon a *Mejlis*. But it will be a small *Mejlis*, drawn only from the capital and the peaceful provinces. As all the prospective members who are likely to be contentious are being thrust into goal, we may assume that it will also be a tractable *Mejlis*; but the assumption implies no approval of summary arrests for which good reasons appear to be lacking. Away in Khorasan a Russian force, hastily called for, has felt compelled to bombard the sacred shrine of Imam Riza at Meshed in its efforts to purge the mosque of disorderly agitators.

The bombardment has caused a painful impression, which we share. The group of structures of which the shrine formed the centre was "the glory of the Shia world," and photographs now published in London indicate that it has been badly damaged. This is not a case in which political friendship should prevent us from regretting that the reverence expected from all civilized peoples towards ancient and historical buildings was not shown by the Russian officers at Meshed. The necessity for repressing disorder seems to have been clear, but when troops were so plentiful they should not have required the aid of Maxims in an innermost shrine venerated by half Islam. In Western Persia Salar-ed-Dowleh, the brother of the ex-Shah, is still trying to carve out a kingdom for himself. His rule will doubtless be brief and inglorious, but it is by no means clear that the hesitating march of Prince Firman Firma upon Kermanshah will bring about his expulsion. The small Anglo-Russian loan has enabled the Swedish officers at Shiraz to begin the work of opening the southern roads, but it is too early to estimate their chances of success. The turbulent Kashgais tribe has changed its leader, and there has been an open quarrel between the Sheikh of Mohommerah and the Bakhtians, which is now being composed.

Such is a rapid survey of recent occurrences in Persia, and it does not contain many elements of hopefulness. For Great Britain the chief immediate interest lies in the possibility of a restoration of order in the south. The Swedish officers are capable and courageous men, but until they are backed by a strong central Government their task must remain exceedingly difficult. In his recent speech at the close of the Session in Calcutta, Lord Hardinge of Penshurst spoke of the likelihood of direct negotiations with the southern tribes, but the suggestion has since been dropped in the hope that Persia may be able to do the work herself. The only form of negotiation likely to be acceptable to the tribesmen would be an offer to subsidize them to guard the roads instead of razing them in search of loot. Some adaptation of the practice of tribal subsidies upon the North-West Frontier of India would have to be devised. There are, however, several manifest hindrances. The chief obstacle is that, however carefully the British Government consulted the susceptibilities of the Teheran Ministry direct relations with the tribesmen would impair the authority of the Persian Administration. As our great object is to support and encourage Persian control, we must be chary of doing anything which might weaken it. Again, having decided to give the Swedish officers all the assistance in our power, we cannot begin by launching a rival scheme on our own account. The time is in any case not propitious, for the tribesmen are migratory in summer, and the dispute about the headship of the Kashgais, which is not yet finally settled, makes it almost impossible to establish solid relations with the most powerful tribe of all.

However impatient we may be to see order restored in the south it must be evident that the best course to pursue is to wait a little longer and give the Swedish officers their chance. Though the picture of Persia we have drawn is somewhat gloomy, there are touches of relief to be added. The only really awkward new complication is the rebellion raised by Salar-ed-Dowleh. The rising remains local in character, the new aspirant to the Throne makes little progress, and his disappearance should not be long delayed. Then it has to be remembered that, if the Teheran Government is weak, it is not defiant, and shows every disposition to listen to good advice. The rescript summoning a new Majlis is at least evidence that a restoration of ordered government is sought, though we wish it had not been accompanied by indiscriminate arrests. While many people are inclined to condemn British policy in Persia because, in their view, it is not sufficiently strenuous, they do not, as a rule, offer any very practical suggestions for its improvement. We are sometimes urged to send military expeditions to Southern Persia in the vague hope of evolving order out of chaos. Those who make these heroic proposals seem to have no conception of their probable magnitude. Our desire is to give Persia time and opportunity to regenerate herself. A large British expedition, seeking to chastise elusive tribesmen in the South, would incidentally destroy all hope of a stable government at Teheran. On the other hand, there is a disposition in some quarters to condemn the British authorities because a small number of troops have been sent, not to undertake military operations, but to protect the lives of British subjects. The answer is that these small increases were necessary, and that we have already notified to the Teheran authorities our intention of withdrawing the additional troops as soon as they have established control in the south. Apart from the recent unfortunate necessity for sending a force to Meshed, Russia has already been reducing her troops in Northern Persia. The Policy of Russia and Great Britain has been identical, and will remain so. Finally, the British Government are reproached because it is alleged, their firm adherence to the principles of the Anglo-Russian Convention has in some mysterious and undisclosed manner prevented Persia from rehabilitating herself. The best answer to this allegation was given by Lord Hardinge of Calcutta. He remarked that, had it not been for the Convention, Persia would probably not be in existence to-day.—*The Times*.

MOROCCO.

News of the Week.

Forty-eight natives condemned to death by the court-martial in connection with the recent disorders were executed at Fez on the morning of the 23rd May. The greatest secrecy was observed and the most rigorous precautions taken against disturbances.

General Lyautey, the new Resident-General, entered Fez on the 24th May and was greeted with an imposing display of force. General Lyautey, in a speech in Fez, said he was determined to maintain the sovereignty of the Sultan and respect for the customs and religion of Mussalmans.

The fermentation in Morocco continues. The tribesmen made a determined combined night attack on Fez at three points and were driven off after eleven hours' fighting. Some of the enemy succeeded in entering the city. A number of the defenders were wounded. The French Minister of War has ordered the immediate despatch of reinforcements to Fez.

Another attack on Fez on the morning of the 27th May was repulsed by the artillery. Some tribesmen again entered the city. One French officer was killed and thirty men killed and wounded. The enemy's casualties were very heavy.

Rumours, current on the 29th May, of the wholesale massacre of Europeans in Fez have been dispelled by a message from General Lyautey stating that on the 27th May and the following night, the Berbers returned to the walls of Fez and kept up an incessant fire. It was thus impossible for the inhabitants to leave the town or mount the ramparts, but no attack was actually made on the town.

A message to the *Times* from Tangier states that twenty thousand rebels are besieging Fez. The French garrison numbers six thousand. The situation is grave.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "MORNING POST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, May 2.

THERE is no change in the situation at Fez. According to the *Temps*, the proclamation of the state of siege has produced a considerable impression on the natives, though the populace, despite the effort of the Sheikhs and Ulemas, remains as hostile as ever towards the French and regards the Sultan as a prisoner whom they are anxious to remove. It is considered at Fez that the departure of the Sultan for Rabat would cause troubles more serious than the recent revolt.

Two circumstances, however, make for the maintenance of order. In the first place, the Sultan in his proclamation to the troops censures the conduct of the mutinous troops and declares that he is acting hand in hand with the French, and that the soldiers who serve him serve France as well, while the Ulemas have in the mosques exhorted the people to be wise, announcing that "the mutineers and pillagers have committed a crime against God in attacking Europeans who were their guests and lived in peace. The duty of Mussalmans is to fight for them as for their own children." In the second place, the Moroccans have begun to realize the strength of France, and in order to maintain this impression the Europeans in Fez consider that the punishment of the mutineers should be not only effective but immediate.

A telegram to the *Temps* from Fez states that as a recent meeting the Beni Warain, Beni Sadden, Esul, Brane, and Riate decided to march on Fez. It is reported that two large *harkas* are being formed in the valley of the Wad Innauen, the one to march immediately on Fez, the other on Sefru, but it is possible that the heavy rain may damp the ardour of the tribes.

The *Sussex Daily News* to-day publishes a letter from Mrs. McLeod, wife of the British Consul at Fez, describing the scene in the Moorish capital during the recent mutiny and massacre. Mrs. McLeod says "At drill the soldiers were told by the French officers that their pay, which had been sent them without food, would be reduced to fourpence a day with food, and they were to carry heavier weights. The soldiers rebelled, and the officers said that those who were not content were to be put in chains. The fat was now in the fire, and there was a general massacre. Soldiers ran hither and thither, and did for their officers. They entered houses where they knew Christians were living, and killed them. Afterwards they paraded the streets with the heads. The mob then joined in the fray, and thousands were let loose. The prisons were all flung open, and the prisoners escaped. The sum a went mad and were all dancing and yelling on their roofs for joy, and singing on the soldiers to do more. The noise was terrible. Mr. Somers, our assistant, had a very narrow escape. He had just turned up my street to sleep at the hotel, when Mr. McLeod, in his moment of alarm, called him back. He was given the

soldiers had broken into the hotel, and had killed several. Everything in the place was stolen. The whole afternoon we did not know what was to happen to us. The riff-raff were outside our house, bent on mischief, carrying huge sticks and guns—just mad. In a house close by they killed four people and wounded a fifth person. The French troops are stationed two miles from the town, and fortunately the rebels had not cut the telegraph wires, so they arrived in the evening. They had had an awful time fighting all the way to Fez. Many were killed, including some officers and a great many were wounded. One regiment marched with no officers, all three of them were killed. There was not sufficient of them to do anything. Three thousand Moorish soldiers had rebelled, so they only guarded the quarter where the Europeans resided. Our house was filled with them, and from our roof they afterwards did a great deal of firing, so you can imagine the noise! We were in great danger all Wednesday evening, for the town was only held by 300 French soldiers. They did wonders. It was a very wet night, and they got soaked to the skin. On Thursday 2,000 French soldiers arrived from Mequinez."

(FROM THE "DAILY MAIL" CORRESPONDENT)

Paris, Friday.

The Sultan's pride has been deeply wounded by the stories current among his people that he is a prisoner, and he fears that as nominal ruler under a French Protectorate his independence will be greatly restricted.

M. Gaillard, the French Consul at Fez, managed to dissuade the Sultan from abdicating recently, and Mulai Hafid signed the treaty establishing the French Protectorate. He has now poured out his woes to the *Matin* special correspondent in Morocco. The ruler in affirming his unwavering loyalty to the French, asked

"Have I not compromised myself as no other Sultan of Morocco has ever done before me? Have I not, contrary to all precedent, eaten at your table? It has been said that I expressed the desire to abdicate. It is true, but after signing the Protectorate treaty did I not have the right to take a rest? Can I be forced to remain a Sultan in perpetuity?"

"Even in my personal relations with certain Kaisas, in personal and family questions with certain tribes, I cannot act except through the French authority. I have accepted everything. I was thrown into water with tied hands and now they reproach me for getting wet."

What Mulai Hafid apparently wants to do is to be permitted to go to Rabat and thence to Paris to get into touch with the French Government.

(FROM THE "DAILY MAIL" CORRESPONDENT)

Berlin, Friday.

Discussing the "New France" in a leading article entitled "Difficulties of the French Republic," the *Berliner Tageblatt* warns France that she cannot hope for the friendship of Germany so long as the *entente cordiale* is maintained or retains its present "anti-German" character. Referring to France's forthcoming troubles in the "peaceful subjugation" of Morocco, the *Tageblatt* says

"The new spirit of France has a favourable opportunity for displaying its powers on the soil of Northern Africa. Until 1900 a Franco-German rapprochement was within the realm of possibility. But no such possibility can exist while the *entente cordiale* lasts."

"Let us leave the French to their old or their new spirit and observe events without taking them too tragically. The German official policy should avoid unnecessary sharpness, but if necessary it should defend the German standpoint without weakness lest the notion takes root in France that 'the new spirit' is making an impression here. The movement, which is principally the creation of a few Paris newspapers, will like so many things in this world—especially in France—soon pass by. Even if it lasts Germany, which is still quite powerful, will happily be in a position, despite the French airmen, to view the situation with equanimity."

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT)

Paris, May 3.

Long telegrams from Fez to-day tell of Mulai Hafid's depression and of his renewed desire to abdicate. According to the *Temps* the Sultan is suffering from neurasthenia, which has been aggravated by recent events, especially the mutiny in the capital. He declares that last October M. de Selves, then Foreign Minister, promised that he would be free to reign when he liked and to reside where he chose. As his chief concern appears to be to show that he can still do as he pleases, it is believed that if his wish to go to Rabat is gratified he will cease to talk of abdicating. According to the *Temps* this evening the French Government, acting on advices received from General Monnier and M. Regnault, is not likely to oppose Mulai Hafid in his intention of journeying to Rabat, where arrangements can be made for him to discuss matters with General Lyautaud as soon as the new Resident-General arrives.

The mental crisis through which Mulai Hafid has been passing appears to have reached a climax towards the end of March, just before the arrival of M. Regnault on the mission which ended in the signature of the Protectorate Treaty. The Sultan seems to have felt his position keenly and explained to the French Consul, M. Gaillard, that in view of his having proclaimed himself at Marakesh as opposed to all foreign intrusion he could not remain Sultan under the new regime. He expressed a desire to abdicate in favour of an eight-year-old son, and suggested that El Mokri should act as Regent until that Prince came of age.

M. Gaillard with difficulty persuaded him to await M. Regnault's arrival before taking any irrevocable decision. When M. Regnault arrived the Sultan complained to him of the independent action of the French military authorities, who conducted operations and enforced measures without consulting him. The French envoy took advantage of Mulai Hafid's direct appeal to him, won his confidence by giving him a sympathetic hearing, and after some hesitation on the Sultan's part secured the signature of the Treaty.

The causes of the Sultan's irritability and depression may be inferred from the terms of a conversation which he held a few days ago with a representative of the *Matin*, to whom he gave audience. He disclaimed all responsibility for the recent mutiny since he had long ago been deprived of all power, especially over the army. Furthermore, he had no means of knowing the temper of the rural population. Some of the *askaris* had come to him in order to beg for his intercession, but the mutiny broke out before he could take any steps. He was devoted to France, he had invariably done everything that he had been asked to do, and he had always, especially at the time of the Agadir incident, rejected German and Spanish advances. He himself was never consulted even with regard to matters which personally concerned him. He had never complained. "I have put up with everything," he said. "I have been thrown into the water with my hands tied, and now they blame me for getting wet."

As regards the future the Sultan advised the French not to go too fast. The raw material for the Army was excellent, but it was a serious error of judgment to have attempted to stop part of the men's pay for canteen expenses on a scale far in excess of what they were accustomed to spend for food. It was like mulcting any wage-earner in Europe in two-thirds of his earnings and compelling him to take his meals at an expensive hotel. The native troops, if treated with consideration and with respect for their traditions, would do anything and go anywhere. During the siege of Fez last year the French officers had been at their mercy and yet they had done their duty and had died like men. The new Shereefian troops had, perhaps, been formed too hastily and had been recruited without sufficient care. The new French instructors had not invariably been acquainted with the mentality of the *askaris*. "Be prudent" he added, "and you will have at your disposal the finest troops you can possibly desire."

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, May 5.

According to a telegram from Casablanca, dated yesterday, a French reconnoitring force of about 500 men which had been sent out from El Manzi, near Mekinez, was attacked on Thursday by Zemmur or Zaer tribesmen, who were ultimately repulsed with heavy loss after a sharp rearguard action. The French casualties numbered seven killed and 30 wounded, including one officer. Four men who are reported missing are believed to be prisoners in the hands of the enemy.

The rising among the tribes, which appears to be spreading from the Sebu to the Muluya, and of which the recent mutiny of Shereefian troops at Fez was a prelude, seems in the first instance to have been provoked by fear that the French wanted either to hold the Sultan prisoner or to convey him out of the country. This theory of the outbreak is confirmed by a Havas message from Fez of Thursday's date, according to which the Ulema and Notables were aggrieved by the failure of the French authorities to keep them informed of the progress of the negotiations with the Sultan which ended in the signature of the Protectorate Treaty. In the circumstances it is considered a miracle that so many Europeans escaped massacre. If events had not been precipitated by adventurous spirits among the native troops, who were burning to plunder the Jewish quarter, the tribes would have entered Fez and not a single European would have escaped. Competent judges believe that there might have been a general rising and they are strongly of opinion that unless the benefits of the French action are speedily made manifest to the population no progress can be made, and the French will find themselves in a dangerous situation.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Tangier, May 5.

The Sultan Mulai Hafid, who desired to abdicate before signing the Protectorate Treaty but was dissuaded from doing so, has since the massacre at Fez repeatedly notified the French authorities that

he does not wish to remain on the Throne. Although he has been persuaded up to the present to take no definite decision, he has not in any degree relinquished his desire, and the latest Fez news again states that he is making no secret of his intention. Apparently he desires that his son, who is very young, should succeed him under a Regency, but should Mulai Hafid persist in abdicating it is more probable that one of his brothers would be chosen.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, May 6.

The Prime Minister, M. Poincaré, and the War Minister, M. Millerand, are holding long conferences with General Lyautey on the eve of the new Resident-General's departure for Morocco. It may be inferred that quite apart from questions of general policy in the Protectorate the present military situation is engaging the serious attention of the Government. The *Temps* learns from Fez that General Moinier has asked for the despatch of three additional battalions to reinforce the French army of occupation. He considers these reinforcements indispensable in order to guard the lines of communication between Fez and Rabat so long as the presence of a large portion of General Moinier's command is required in the capital. It is believed that the reinforcements will be sent out before General Lyautey arrives.

Although the French Government has ostensibly left it to General Moinier and to M. Regnault to decide whether the Sultan's wish to go to Rabat can be gratified without danger, the last word seems still to rest with Mulai Hafid himself. According to persistent accounts the Ministry which was in office last October came to a formal agreement with the Sultan to the effect that he should be left free to abdicate when he pleased and to go where he chose. He wants to go to Rabat because, it is alleged, he does not feel secure at Fez. The objections by the local French authorities to the journey are met by him with a threat to abdicate and "to depart as a simple Shereef." The situation is awkward since if Mulai Hafid were allowed to depart he would not in the present temper of the tribes remain a "simple Shereef" very long. General Moinier and M. Regnault have therefore been compelled to advise their Government that the agreement concluded with the Sultan last October must be carried out. Their joint powers of persuasion may avail to induce Mulai Hafid to await General Lyautey's arrival. If they fail to convince him the journey will presumably have to be undertaken.

The *Journal des Débats* this evening makes the extraordinary announcement that neither the Prime Minister nor the Director of the Political Department at the Foreign Office had any knowledge of the arrangement made with the Sultan last October. Its existence was disclosed to them by a despatch from Fez announcing Mulai Hafid's intentions. A letter to the Press by M. de Selves, the former Foreign Minister, makes clear, nothing was done by him in this matter without the full agreement of the Government to which he belonged. The Prime Minister and the Minister of War, with the concurrence of General Lyautey, have instructed M. Regnault and General Moinier to do their best to dissuade the Sultan from the journey to Rabat and if their efforts prove unavailing to take steps to prevent any regrettable incident on the road. The *Débats* states that M. Poincaré, M. Millerand, and General Lyautey do not conceal from themselves the inopportune character of the journey, but that the Government's word is solemnly pledged.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, May 7.

Ministers met in council under the presidency of M. Fallières at Rambouillet to-day and discussed the situation in Morocco and also the negotiations with Spain. The new Resident-General will embark in the cruiser *Jules Ferry* at Marseilles to-morrow, and will be accompanied by M. Privat-Deschanel, Director-General of Public Accounts at the Ministry of Finance, who is to study on the spot the ways and means of organizing the finances of Morocco.

The strong French reconnaissance column sent out from Fez to clear the approaches to the capital has failed to get in touch with the rebel tribes and is returning to camp. It is believed that the tribes are gathering their forces and may attempt an attack on the city during the course of the week. Information to hand from French sources in Fez with regard to the temper of the tribes is not reassuring.

A press controversy has arisen as to the precise bearing and importance of the agreement concluded last October between the French Government and the Sultan upon the strength of which Mulai Hafid claims the right to go to Rabat or to be allowed to abdicate.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, May 8.

General Lyautey left Paris to-night for Marseilles, where he will embark to-morrow in the cruiser *Jules Ferry* for Morocco. If, as is reported from Fez to-day, Mulai Hafid, in deference to the representations of M. Regnault and General Moinier, has agreed to postpone his journey to Rabat, the new Resident-General will proceed

direct from the coast via Rabat and Mekines to the capital, which he is expected to reach in about a fortnight's time. A strong escort will be furnished for General Lyautey and these troops will be available for escorting the Sultan to Rabat, if, after General Lyautey's arrival, Mulai Hafid still insists upon making the journey. If this arrangement can be carried out there will not be any necessity to deplete the Fez garrison for escort purposes.

This evening it is announced that during the next fortnight General Moinier will receive the following reinforcements:—One mountain battery, one battalion each of Algerian Tirailleurs, of Zouaves, and of the Foreign Legion, and two squadrons of Chasseurs d'Afrique. Two additional battalions of Senegalese Tirailleurs, which are now being formed at Dakar, will reach Morocco between 20th June and 20th August. In addition, three battalions of Tirailleurs and one battalion of Colonial Infantry, which were shortly due to return home, will remain in the Protectorate until further orders. General Moinier will therefore have at his disposal 29 battalions of Infantry, with an effective strength of 32,000 men.

The troops on the Algero-Moroccan frontier, under the command of General Alix, are to be increased by one battalion to 11,000 men. At the end of last year the total strength of the French Army of Occupation was estimated at 54,000 men.

The Versailles engineers have just sent out to Morocco the first locomotive for the military railway from Casablanca to Rabat. This locomotive, which is of 60 centimetre gauge, is to take the place of the Decauville engine now in use, and seven others of the same type are to be sent out at intervals of a month. The line has been laid as far as the 33rd kilometre. Over 1,000 tons of material and military stores for Morocco will be shipped from Marseilles to-morrow.

The French Press reproduces from German journals accounts of alleged depredations committed on German farms in Morocco by native police under the command of French officers. All that appears to be known here with regard to those charges is a report from Tangier to the effect that a farm called Oulad Bessam, in the territory of the Oulad Bessa tribe, belonging to the native secretary of the German Vice-Consul at Larache, who is described as a partner in the firm of Renschhausen, has been visited by 150 Shereefian police, commanded by two French officers, who are said to have arrested 30 men employed on this farm. Pending the result of an inquiry, which has been instituted by the French Diplomatic Agent at Tangier, it is assumed that the police visited the farm in the course of their search for a number of mutineers who have deserted from the Shereefian *mawali* at Arbaowa. If any persons have been arrested it will presumably have been on suspicion of harbouring deserters.

At a memorial ceremony which was held yesterday at Fez at the graveside of the French victims of last month's massacre, El Mokri delivered, in the name of the Sultan, a speech deplored their death and reprobating the mutiny. M. Regnault and General Moinier paid tributes to the memory of the dead and proclaimed the unsparing determination of France to continue the task which she has set herself in Morocco.

Mogador, May 7.

A German subject has been made captive by Moors on the Marakesh road. Excitement is rife among the surrounding tribes and plundering is proceeding outside the gates, though Mogador itself is at present tranquil. Three warships are at anchor off the town.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, May 9.

General Lyautey sailed from Marseilles for Morocco this evening. The Press is wondering what recommendations the new Resident-General will make when he reaches Fez in two or three weeks' time. Public opinion is already being prepared for a demand for a considerable reinforcement of the French Army of Occupation. But the strength of these reinforcements can only be decided by General Lyautey on the spot. If Mulai Hafid can definitely be reassured with regard to his own position, the Resident-General will be able to devote all his energies to the task of rendering secure the region between Rabat and Fez. As the Sultan has for the time being agreed to remain in the capital, French troops will be employed in patrolling the surrounding country until General Lyautey's arrival.

Growing unrest is reported among the tribes in the neighbourhood of Marakesh. According to a message from Ujda a French column of 3,400 men under General Garidot is encamped at Fidissat, on the Muluya, in order to watch the movements of the Beni Warain and other hostile tribes on the left bank of the river. The military preparations in progress at Taurit suggest to French observers that an advance on Taza will be made before long. General Alix, the French Commander on the Algerian frontier, will doubtless get his orders from General Lyautey when he meets the Resident-General to-morrow at Oujda. The *Shereef* of Meknes, who is now in France, is said to be anxious to visit Rabat in order to induce his uncle, Sidi Ahmed, to make a submission.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

LORD CREWE, replying to the Moslem League regarding the extension of hostilities to the Dardanelles and other places, says he fully appreciates the motives of the representation, but he cannot enter into a discussion of the policy of His Majesty's Government or that of the other Governments concerned. While anxious, by all means in their power, to secure respect for the religious susceptibilities of Indian Moslems, the Government emphatically repeat their disclaimer of the intention to offer advice to the belligerents regarding the sphere or conduct of operations. They believe that this attitude will commend itself to the good sense of Indian Moslems and are confident that they will continue to observe the strict neutrality required of all His Majesty's subjects without distinction.

Diplomatic relations between Turkey and Greece were resumed on the 26th May after being interrupted for eighteen months. The trouble arose over differences regarding Cretan affairs and the appointment of M. Venczelos as Premier.

It is semi-officially stated that Greece and Bulgaria have arrived at a definite understanding which settles all pending religious and political questions and provides for Greco-Bulgarian co-operation in certain matters.

The expulsion of Italians from Asia Minor is proceeding. Up to the present five thousand Italians have been expelled from Smyrna alone. The customs are confiscating Italian merchandise.

At a meeting of the Council of the Bengal Presidency Moslem League held last Sunday evening at 34, Elliott Road, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted. — 1. That the League again records its feeling of indignation at the conduct of Italy, in waging an unjust and iniquitous war without any cause or provocation and for unjustly carrying operations of war into regions which are outside the zone, within which Italy solemnly promised to confine her military operations, and the League is surprised that the European Powers should look unconcerned on this violation of the pledge and the high-handed action of Italy which threatens the peace of the world. 2. That the League urges upon His Majesty's Government as the greatest Muhammadan Power to abandon its passive attitude so long maintained and to take early steps to check this unjust aggression which is daily exasperating more and more the Musselman subjects of His Majesty.

The following *l'ira communiqué* has been issued by the Political Department of the Government of Bengal. —

His Britannic Majesty's Consul at Basra having noticed several cases of persons visiting Mesopotamia from India either without passports or with passports not bearing the *Visa* of a Turkish Consular authority, the attention of all applicants for passports who contemplate travelling in Turkish territory is again drawn to the following regulations respecting passports in the Turkish Empire. —

(1) Every person travelling to Turkey must be provided with a passport bearing the *Visa* of a Turkish Consular Officer. Without such passport they may be refused admission to the country. A fresh *Visa* must be obtained for each journey.

(2) Children under twenty years of age and females may be included in their parents or relatives' passports.

(3) If more than one male adult is included in one passport a *Visa* fee of 20 piastres silver (three shillings and four pence) is levied for every such adult.

(4) As there is no Turkish Consul at Karachi no fine is levied for a *unvisa'd* passport, but the *Visa* fee of 20 piastres silver is levied at Basra.

(5) The fine in the absence of a passport or *Visa* is 40 piastres silver (six shillings and eight pence).

Regarding the boycott of Italian goods, the *Bombay Gazette* states on good authority that in the East it has been in force for eight months and continues as severe as ever. There seems no likelihood that there will be complete relief from the present circumstances until the end of the war, if even then, for should the war conclude on terms satisfactory to Turkey, Moslem resentment may dictate a continuance of them. The boycott in India is still, however, only partial. While some Muhammadans refuse to take Italian goods under any circumstances, others content themselves with reducing their purchases to the lowest possible limit. In Persia and Afghanistan the boycott is complete and dealers are demanding certificates of place of origin. The trade in Bombay of Italian goods has been reduced by about 20 per cent. It is estimated that the sale of fez caps has been reduced by 50 per cent. One Bombay firm alone suffered loss to the extent of one

lakh of rupees in the past season in fez caps. With the exception of the trade in fez caps, in which no other country has yet proved capable of competing with Italy, there is a distinct possibility that Italian trade may suffer permanent injury from prevailing conditions.

Rs. 90,000 has been collected at Cabul in aid of the Red Crescent Society for the sick and wounded of the Turkish Army at Tripoli. This sum has been received in Bombay by the Agent of the Amir and has been forwarded on to Constantinople by the Turkish Consul-General. The Amir has directed that further collections in aid of the fund shall be made in all parts of his dominions.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "LEVANT HERALD")

THE Mutessarif of Lemnos has informed the Sublime Porte that he is sending to Constantinople everything washed ashore from the Italian cruiser *Vares*, which sank off Moundrouss.

The Milan correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* reports that despite the repeated assurances of the Italian Government that no damage whatever had been sustained by any of the ships in the recent attack on the Dardanelles, news is leaking out which tends to show that this statement must be accepted *cum grano salis*. In addition to the admissions made by a member of the expedition aboard Admiral Viale's flagship as regards the piercing of the *Garibaldi's* armour-plate in several places, and further admissions about the damage aboard the *Furruco*, confirmed by its commander in a published letter, *La Sera* (Milan) prints an interview of its Catania correspondent with a naval officer belonging to the *Garibaldi*, who has just been invalidated home, in which the officer states that during the attempt to blow up the Turkish war-vessels anchored in the straits at midnight on 18th April two torpedo destroyers, the *Ferso* and *Azione*, did really succeed in penetrating the Dardanelles, but on account of the thick darkness prevailing and the great velocity at which they were travelling, the destroyers came into violent collision and were so badly damaged that they had instantly to withdraw, escorted by others near the entrance. This is the real reason why the attack was abandoned.

(FROM THE "DAILY NEWS" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, Sunday.

The Minister of War formally denies the report in a London paper that the bombardment of the Dardanelles had caused the death of 300 Turkish soldiers, the wounding of 275, and the destruction of the fortresses. The Minister categorically re-asserts his first announcement that one soldier was killed and one wounded, that one house was killed, and that the dormitories of the barracks were destroyed, though little damage was done to the fortresses.

Shekher Pasha offered to authorise a foreign Military Attaché to visit the Dardanelles fort and report upon his inquiries.

(FROM THE "LEVANT HERALD")

Several of our contemporaries, Turkish and others, announced yesterday that Dr. Sandler, correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle*, was to have been expelled for having sent false information to his paper concerning the Italian attack on the Dardanelles. Some papers even alleged that he had been arrested and subsequently released.

Dr. Sandler requests us to give a formal denial to this news. He had been led into error on the subject of the Turkish losses at the Dardanelles and had telegraphed to the *Daily Chronicle* in perfectly good faith. As soon as he realised that his good faith had been surprised he expressed his regrets to the authorities and telegraphed a denial to the *Chronicle*.

There was never any question of Dr. Sandler's arrest or expulsion.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, May 8.

The Council of Ministers have just decided on the expulsion from the Vilayet of Smyrna and its dependencies of all Italian residents, who are given 15 days in which to leave the country. It will be remembered that the Government has already warned the Powers of its intention to resort to this retaliatory measure in case of an attack on the European or Asiatic provinces and has already resorted to it in the Syrian provinces in consequence of the attack on its ships at Beirut.

As a large proportion of the skilled workmen at Smyrna are Italian subjects, the Council of Ministers has decided that Italian workmen are exempted from the expulsion orders which were issued yesterday. Further exemptions are granted to widows and members of religious orders.

No confirmation whatever has been received of the reported Ottoman success at Rhodes. Italian warships have been sighted off Chios and Syrie.

Rome, May 11.

The correspondent of the *Corriere d'Italian* at Athens sends the following information as to the Turkish troops in the island of the Aegean Sea.

In Rhodes, in the position to which they retired after the Italian landing, the Turkish forces number 3,000 men. They are well provided with ammunition but other supplies are somewhat scanty.

At Mitylene there are 2,500 Turkish regulars, with six mountain guns and eight machine guns. The volunteers for the defence of this island number, it is said, about 7,000 men.

At Chio there are about 2,000 regular troops, and some hundreds of native volunteers, with two mountain guns and six machine guns. The garrison of Kos amounts to about a hundred regular soldiers and perhaps 1,000 volunteers, but it is believed they have no artillery. In the other islands there are no garrisons.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, May 6.

In consequence of the difficulty of distinguishing Turkish messages and of bogus information telegraphed to the mainland by the Italian landing parties, the Government does not seem to have obtained any very definite information of the state of affairs in the island of Rhodes. According to a message received at the Ministry of War from Major Abdullah Bey, the commander of the local garrison, this afternoon, 11 Italian warships took up position in the bays of Trianta and Phylax, situated respectively west and east of the town of Rhodes, on Saturday morning and shelled the ground immediately behind the town. Two detachments of Infantry and two batteries of Artillery had meanwhile been landed in Phylax Bay. After an engagement in which several Italian officers and soldiers were killed, and one non-commissioned officer and two men were taken prisoners, the Ottoman troops fell back to a position out of the range of the guns of the Italian Fleet.

A later telegram announces that the Italian troops have occupied the town of Rhodes and that the population is returning thither from the hills.

Rome, May 8.

A telegram from Rhodes of to-day's date states that the Italian torpedo-boat destroyer *Ostro* surprised and took prisoner at Lindos the Vali of Rhodes and two of his secretaries while they were attempting to leave the island. The Vali and his secretaries will be sent to Italy at the first opportunity. Four Turkish officers and 28 regulars have given themselves up to the Italian outposts. (Reuters.)

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Syra, May 8.

The Italians cut the cable last week between Rhodes and Sitia and destroyed the wireless station. The communications of all the Turkish islands with Europe and Asia are now broken.

(FROM THE "DAILY NEWS" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

St. Petersburg, May 8.

M. Sazonoff and the Departmental Chiefs of the Foreign Office arrive at Livadia to-morrow to discuss the problem of the Dardanelles.

Of course there is a threat that an indemnity will be demanded from Turkey for the losses owing to the detention of Russian commerce. Another suggestion is that Russia will invite the Powers to an International Conference in order to discuss the entire Ottoman question, on the ground that mediation between the two combatants has now been proved impossible.

Competent students of international politics ridicule the notion of another Berlin Conference, as they do not believe that either England or France would accept the idea.

(FROM "EXPRESS" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Sunday, May 5.

The German and the Austrian Ambassadors have been hurriedly recalled to their respective capitals.

Baron Marschall von Bieberstein started for Berlin yesterday, and the Marquis de Pallavicini will leave at once for Vienna.

The departure of the Ambassadors is quite unexpected and has caused a deep impression in political circles here.

It is generally believed that Germany is about to change her attitude of strict neutrality with regard to the Turco-Italian conflict, owing to the disposition of Turkey to rely on the support and advice of Great Britain.

In diplomatic quarters the view is held that these two Powers of the Triple Alliance are about to take action in the interests of Italy, the third party of the Triple Alliance.

I am informed that it would cause no surprise if the return of the two Ambassadors to Berlin and Vienna were to be followed by a marching *coup de théâtre*.

The Turkish authorities have not yet been able to begin the work of clearing the mines from the Dardanelles, and it is almost impossible in any case that navigation will be resumed before Saturday next. The trouble arises not from any disposition on the part of Turkey to hinder the work, but from the difficulties caused by the recent storms and the want of necessary equipment for fishing up the mines.

In a message dated 30th April the Uskub correspondent of the *Times* announces the passing through the local station of 15 trucks, containing for the most part shrapnel, from Germany, to Salonika and Constantinople. Five days previously two trucks passed the Uskub station with aeroplanes for Constantinople. Altogether, says the correspondent, "Germany has done excellent business since the beginning of the war, no fewer than 200 trucks loaded with arms and ammunition having passed through Uskub station alone from Germany on the way to Turkey."

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, May 7.

Representatives of the Ottoman Government and the French financial group headed by the Ottoman Bank have initiated a contract whereby the latter obtain the option till 14th April 1913, on a loan to the former of £T.10,000,000 at 4 per cent., of which £T.2,500,000 will be devoted to railway construction and the balance to meeting the deficit on the Budget. The price of issue is not fixed, but will probably be 84. The loan is guaranteed on the unpledged 8 per cent. Customs duties for five provinces—namely, Beirut, Salonika, Smyrna, Trebizond, and either Erzerum or Aleppo. The option contract will be definitely signed as soon as the negotiations concerning the railway loan between the Government and the French Société Générale des Chemins de Fer have been concluded.

The £T.2,500,000 to be expended on railway construction form an instalment of the said railway loan, which is spread over a period of several years. As soon as the contract is signed, the Imperial Ottoman Bank will make an advance to the Government of £T.1,500,000 over and above the statutory credit of £T.1,500,000.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

If it were not for the alarms of war (a correspondent in Constantinople writes) the new law recently promulgated by the Sultan relative to the Turkish vilayets or provinces would attract more attention. It is indeed a long step on the path of decentralisation. Each province is now, as regards its fiscal legislation, an entity. It has power to regulate its own taxation, and the most crying evil in the country is the unjust incidence of taxation. Hitherto, the poor peasant has had to pay sometimes six times as much taxes proportionally as the more prosperous town dweller, and the poorest provinces have been the most heavily taxed. The burden borne by Constantinople, for instance, has been trifling compared with that weighing on the Anatolian provinces. Of course, it is one thing to make a law and another to apply it. But the principle is now admitted and sanctioned, and the era of the governor of the province who had bought his place and must recoup himself how he could is over. If the new system should prove workable on more money wrung from the peasants will be sent to Stamboul.

(FROM THE "LEVANT HERALD.")

H. I. M. the Sultan has conferred the silver medal of the *Lieutenant* upon Mr. Gordon Ball, the British aviator, who made an ascension during the military review on Accession Day.

According to news from Turkish sources the next demarche of the powers in view of the cessation of hostilities will be made after a meeting of the Ambassadors in Constantinople.

The demarche will be made simultaneously in Rome and Constantinople.

The *İktiham*, dealing with the rumours concerning the Russian proposal for the calling of an international conference in view of putting an end to the war, says that the British Government is opposed to the calling of a conference.

The *İktiham* adds that the Sublime Porte would categorically reject any proposal for a conference.

The Occupation of Rhodes.

(BY THE "TIMES" MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.)

The news that General Arneglio with a body of troops has effected a landing on Rhodes Island shows that the Italian Government, in accord with the wishes of the Italian people, proposes to follow up the naval reconnaissance of last month by some show of military activity, which will have the double convenience of pleasing Italian patriots and of doing little harm to the Turks.

Rhodes is the largest eastern island in the Aegean, 11 miles long by 1.7 broad, and has a population of about 100,000, of whom not one-sixth are Turks. The island has good harbours.

is mountainous, and the greatest elevation is mount Attayaro, 4,000 feet above sea-level. There is a fair amount of cultivation, mainly restricted to narrow belts along the coast. The landing appears to have taken place at Kalithreas Bay, in the north-eastern corner of the island. This bay is rather less than a mile deep, and the northern part of it is clear of danger at a quarter of a mile from the shore. At this period of the year the wind is north-westerly as a rule and continues to blow from this quarter with fair regularity during the summer. Kalitheas Bay would, therefore, at present offer a weather shore and has no doubt been selected for this reason.

A seizure of Turkish islands by Italy has been long expected, and the effect, so far as Turkey is concerned, has long since been discounted. A war of pin-pricks is not in the least likely to exercise any influence upon Turkish resolves, and if Italy desires to end the war this is not the way to do it. At the same time the appearance of Italian troops in the Aegean will have a certain political effect, and it can scarcely be said that the *status quo* in the Balkans, which Italy has undertaken to maintain, will in any way be strengthened.

After the naval reconnaissance Admiral Viale returned to Taranto and visited Rome, where he had several interviews with Ministers, including the Minister of War, and from this fact the inference was drawn that some military operation was in the wind. The names of two or three ships of the First Squadron occur in reports from Taranto, but the bulk of the ships of the First and Second Squadrons appear to be now in the Aegean, and at Stampalia we should expect to find the Duke of the Abruzzi's destroyers, Cruisers and auxiliary cruisers have been reported at various points off the Turkish mainland and the islands, while the watch on Rhodes has been close, and some 25 Turkish sailing craft have been captured near the island and sent to Stampalia. The School Division has returned to Naples and is said to be due at Spezia, but all reports of movements of ships must be taken for what they are worth. The censorship is efficient, and no news of important movements has of late been allowed to pass.

There has been a steady drain upon the troops in Africa for some few weeks past, and probably not less than 30,000 men of the 1888 class have returned to Italy for discharge to their homes. There are a few reports of fresh drafts from Italy for Africa, but on the whole it seems probable that the strength of the Italian forces has fallen to about 100,000 men, and the figure may be less if the troops in Rhodes have come from Africa. There is no word of any fresh call upon reservists and if the 1887 class is called up it will include a great many married men.

It is improbable that anything serious will be attempted in Africa until October, but the local garrisons upon the coast have been more active of late in operations of short range, and according to Italian accounts have scored some successes, notably at Khoms and near the Tunisian frontier. So far as can be judged at present, General Garibaldi's landing has not intercepted the caravan trade from Tunisia and has merely deflected it slightly to the south. The attempts of Italy to bribe some of the tribes have not been successful, and from all parts of Central Africa reinforcements have joined the Turco-Arab ranks.

Neither money nor ammunition seems to be lacking. The Arabs are regularly paid, and supplies are fairly plentiful for the troops, but the refugees from the coast are suffering hardships. The enthusiasm for the war has lost nothing of its strength among the Arabs. The religious motive no doubt takes a prominent place and practically all native North Africa is solid against Italy, but there is also a labour question involved in this war, and it is accountable to a large extent for the stiffness of Arab resistance. The lower grade Italians compete, and often compete successfully, with native labour in Tunisia, and, as the Arab has a shrewd sense of business, he fears that an Italian Tripoli will mean the end of what may be called Arab trade unioism. It is also true that the Arabs fear Italian colonization, and as there are only a limited number of favoured cases, the Arabs think that the Italians will take these for themselves. Thus moral reasons for resistance combine with material.

Judging by the Italian Press, the summer campaign is to be as much diplomatic as military, and great hopes seem to be set upon the diplomatic traps to be set for Turkey. It is doubtful whether these will be effective. The Turks are patient people, and war is nothing to them, for it is their natural state. With 150,000 men in arms in Europe, and the power of trebling these numbers rapidly, Mahmud Shukrullah Pasha can afford to regard the general situation with optimism; while, if the Italians are famous diplomats, it can hardly be said that the Turks are much behind them in the art.

Turkey, of course, is receiving a very interesting lesson in the meaning of the command at sea, and finds that all her military friends and her formidable army cannot save her from considerable humiliations. This feeling is sinking very deeply into the Turks. We, again, are shocked to find that there is a correspondence of interests between Muslims and Christians, and our chief regret is that such an

old and valued friend as Italy should be the Power to bring these lessons home to us. Like Lord Morley, we all nail our colours firmly to the fence and practise complete neutrality, but the end of this war, if it ever has an end, is not likely to leave the relations between the Powers in the Eastern Mediterranean completely undisturbed.

(FROM THE "DAILY NEWS" CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, May 5.

I am reliably informed that the Minister for Foreign Affairs has notified the Powers that Italy's operations in the Aegean must continue until Turkey unconditionally accepts the annexation of Tripoli and Cyrenaica, either spontaneously or as the result of the intervention of the Powers. It is added that the successive occupation of other Turkish islands in the Aegean entirely depends upon Turkey's attitude.

A pledge is given, however, that as soon as Turkey yields Italy will discontinue her operations and straightway surrender possession of the islands already seized, the occupation of which does not imply territorial conquest, but has been resorted to as the only available measure to compel Turkey's submission. Consequently the integrity of the Ottoman Empire is not to be regarded as threatened.

Rome, May 4.

The *Giornale d'Italia* says—"The object of occupying the island of Rhodes is, by obtaining possession of part of the enemy's territory, to damage his prestige, with the intention to restore that territory to the Turks as soon as they have withdrawn their troops from Libya."

The *Tribuna* (official) says—"Our action strikes a blow at Turkey's ways of communication, and it is now our duty to push forward our plans for the isolation of Constantinople from the other parts of the Empire, and to see how much longer the gamblers at Stamnoul will be able to shut their eyes to the new state of things by which they will shortly be ruined."

The *Giornale d'Italia* contains the following article on the present state of the hostilities between Turkey and Italy—

Already the mastery of the Aegean have been left to us by the Turks by the withdrawal of their naval forces from the Dardanelles. That mastery was still better demonstrated by the first raid of our fleet, which occupied the island of Stampalia, where a naval base was formed. Even the largest islands are without means of communication with the Porte owing to the cutting of the cables and the closing of the wireless stations. The object of occupying the island of Rhodes is, by obtaining possession of part of the enemy's territory, to damage his prestige, with the intention to restore that territory to the Turks as soon as they have withdrawn their troops from Libya. The fact that General Ameglio is the leader of the expedition is a guarantee that operations will be vigorously conducted for the purpose of securing the uncontested establishment of Italian domination in the island and of crushing all resistance on the part of the Turkish garrison. Admiral Viale accompanied General Ameglio's division with the fleet in order to be prepared to support the landing of troops. The Italians thus afford proof positive of the possibility of landing troops rapidly and in large numbers on an open shore, an operation with regard to which there has been much discussion among experts. Italy shows that she knows how to disembark entire divisions in a few hours, as foreign military writers have already remarked. The occupation of Rhodes once again demonstrates that Italy has full liberty of action against Turkey. The Turkish people will in the end understand this if the Porte does not hide the results of our operations from them.—*Reuter*.

Constantinople, May 6.

The Turkish Press is unanimously of opinion that the Italian occupation of the islands will not affect the war, which they say must be fought out in Tripoli. The *Tazim* says that, even if Italy succeeds in conquering Tripoli, she cannot retain possession of the islands in the Archipelago.

(FROM THE "TIME" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Athens, May 5.

The announcement of the occupation of Rhodes excites the liveliest interest here. The hope is expressed that when the Italian troops are withdrawn at the end of the war this island and others, which are apparently to be occupied in the near future, will obtain autonomous institutions through the intervention of Europe. The principle on which the Powers have hitherto acted, except in the case of Macedonia—that no Christian community once liberated from the Ottoman yoke should be handed back to Turkey—is invoked, and it is pointed out that the islanders, who will doubtless fraternize with their liberators, will be exposed to reprisals on the part of the Turks should no measure be taken for their protection. It is even anticipated that they may offer resistance in the case of a Turkish re-occupation.

I have reason to believe, however, that there is little prospect that these hopes will be realized. In the best informed quarters the opinion prevails that Italy is proceeding to the occupation of the

islands exclusively for her own purposes and is not disposed to contemplate any alteration of their future status in accordance with the aspirations of the inhabitants.

Vienna, May 6.

A note of semi-official character denies this evening the rumour that Italy intends to blockade the Aegean ports of Turkey and that the Powers have already received an intimation to this effect. This denial is evoked by an excited article in the *Neue Freie Presse*, warning Italy against such interference with European trade and declaring that "the blockade of Salonika might entail consequences most unpleasant for Italy herself, seeing that a part of her army is now tied up" in Tripoli.

This threat is not echoed in any responsible quarter. The semi-official note above mentioned puts forward, on the contrary, the suggestion that the main object of Italy at present is to cut off European and Asiatic Turkey from all communication with Tripoli and entirely to suppress contraband. The outburst in the *Neue Freie Presse* is believed to reflect the growing irritation of those financial and industrial circles that are feeling the pinch of the war.

Vienna, May 7.

Another Viennese "Liberal" journal indulges to-day in a violent attack upon Italy and demands that Austria-Hungary, as a State highly interested in the trade of the Levant and in the Balkans, should put a stop to Italy's "frivolous game." "Austria-Hungary," it writes, "must not leave precedence to England, and, above all, ought no longer to have any regard for such an 'ally' as Italy." Unless Italy changes her policy she can no longer be tolerated in the Triple Alliance.

A note has been issued this evening from a semi-official quarter stating that the reports of the occupation of other Aegean islands by Italy are not confirmed, and that the Powers are unlikely to intervene unless neutral interests in the Aegean are more seriously affected than at present.

With regard to the assertion of an English provincial journal that an exchange of correspondence between Austria-Hungary and England has led to an agreement on Balkan policy between the two Governments the *Nenes Wiener Tagblatt* will to-morrow publish a semi-official communication to the effect that though there has been no special correspondence, nor the conclusion of any positive agreement between the Dual Monarchy and England, their views on Balkan questions are so concordant that the action of the two Governments is likely to proceed on parallel lines.

(THE "DAILY NEWS")

The Italians have occupied the town of Rhodes in the island of that name. As the cable connecting Rhodes with Constantinople has been cut we learn what we are allowed to know about the operations only from Italian sources. The Italian reports are obscure, and in some details conflicting, but one can pick out the main facts. The Italian fleet conveying Italian troops anchored off Rhodes on Friday night and began landing troops at dawn. There is a Turkish garrison on the island of some 2,000 men well armed and well supplied with ammunition. The Governor judged that it would be impossible to hold the town under the guns of the Italian fleet, and only a trifling resistance was offered to the advance of the Italians. The city was occupied yesterday and the garrison has withdrawn into the hills. It will be seen that what has happened so far has no military significance. The Turkish forces remain at large among the hills; the Italian forces, covered by the fleet, hold the town. In short, we have a repetition of the Tripoli situation, and it remains to be seen that Rhodes will prove an easy nut to crack.

The Italian Press, quite naturally but quite unconvincingly, proclaims the landing at Rhodes something like a decisive stroke. It will not affect the Turkish Government, who for practical purposes have been cut off from the island since the Italians established their command of the sea; nor will it damage the prestige of Turkey. It may, indeed, work the other way, for Turkish public opinion will see in this activity among the islands and this neglect of the mainland evidence of Italy's weakness and indecision. Nor will the threat to retain the island until Turkey evacuates Tripoli have much terror: Turkey knows quite well that Italy will not be allowed to hold Rhodes permanently. Of course, the landing in Rhodes may help to soothe for a time the discontent in Italy, and that is a matter of importance to the Cabinet. It also, and this is of general importance, makes a European Conference on Turkey at the close of this war more likely. There are several Powers with axes to grind who would like a conference, though the world is hardly likely to be the better for it.

The Closing of the Dardanelles.

Discussion in the Lords.

Lord Newton had the following question upon the paper:—

"To ask his Majesty's Government whether they have addressed any representation to the Italian Government with reference to the closing of the Dardanelles."

He said that since he put the question on the paper, an arrangement had been arrived at by which the Dardanelles were partially re-opened, but it was obviously merely temporary because of its liability to be upset by any additional action on the part of the Italian Fleet, and at any rate the Government might be glad to take the opportunity of making a statement on the subject. The military operations in Tripoli had proved to be considerably more difficult than had been anticipated, and so far as one could gather a sort of condition of stale-mate existed at present. In consequence of this state of things the Italian Government had carried the war into different parts of the Turkish Empire in opposition to what he believed was their original intention, and as the climax to this policy had attacked the Dardanelles. We had given most unmistakable evidence of our friendliness to the Italians during the present war, and, in view of what we had done in this respect, and putting aside all questions of morality, he thought we were entitled to ask that the war should not be conducted in a way which had become almost intolerable, as far as we were concerned, but that it should be localized as much as possible in accordance with the original intention. This could best be secured by asking the Italian Government to make a plain declaration of its policy and whether it would agree totally to exclude the Dardanelles from the area of the war.

Lord Nunburnholme, in asking why his Majesty's Government did not take steps to ensure the free passage of British ships through the Dardanelles, referred to the very serious loss which was being caused to the trade and commerce of the whole of Europe apparently because the Italians had come to a deadlock in their war with Turkey. He received advices from Constantinople yesterday to the effect that there were 185 vessels which were unable to pass either in or out of the Dardanelles, and that half of these were British ships. We were still a great Naval nation, and he thought we ought to make some show of protecting ourselves in this matter and give proof that there was some use of being a predominant Naval Power, if there was no other way of bringing about a solution of the difficulty.

VISCOUNT MORLEY'S STATEMENT

VISCOUNT MORLEY.—I am sure my noble friend will not suppose for a moment that his Majesty's Government have been indifferent to the disastrous state of things—it deserves no less serious a word than that—which has been existing for several days in the Black Sea and the Dardanelles. The figure of 185, which my noble friend said was the information he got yesterday, does not quite correspond with our own. It is rather higher than we should put it, but it is not worth while arguing for a moment as to whether it is 185 or 135. The root fact remains that we are suffering huge damage. In the matter of the grain trade, and perhaps the oil trade, Russia suffers more than we do. South Russia being greatly dependent on our market, but we are suffering peculiarly in shipping. In shipping our predominance is extraordinary, shipping ordinarily passing through the Dardanelles is largely British. The total tonnage of shipping arriving at Constantinople in 1909, the date of the latest Consular report, amounted to 15½ million tons. Of this 6½ millions were British, 2½ millions were Greek, 1½ millions were Austrian, and 1 million was German. We have no information at the Board of Trade as to the shipping now, but the foregoing figures of the ordinary traffic show satisfactorily our supremacy in commerce in the Black Sea and how the relative effects of this disastrous closing of the Straits were distributed.

I think my noble friend will feel that it is not worth while to go further into the details of the transactions between ourselves and the Governments of Turkey and Italy, but let me assure him that, since the Straits were closed, we have been in constant communication with both those Governments, and he has seen to-day in the public prints that, after no unreasonable length of time, considering the difficulties of the Porte in coming to a decision, after we have taken prompt and friendly steps to call their attention to the mischief which is being done to the great interests of ourselves, and, after taking reasonable time for consideration, we heard from our Ambassador, last night, I think, the intelligence which has already, in a less formal shape, been given through the public Press. Yesterday the Porte informed the Ambassador that it had been decided upon to open the Dardanelles under the same conditions as existed before its closing, namely, that vessels must pass with pilots. The opening will take place as soon as every mine can be removed, but the Ottoman Government—it may be of interest to the noble lord opposite—maintains its absolute right to close the Dardanelles completely in case, and as soon as, the necessity should arise.

The noble lord opposite was, I think, rather unreasonable in asking the Government here to make a general statement surveying all our relations with the Porte and with the Italian Government at Rome and other Powers. I think unreasonable because—and no one in this House will understand it better than the noble lord himself—it cannot be expected that, when you are in the middle of a war in which you are maintaining an absolute and firm neutrality, the Government should be called upon to produce all the despatches, all the telegrams, all the interchanges of views. I am very sorry that in his evidence

that that is not a fair thing to expect. Nor can the noble lord expect us now to get up and follow him in the criticism he made of something that Austria-Hungary is supposed to have done, what the relations are between Austria-Hungary and Russia and Italy, what promise or undertaking has been given by Italy to Austria, and so on. Then the noble lord, having assumed that there has been an undertaking by Austria-Hungary to Italy and *vice versa*, asks why we do not approach Italy to exact from her the same kind of undertaking in our own regard that he assumes she has given to Austria-Hungary. That is not at all a reasonable position to take up. Then he says plainly that we ought to protest to Italy that we cannot endure, being, as my noble friend said, the supreme Naval Power, these roving operations of war. I wonder that he with his diplomatic experience thinks it possible for a Government that is firmly neutral to say to either of the two belligerent Powers, "You shall not carry on the war in the way you are doing."

Lord Newton.—I am sorry to interrupt the noble viscount, but that is precisely what the Austrian Government has done.

Viscount Morley.—It is what the noble lord says Austria has done, but I submit that nothing could be more inexpedient than that we should in this House assume that the Austrian Government has done that or that, and on the basis of that assumption we are to be catechized and interrogated as to whether we will not undertake the same step. You cannot. I am amazed the noble lord does not agree with it. He must agree.

Could we in reason be asked to say either to Turkey or Italy, "We will prescribe to you the limits within which you shall carry on your military operations?" If they came into the Thames then we should have something to say. But to say that Turkey is not to defend herself and that Italy is not to follow her own plans of military operations is to go beyond anything that in international law or diplomatic usage has ever been conceived. There are those, I know—I am not sure there is not a member of this House—who, by way of speculation to avoid the evils of war, wish that the Powers of the world at The Hague or elsewhere should agree to the acceptance of some sort of a principle to the effect that the area of a war should be strictly localized and limited. That may or may not prove ultimately a step towards the civilization of war and the conveniences of war, but it is no use for us to-day who have practical business on our hands and who have the difficulties and the inconveniences of the hour to settle, to assume any realization of a speculation of that kind. When the correspondence and telegrams are, in the fulness of time, published in a Blue book I will undertake to say that the House and the country will find that we have thoroughly and assiduously followed the full duties of a firmly neutral Power between these two belligerents. The noble lord said nothing about the Turkish case. We have done full justice to the Turkish case. The Turkish Government have a right to take all legitimate means for the defence of their own territory.

No treaty can oblige Turkey when her actual and immediate safety is concerned to open the passage giving free access to the destruction, if necessary, of her own capital. You could not expect that. Another point. This is rather against those who are impatient—some, like the noble lord, at our being so patient with Italy, and others at our being so patient with Turkey. We hold a completely equal balance. With regard to the Turkish case, when their military authorities tell them that to abandon the defence of the mines would be an equivalent to a reduction of their power of defence by about 50 per cent, such a consideration a neutral Government like ourselves is bound to take into account. I will say this. Neither the noble lord nor anybody in the House will deny the obligation by which Turkey is bound to open the Straits under the Treaty of Paris, 1856, the Treaty of London, 1871, the abortive Treaty of San Stefano, and the Treaty of 1878. She is bound to keep the Straits open for neutral commerce unless, some immediate and direct necessity for her own safety should arise. We have held that in full regard. But now I think we might say that, while the principle that the Straits are to be kept open to commerce unless danger is actual or imminent imposes an obligation on Turkey from the point of view of international morality, it carries with it the corresponding expediency—I will not put it higher than that—that that principle should not be strained and overstrained in case of war by other parties to it. The noble lord indulged himself in a rather cynical interpretation of the attack on the Dardanelles. I have seen it in the public prints, and it comes to this, that neither the Italian nor the Turkish Government were averse to inflicting severe inconvenience on neutrals on the chance of hastening the effective interpretation of those neutrals in bringing to an end what is certainly apparently an extraordinarily obscure and ambiguous military issue.

As to Italy, I confess I was rather sorry to hear at this stage of things the tone of the noble lord. I have said it before and say it again, we cannot insist on either of these belligerents foregoing their full belligerent rights or handing them over for the convenience of neutral States. May I add the consideration and I venture to think it is well worth of the attention of your lordships' House, that it would be a very great mistake if, in our natural impatience with such

transactions as have recently taken place in the Dardanelles we were to leave out of sight the wider elements that affect both the Turkish and Italian cases and our attitude with regard to these cases. It would be a great mistake if we left out of sight with regard to Turkey the enormous Mahomedan interests with which we are concerned. With regard to Italy, on the other hand, it would certainly be an immense, and I will even say a lamentable, mistake, if we were to forget our friendship, our long traditional friendship, with Italy in the past, and, more than that, if we were to forget our concern in her position and relations as a Mediterranean Power in a very easily imaginable future. I do not think I need say more—I have disappointed, I am sure, the noble lord—I could not make, and I do not think he could expect it, a general statement of all that has been going on in this matter. We, at all events, have got for the time a situation which is better than a few days ago we could have hoped.

The Earl of Cromer said that it would have been a departure to have shown any special friendliness either to Italy or Turkey. The neutrality of Egypt was not due so much to friendliness to Italy as to a regard for the interests of Egypt itself and all the people residing there. It would have been disastrous if we had been dragged into this quarrel with which we had no concern, and His Majesty's Government had done extremely well in keeping out of it. If the idea got abroad in Egypt that we were not acting in Egyptian but Italian interests it might do some harm.

The Marquess of Lansdowne.—We have all listened with interest to the statement of the noble viscount, and for myself I am prepared to say that I have heard that statement on the whole with considerable satisfaction. The noble viscount may perhaps have fallen short of the expectations of my noble friend. My noble friend certainly favours the strenuous methods of diplomacy, which I cannot help thinking might not be found quite so easy of application as he supposes. At any rate the noble viscount must have convinced all those who listened to him that he and his colleagues fully realize the great gravity of the situation which has arisen in the Eastern Mediterranean. I will not repeat what he has said as to the magnitude of our interests in the commerce of the Black Sea, or as to the grave menace to those interests which we discern in the recent dislocation of that trade. It is satisfactory to know that the Government have spared no efforts to bring about a mitigation of those circumstances, and that they have been able to achieve at any rate a certain amount of success. The noble viscount said a word as to the Treaty obligations of Turkey, and there I entirely agree with him. I think he might have gone back even to the Treaty of Adrianople to show the obligation of Turkey to keep the Dardanelles open for the passage of peaceable traders. The noble viscount is no doubt correct when he tells us that that obligation must be interpreted subject to the inherent rights of Turkey to take whatever measures are reasonable, necessary or justifiable to ensure her own safety. The Turkish Government no doubt in this case claims that the temporary sealing of the Straits was a measure indispensable to secure the Turkish capital, and I think she may fairly add the argument that this unfortunate conflict was not one of her seeking and that it was not due to any action of hers that the area of conflict was extended in a manner which most of us greatly deplore. But whatever the strict rights of the Turkish Government may be, we all of us feel that they should not be strained, and that the utmost regard should be paid to the interests and claims of all concerned in the peaceable trade of the Mediterranean. I think it is creditable to the Turkish Government that they should have frankly recognized this, as I understand to be the case, and undertaken to open the Straits to the same extent as they were open before these lamentable events, subject to certain regulations as to pilotage which seem to be reasonable. The accounts given in the newspapers of the conditions under which Turkey has agreed to this concession suggest one or two points which are perhaps a little disconcerting. In the telegram published in the *Times* this morning it is stated that in the Turkish reply which was communicated to the Russian Government the day before yesterday Turkey announces that the Government is anxious to reopen the Straits as soon as that is possible "without danger." I take it that points to danger from mines. In the same telegram it is said that Turkey will reopen the Straits as soon as Italy gives pledges not to repeat her attack on the Dardanelles. I should be glad if the noble viscount is able to tell us whether there is any truth in that statement, because obviously that would be a very serious limitation to the Turkish announcement and one which might make it much less satisfactory than we now believe it to be.

Viscount Morley of Blackburn.—That assertion is quite inconsistent with the words used to our Ambassador yesterday or the day before.

The Marquess of Lansdowne.—I am very glad to have elicited that statement. It will give great relief to many who have read this telegram and were a little alarmed by it. This is perhaps hardly the occasion for dwelling upon the larger aspects of the case, but they are very important. We think, of course, of ourselves, and

of the £20,000 which we are said to be losing every day during the time these straits are sealed. But the real question which will no doubt have to be considered sooner or later is the extent to which a belligerent Power, controlling narrow waters which form a great trade avenue for the commerce of the world, is justified in entirely closing such an avenue in order to facilitate the hostile operations in which that Power finds itself involved. That is a very serious matter. There is a certain analogy between that case and the case of some of those unfortunate trade disputes which we have been lately discussing. It seems to me that just as public opinion in any country would be slow to tolerate arrangements under which a local trade dispute might have the effect of paralysing the whole industrial life of the country, so public opinion amongst the great nations would be slow to tolerate a state of things under which a local conflict involving only two Powers would be allowed to create such serious detriment and disturbance to the whole trading community of the world. I am glad to know from the noble viscount that our diplomacy is being directed to obtain the recognition of that principle, and I entirely agree that whatever our policy may be in this matter it is a policy which we should pursue tactfully and without impatience, bearing in mind on the one hand the relations in which we stand to the Turkish Empire owing to the great number of his Majesty's Mahomedan subjects, and upon the other hand our old friendship with Italy, which should certainly, so far as possible, be taken into account in any diplomatic communications with her at a crisis which affects her so closely as this does.

Mr Sykes (Central Hull, Opp.) asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether the Italian Government had caused to be landed arms and ammunition on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea; and whether his Majesty's Government proposed to take steps to prevent the wholesale distribution of arms among the tribesmen of Southern Arabia.

Sir E. Grey (Northumberland, Berwick).—I do not know that the Italian Government have taken any such action as that to which the hon. member refers, and so far as I am aware there has been no "wholesale distribution" of arms in Southern Arabia.

Mr Sykes.—Has there been no distribution of arms at all?

Sir E. Grey.—I have not got information to that effect. No information has reached me showing that there is any necessity for us to take steps or any ground on which we could take them.

Mr. King (Somerset, N., Min.) asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether he could state if recent negotiations for bringing to an end the war between Turkey and Italy had had any result.

Sir E. Grey.—The general character of the replies received from both the Italian and Turkish Governments have now appeared in the Press. I am not in a position to say what further steps the Powers may be able to take in the matter.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, May 3.

Lord Morley's reply to the speeches of Lords Newton and Nunburnholme has aroused lively interest here and receives very characteristic treatment from a part of the Press. The *Turkophil Zeit* announces it in the words that "the representative of the Government, Viscount Morley, declared that in circumstances easily conceivable England reckons on Italy in the Mediterranean," and argues editorially that in the eventuality of a European war England counts upon Italian sympathies towards the Triple Alliance. The *Zeit* considers it remarkable that a "governing English statesman deems the time to have come to explode the legend of the Triple Alliance as far as Italy is concerned."

The *Neue Freie Presse* places a similar construction upon Lord Morley's reported words, which, it says, "can only be taken to mean that he pointed to the possibility of a change of front in Italian policy." England, it adds, can only have an interest in the position and relationships of Italy as a Mediterranean Power if Italy stands on the side of the Triple Entente, not on that of the Triple Alliance.

Until the full text of the proceedings of the House of Lords is available it would be premature to venture comment upon Lord Newton's alleged view of Austro-Hungarian action in regard to Italy. The facts of the case may, however, be recorded without prejudice. Italy and Austria-Hungary are bound towards each other in regard to Albania, and, consequently, in regard to the Ionian and Adriatic coast of Turkey, by an agreement discussed between the Marquis Visconti Venosta and Count Goluchowski at Monza in 1897, and formally concluded by an exchange of Notes between them in 1899 to the effect that neither Power would seek territorial acquisitions in Albania and that, in case the Ottoman Empire should break up or be partitioned, the two Powers would work together to promote Albanian autonomy. This agreement has been repeatedly confirmed by subsequent Italian and Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministers. After the declaration of war against Turkey, Italy proceeded to put out of action the Turkish torpedo-boats stationed at various points of the Albanian coast, and, in so doing, excited the Albanians and perturbed Austro-Hungarian public opinion. On the basis of the agreement concerning Albania and of the Italian circular Note to

the Balkan States at the beginning of the war, Count Aehrenthal called the attention of Italy to these effects of the operations, which were, however, continued until their object had been attained. The militant section of the Austrian Press demanded the despatch of an Austrian squadron to the Albanian coast, but Count Aehrenthal, who was strong enough to resist shortsighted clamour, ignored the demand, as he knew that the repercussion of the Italian operations in Albania was accidental and temporary, not intentional and permanent.

Turkey's firm Resolve.

The Views of the Grand Vizier.

Constantinople, May 7.

The Grand Vizier, Said Pasha, made the following statement yesterday with reference to the war with Italy:—

"Italian action in the Aegean Sea and everywhere else cannot possibly modify the attitude of Turkey, who is resolved to resist to the end."

"If the attack on the Dardanelles were repeated we should decide again to close the Straits, which is our uncontested right. This right is even recognised by Russia."

"We will take every possible care to protect the commercial interests of the neutral Powers; we will protect them as we would our own, but we will never give way before the aggression of Italy."

In reply to a question how he thought it would be possible to arrange peace, the Grand Vizier replied:—"It is probable that peace will come only by mediation or by conference. My personal opinion is that it will be by mediation, because a conference would be unfavourable to Italian interests. But one thing is certain—Turkey will not abdicate a single right which she possesses!"

The Views of the War Minister.

I

("EXPRESS" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Monday, May 6.

MAHMUD SHEVKET PASHA, the Turkish War Minister, received me to-day and made the following explicit declaration on the war with Italy:—

Italy's action in the Aegean Sea, including the occupation of Rhodes, is merely child's play which cannot have any influence whatever on the conclusion of peace.

The Turkish Government and nation are equally resolved to resist to the end. We shall never give way; we shall fight to a finish.

This war will spell the ruin of Italy, as Turkey will suffer neither the moral nor the material losses which will fall on Italy.

Speaking of the delay in re-opening the Dardanelles to international commerce, the War Minister informed me that it is due solely to the strong wind which has been blowing from the south. The removal of the mines is delicate and dangerous, and has to be undertaken with every precaution.

The work of clearing the straits began yesterday, and it is expected will be concluded on Saturday or Monday next.

It has been alleged that Mahmud Shekvet, who is the favourite pupil of Field-Marshal von der Goltz, is a blind partisan of Germany. He rebutted this charge in Parliament during a sensational scene on 8th November of last year. "I am not at all a partisan of Germany," he declared; "on the contrary, I consider the salvation of the country rests on friendship with England."

The greatest excitement was caused by this candid but incendiary outburst, and the Grand Vizier and the Minister of Foreign Affairs hurried to the tribune, begging the speaker not to touch on so delicate a question.

II

Telegraphing on the 7th May, the Constantinople correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* gave the following account of an interview which he had had with the Turkish Minister of War, General Mahmud Shekvet Pasha. The Minister, he said, was good enough to receive me and to make to me the following observations:—

"Yes, the Italians have landed not at Lekâna (Lachana) as is stated by all the papers, but, according to the latest despatch which has reached me, at Phylax. The disembarkation was effected under cover of the guns of the warships, which carried out a prolonged bombardment. The Italians landed both infantry and artillery. Naturally we resisted and there was a hot engagement. Down to the present the town of Rhodes has not been taken. There were some losses on both sides, and we captured a non-commissioned officer. We attribute the meagre results of the Italian attack, despite the enormous efforts put forth by their artillery, to the extreme inferiority of their gunners, who are very amateurish and short-sighted."

I then asked the Minister if he anticipated further attacks on other islands in the Archipelago, to which he replied that was very probable. To my question as to what effect the losses of Rhodes would have upon the situation in Tripoli he answered:—

"None, for it has no relation to that situation. The Italians are profiting by the extreme weakness of our navy to attack the Archipelago, of which the only effective defence is a naval defence. We shall, of course, do our best to defend ourselves everywhere, but even if eventually the great isles should be occupied we shall not yield a single iota on the Tripolitan question."

Mahmud Shevket Pasha went on to say that it was a matter of patience, and, he added, smiling: "It does not appear to me credible that the Italians, after declaring the annexation of Tripoli, will also declare the annexation of the Archipelago."

When I asked the famous Minister of War if the Government was not perturbed by this new phase of the conflict he replied: "I can affirm to you that neither myself nor my colleagues are in the least disturbed. As for the army, the sole result of the Italian action is to render it more exasperated than ever."

Letters to the Press.

Moslem Unity.

To the EDITOR OF THE "NEAR EAST."

SIR,—Few people, even the best-informed in Europe realise the deep and sincere sympathy that attaches Moslems, together all over the world. Islam has been in practice the only moral force that has united in practical, social, and daily life men of different colours and states of civilisation, from the best Persian and Turkish and Arab and Indian to the negro. This power has an obverse side, and that obverse side is that whatever affects Moslem sentiment in one part of the world is immediately felt in another. Lately I realised this more than ever. The undoing of the partition and the change of capital was hardly ever referred to in private conversation by Indian Muslims except those who were directly interested in the matter, while a wail of mourning and sorrow was the only sentiment of men, women, and children of all ranks in India over Tripoli and Persia and Morocco. These were my own personal and direct experiences.

Hotel Ritz, Place Vendome, Paris.

A. KHAN

British Interests in the East.

To the EDITOR OF THE "NEAR EAST."

SIR,—Travellers and students of foreign politics and business men have in this country long been looking for some sign of awakening on the part of the nation to the magnitude of their task in the East, its heavy responsibilities, and the great perils with which in latter days it has been beset. They looked in vain, while newcomers in Europe and on the extremities of Asia seemed to be taking up the task which had fallen from our feeble hands. Quite possibly the hands may only have appeared feeble; something which was not visible may have kept them tied. That would form an interesting subject for inquiry. But, whatever may have been the causes, the effect produced was one of abdication. The voice of England was heard in lisping accents or not at all.

Two national uprisings—one in Turkey the other in Persia—occurred while we were still under the influence of this paralysis. In both these countries our own stake is demonstrably large, and if in previous periods our horse may have refused to run, it was hands he now required and no longer the spur. New impulses were coursing in his veins. If he was still the "wrong horse," he was certainly a different horse, and an encouraging feature was this, that he showed a marked preference to be guided by us rather than by others. Both in Turkey and in Persia the men of the new movements turned towards England for inspiration, for counsel, for assistance.

It would be invidious, and it may be still premature, to attempt to apportion the blame for the subsequent failure between those men and ourselves. What is certain is that the occasion came—the occasion for more hopeful relations; that it arose, that it did not materialise, and that it is fast slipping away. There is an old Persian proverb that three things never return: the spent arrow, the spoken word, and the lost opportunity. Let us hope that the situation is still not past retrieving, and that between them and as a new era is still to dawn.

It is under the influence of such thoughts that one turns with feelings of satisfaction and of expectancy to the celebration by *The Near East* of its anniversary. Few young newspapers have stepped so quickly into public recognition, regard, and appreciation. That alone is a hopeful sign. It has focussed and brought to bear upon the questions of the day the knowledge, the experience, and the informed opinions which were either lying idle in the breasts of scattered Englishmen well acquainted with these questions, or were being dissipated in the columns of the Press as a whole. It has shown us what a wealth of such material we possess, commensurate with the extent and variety of our interests in the countries west of India. If, in addition to these achievements, it may in the future supply the need of a newspaper, representative of British opinion, circulating in Turkey, and even in Persia, among the educated classes, it will have established a further claim upon our gratitude.

British policy and British motives are so continually misrepresented in local newspapers inspired by foreigners that the need is real, and it is urgent for an authoritative exposition, circulating locally, of the true character of this policy or motives from time to time.

Quite recently there has arisen in this country a remarkable revival of interest in Eastern questions. Persia has been mainly responsible for this revival, and it is surprising how quickly has spread knowledge of the Persian problem in certain quarters of the Press. The core of the problem in Persia is much the same as in the case of Turkey. Centuries of despotism have left the people without natural leaders of capacity or experience. The despots once removed, a disintegrating process ensues, and certain foreign interests are well served by this process. It is in the interests of the British Empire, on the other hand, to see this process arrested. It is not an easy task, but neither is it an impossible one. Without undue interference in the internal affairs of those countries it should be feasible for our representatives to keep in close touch with the new men, to endeavour to lead their impulses into practicable channels, and to save them from foreign humiliations. Out of such relations would spring confidence in themselves and in us. Nor could we, responsible as we are to so many millions of Muhammadans, be denied the right of offering counsel and assistance of this nature. The right becomes a duty from our own point of view when we consider the momentous nature of the changes that are taking place. May it not be by our fault that the course of these changes be turned away and lose the name of action?—Yours respectfully,

H. F. B. LYNCH.

The War and Egypt.

To the EDITOR OF THE "NEAR EAST."

SIR,—During a recent visit to Egypt I was concerned to learn from authoritative sources that the failure of the Italians to make successful war in Tripoli was having a very far-reaching effect in Egypt and the Egyptian Sudan. The fact that the Arabs of the desert are able to drive a disciplined army of Europeans back to the shelter of their naval batteries is discussed by dragomans, donkey boys, husbandmen, soldiers, and clerks from the steps of Shepheard's Hotel to the upper reaches of the Nile. It should be remembered that for the most part the Arabs who discuss these details do not readily distinguish between the nationalities of Europe. To them the Crescent is rising superior to the Cross. As far as British prestige in Egypt and the Sudan is concerned, this is not a small matter. As it is, our military position in Egypt is grotesquely inadequate to meet any substantial emergency, if we estimate that emergency on the basis of the total number of rifles that are available in native hands. It is now understood that Italy proposes no further move into the Tripolitaine until October next. From the Italian point of view this is doubtless wise, but for those nations which, like ourselves, are influenced by this unfortunate hysteria that has seized upon Italy the prolongation of what in Egypt is believed to be Moslem success is a matter of real and earnest moment. It would be well if people in this country realised this, and that the evil effects of the Italians' inability to carry out a colonial war would have been more drastically brought home to the British public, if it had not been our good fortune to have Lord Kitchener at the British Agency. At this juncture in Egyptian history the effect of Lord Kitchener's presence has been equal to that of a division of British infantry.—I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

London, May 8.

LIONEL JAMES.

Italian "Victories."

To the EDITOR OF THE "NEAR EAST."

SIR,—The papers of 4th May contained triumphant accounts (emanating from Rome) of the capture of Lebda, the birthplace of Septimus Severus, in which 300 of the enemy were said to have been killed and the captured city at once fortified.

This reads no doubt extremely well, but how many readers really know what it means? The little town of Khoms, of perhaps 600 inhabitants, lies seventy miles east of Tripoli Town. It was occupied quite early in the war by the Italians. The site of Lebda is two miles east on the sea, and consists of various ancient ruins, columns, and fragments protruding from a waste of drifting sand. The ground is, in fact, so full of ruined masonry that it cannot be cultivated, and even Arabs will not live there. The desert has, in fact, reclaimed it. It is this choice bit of Tripoli that Italy with its troops two miles away, its gunboats, and its airships has at last conquered. Mergub, on the other hand, which was occupied a couple of months ago, is a strong point 500 feet above sea level, and three and a-half miles west of Khoms.

Sepping Wright's despatch (about same date), describing the Italian airship attack, shows also that the Italians are still kept out of Zenzur oasis, twelve miles west of Tripoli Town, on the coast. This has, I believe, been reported as captured several times. Mergub and Ain Zara, respectively, three and a-half and six miles from the coast, are, as far as I know, the furthest points inland to which the Italians have so far penetrated.—Yours obediently,

H. S. COWPER.

طلسم ہوئ رہا

(You know's by this.)



THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL
INSTITUTE OF MEDICAL & DENTAL
EDUCATION & RESEARCH

طلسم ہوش رہا ایک مشہور کتاب
میں جس میں عجیب و غریب انسانے
مذکور میں — ایک زمانہ میں اس
کتاب کا بھت ہریا تھا — ناظرین اس
انسانلوں کو پریمکر معموں پر رہا تھے
تھے اور ہے ساختہ اس کے مصلحت کو
دہان دینتے تھے کہ وہ کیا بالیں دعائیں سے
لکالی میں! مکروہ تو نقطہ انسانے
میں تھے اب اصلی چیز ملا حظہ کیجھ تھے —
زندگی کے رکارڈ بھر صرف بجاہ مارے
کالون کے ۶ چھپے کالے ہبائے میں اور
چھپوں ۲ لے حسب معمول صرف
میں (دو ہبہ میں لذر میں —

ایک زندگی کے مقبول ہر مشہور
کوئی لوگوں کے مقبول کالے اور ۶ چھپے
کالے اور قیمت صرف مارے دو ہبہ۔
مارا رہ لدھن اس پیغمبیر کے ساتھ
اٹ طلسیں (کارڈس کے منظر تھے
اور مارا رہ ایجینٹ لفاضے پر لٹا لیا
کو روٹے تھے — اب آپ کی خیالیں
طبع کے واسطے یہ حاضر میں — اس
کالون کی بیحدہ مالک ہے اسلئے نورا
خوبی فرمائے۔

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C. C. CHATTERJEE,
Secretary to the Corporation.

MUNICIPAL OFFICE,
Calcutta, the 20th May 1912.

1-6-12.

سمن بغرض تنقیح مقدمہ

(آرڈر ۵ - قواعد ۱ و ۵ مجموعہ ضابطہ دیوانی سنہ ۱۹۰۸ع)

لمبیر مقدمہ ۲

بعدالحق حاکم تعصیل رام سنہی کھات غسل بارہ بنکی مقام صدر بارہ بنکی۔
معنی سید اولاد حسین ولہ سید سرفراز علی قوم سید ساکن موضع منگردارہ بہرگنہ اودولی۔
مدعا علیہ مرزا مر تھی بیک ولہ لوہ میں بیک و مرزا تجمل بیک و مرزا شجاعت بیک و مرزا ذوالنقاش بیک
ہر ان مرزا اصغر بیک ساکنان موضع چور بہرگنہ اودولی۔
ہنام مرزا شجاعت بیک ولہ مرزا اصغر بیک ساکن موضع ہر بہرگنہ اودولی وارقل غیر دلکش
گلی لمبیر ۲۸ مکان لمبیر ۲۸۔

واضح موکہ مدعی لے تمہارے نام ایک نالش بابت منافع کے دائرے کی ٹھہرائی کو حکم موتا ہے کہ
تم بتا ریخ پڑھ جوں سنہ ۱۹۱۲ع رفت ۱۰ دس بھی دن اسالنا یا معرفت و کیل کے جو مقدمہ کے حالت سے
قرار والیں واقعی دلکش کیا گیا ہو اور جو کل امور اہم متعلقہ مقدمہ کا جواب دے سکے یا جسمی ساتھی کوئی
اور شخص موکہ جواب ایسے سوالات کا دے سکے حاضر ہو اور جواب ہمیں دعویٰ کیں گرو۔ اور ہرگاہ
جملہ دستاویزات جن پر تم بدلتیہ اپنے جواب ہمیں کے استدلال کرنا چاہتے ہو اسی روز بیش کرو۔
اور تم کو اطمینان دی جاتی ہے کہ اگر بروز مذکور تم حاضر ہوئے تو مقدمہ ۶ غیر حاضر تھا
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Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 23. Anna 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, June 8, 1912.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1.

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other factories have closed down for want of raw material. Prices of food are rising

At a miners' demonstration at Durban, Mr Lowther, of the Labour College, declared that they were organising a far greater strike than the last one before the end of the year

A large force of police has been detailed for duty at the London docks to protect the men unloading food cargoes. It is expected that the Smithfield butchers will endeavour to land consignments with their own employees. The butchers have applied for police protection for meat vans and the porters at the markets. No military movements have hitherto been announced, but it transpires that the Guards Brigade encamped at Pirbright has been ordered to be in readiness to return to London at a moment's notice.

Mr Asquith is kept constantly informed of the developments by wireless

Protected by mounted police, merchants took men to the docks and secured supplies. By this means a quantity of fruit and perishable goods was saved

The Covent Garden Trade Union of porters has joined the strike demanding recognition of the Union and better conditions, but non-unionists have remained with employers. They say that with adequate protection the work of the market can be maintained. Trade Union pickets are actively at work.

A cargo of Argentine meat arrived at the London docks on the 27th May, and unloading operations were immediately begun under the protection of the police. The masters used motor lorries. The strikers were furious at this move, but were afraid to interfere as they might have done in the case of horses. The meat convoys reached Smithfield Market un molested. They were escorted by strong bodies of police.

The Strike Committee has issued a manifesto protesting against the authorities accommodating the master and protecting the "Scab". It also protests against the use of the police and soldiers, and warns the Government that repressive action will lead to extremes on the part of the men. The manifesto further calls out all transport workers, and says it has cabled asking every international agency to take action.

The situation at the docks at midday on the 28th May was unchanged. Special police patrols were conspicuous, and were much resented by the strikers. Business at Smithfield Market was almost normal, and there was no difficulty in distributing meat throughout the metropolis. Chilled beef has risen from ad. to 4d. a stone, but other prices are unchanged

A dock manager on the 3rd June described the men as "stampeding back to work". The Port of London authority has already secured thousand of men. One Company wanted 280 and received 15,005 applications. Masters met and considered the reply to the Conciliation proposal. It is officially announced that the Port of London authority secured 5,500 men this morning and the 2,000 have been taken on permanently. It is stated that shipowners at the meeting with the Cabinet Ministers yesterday shewed firm resistance to compulsory arbitration, but discussed the possibility of federating employers to secure uniform conditions of employment.

Several papers publish editorial articles rejoicing at the apparent collapse of the movement which is the first of recent great strikes

The Week.

Labour Unrest.

SIR EDWARD CLARKE closed the enquiry on the 25th May into the Dock dispute after hearing further evidence by the masters who complained that the men had been called out, though they had apparently no grievance. Sir Edward Clarke, in concluding his speech, urged the necessity for avoiding an extended strike. He emphasised that no succession of strikes would ever compel non-unionists or masters to obey the Unions. He was hopeful, however, that legislation would go far to solve industrial difficulties. He would do his best to make a fair report as early as possible. He complimented the conduct of both sides during the enquiry.

One hundred thousand transport workers held a demonstration in Trafalgar Square on the 26th May. A large contingent of police was on duty, but the strikers conducted themselves in a most orderly manner. A resolution was passed demanding an hour with overtime rate of one shilling and two pence per hour, and declaring that none would return to work until all grievances were satisfied.

Japanese dockers have telegraphed to the London strikers wishing them success.

Two hundred vessels are lying in the Thames unable to discharge cargoes of meat, fruit, vegetables and grain. Several jam and

which has not achieved speedy victory. They declare that the leaders overshot the mark by dragging into lightermen's quarrel thousands of dock labourers and carmen whose heart was never in the dispute.

Mediterranean Strategy.

Reuter wires from Malta.—A Naval and Military review of 6,000 men was held in the presence of Mr. Asquith, Mr. and Mrs. Churchill and many Generals and Admirals. The review offered a magnificent spectacle, especially the Naval Brigade and field guns. Mr. Churchill spoke a few words to every officer on parade.

Reuter wires from Malta.—The Lords of the Admiralty have concluded their inspection. They have issued a statement expressing satisfaction at the efficiency of the organisation of the dockyard. It is their intention to make full use of the facilities of this important naval base, the value of which to the British navy is of a permanent character. They propose to assign such proportion of repairing and refitting work to Malta Dockyard as will keep it in a normal condition of activity and capable at all times of attending to the needs in peace and war of any fleet cruising or operating in the Mediterranean. All necessary measures will be taken for its continued security. After paying tribute to the efficiency of the manœuvres of the destroyers and submarines, the statement says that submarines will play an increasingly important part in the defence of the island.

Statements that Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill are proceeding to Tunis to examine the question of Franco-British co-operation in the Mediterranean are unfounded. The visit will be purely one of courtesy.

Reuter wires from Malta.—Lord Kitchener has sailed for Egypt in H. M.'s cruiser *Hampshire*.

Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill have left for Bizerta on board the Admiralty yacht *Enchantress*.

The *Matin* publishes statistics of the naval position in the Mediterranean, which show that till 1920 France without the aid of Great Britain will hold absolute supremacy.

Reuter wires from Bizerta.—Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill have arrived. They received cordial welcome. A visit was made to the dockyard this afternoon while to-night a banquet will be given on board the Admiralty yacht *Enchantress*.

Reuter wires from Bizerta.—Messrs. Asquith and Churchill left for Gibraltar on the evening of the 3rd June.

The *Daily Telegraph* states that the question of the British position in the Mediterranean will be considered by the Cabinet at an early date. All Government departments affected, besides many influential officers of the army and the navy, regard the Admiralty decision as most grave, only justifiable on the most urgent grounds and requiring detailed consideration before an irrevocable step is taken.

Anglo-German Relations.

Reuter wires from Constantinople.—Baron Marschall von Bieberstein was entertained at a farewell banquet by the German Colony on the occasion of his departure to take up the post of German Ambassador in London. Alluding to his appointment in London, the Baron said, "My path is steep and stony, but faithful to the orders of my Imperial master, I shall proceed theron. I will place all my strength at the disposal of the Kaiser and the Empire."

Lord Haldane is returning to London without having visited Berlin.

Egypt.

Lord Kitchener's first annual report as His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Egypt is an interesting review. His Lordship records with pleasure the general progress of the country after his eleven years of absence, and notes with satisfaction the recent calming of political feeling, and the fact that the consideration of practical reforms has apparently become more interesting to the majority of the people than abstruse political questions. Lord Kitchener warns the Muhammadans against the weakening effects of political faction.

The report further says that a constant stream of immigration from all the surrounding parts of Africa is entering the Sudan, and Lord Kitchener anticipates that the population will be doubled in the next five years. His Lordship adds that when the Sudan was conquered, the whole population was practically starving. Now there is hardly a poor man in the Sudan.

Afghanistan.

There is suspension of hostilities on the Khost frontier. Various Mullahs are said to be exercising their influence to induce the Mangais and Jadrans to make their submission to the Amir.

China.

A telegram to the *Times* from Peking states that the loan negotiations have reached a deadlock.

The Advisory Council has reconsidered its assent to the terms of supervision and requires a modification which the banks have refused. The papers are accusing the British and allied banks and the British Government of attempting to destroy the independence of China through financial subjection. The Chinese are at present endeavouring to raise an internal loan.

At a meeting between the Minister of Finance and bankers, the doyen of the bankers said he hoped that this would be successful. The allegations that the British banks and the Government were pressing a burdensome loan upon China was, he said, untrue, and it was injurious to the good name of the British.

Consular reports state that provincial opposition to a foreign loan is assuming an anti-Foreign character, particularly in Szechuan where mystic rites and dancing are in progress similar to those at the time of the Boxer rising.

The Government has drawn only fifteen hundred of the three million taels of the Six-Power group placed at its disposal.

The National Council is in favour of securing as large a sum as possible by means of a system of National Bonds, with a view to reducing as far as possible the amount required from foreign sources, thus allaying provincial opposition to a foreign loan.

Tibet.

News from Lhassa is still meagre but the *Pioneer's* correspondent confirms the report that the Chinese are hard-pressed. An enormous gathering of armed Tibetans seems to have taken place at the capital.

The *Statesman's* special correspondent at Kalimpong wired on the 4th instant.—A Gyantse letter states that the majority of Chinese at Lhassa flatly refused to entertain any proposal for peace, and have challenged the Tibetans to encounter in a pitched battle on the 31st of last month at any place the latter might name. The priest warriors of Sera monastery have undertaken to fight, and the Khambas to cut off the water supply. The Peace Mission which left Gyantse on 14th May headed by Lieutenant Lal Bahadur, is said to have reached Lhassa. The pro-Chinese Tibetan Dignitaries and their adherents have been driven to desperation and have resolved to encourage the Chinese to continue to fight, for they argue that when the Chinese yield to the Tibetan demands their fate would be doomed. A private letter from Pekin says that President Yuan-Shi-Kai has approached the late Dowager Empress to negotiate an amicable settlement between Tibet and outer Mongolia with China, whose influence over her co-religionists is generally believed to outweigh any momentary measures. The Tibetan Lamas in Pekin have also been called in to give advice, and they suggested to appoint a delegation to the Dalai Lama which will be entrusted with the delivery of important missives. The president concurred with the view and provisions are being made for their departure at an early date.

Indians in South Africa.

Reuter wires from Capetown.—In the Union Assembly on the 30th May, Mr. Smuts moved the second reading of the Immigration Bill. He said, it embodied the understanding reached with the Imperial Government in 1910 with regard to Asiatics. The difficulty the administration was confronted with was considerable. After much consideration, Government had decided to adopt the suggestions of the Colonial Office, which the Government of India supported, to apply the Australian education test which could be applied so as to encourage whites and exclude Asiatics. They intended to carry out the arrangements reached with the Imperial Government to allow the entry of educated professional Asiatics in limited numbers while preventing the influx of Asiatics. The Imperial and Indian Governments had seen the Bill and were more anxious to see it passed. The Government also intended at the instance of the Imperial Government to introduce an amendment relating to Asiatics domiciled in South Africa.

The Opium Trade.

The *Times*, on the 3rd instant, in an article discussing the recent appeal of the opium merchants in India to the Government of India requesting the discontinuance of the sale of opium for China proceeds to an exhaustive review of the situation from various standpoints, that of Indian Finance, opium merchants and the political situation. The journal points out that the Government of India is in a remarkable position, being confronted with the united demands of the Chinese Government, the Anti-Opium Societies in England and Indian opium merchants to cease selling the drug for China, though the motives prompting these demands are widely different. Jointly, however, they constitute a formidable request. The *Times* thinks the public in India and England will be in full agreement on one point, and that is that though the Chinese Government have been unable to fulfil their part of the undertaking, the traffic must stop. The question is at this stage it seems to us that the Indian merchants have a right to be heard. As the result of the Anglo-Chinese Agreements of 1907 and 1911, the Government of India have benefited by huge surpluses resulting from the high prices of

Government opium based on the expectations produced by the Agreements. It is impossible for Great Britain to insist on the right of entry of India opium because there is now no central authority in China capable of enforcing the right. We recognise the interests to be considered. First are those of India, as a whole. If, however, the continuation of the sales causes a collapse of prices, India will receive little benefit, while the merchants will be crushed. The Government of India have sold a Government product at enormously enhanced prices on the strength of the agreement the fulfilment of which they cannot now procure. They have pocketed the profits gleefully. In common fairness, they cannot now proceed to ruin those who trusted them.

According to a Simla telegram, dated the 4th June, there has been no great development in the opium situation except that the Government of India have received reports from several opium merchants in Singapore and Calcutta urging the Government not to suspend their sales. The suspension of sales, they allege, will affect the opium trade with Singapore and other adjoining countries.

Viceroy's Council.

A good deal of interest attaches to several non-official Bills, dealing with problems of social reform which Messrs. Mudholkar, Dadabhoy and others propose to bring forward before the Imperial Legislative Council. It is believed that the Hon. Mr. Dadabhoy's Bill for the protection of women and girls incorporates among other important provisions the raising of the age of consent to 15 years. Mr. Dadabhoy has been quick in perceiving that the state of things that now exists can only be remedied by raising the age so as to give protection to girls between 12 and 16 years provided such change does not affect the question of marriage. The main object of the Bill is to raise the age of consent to 16 years. It does not affect the present exception to Section 375 of the Penal Code protecting the rights of husbands over girl-wives of and over 12 years of age. This important measure will also ensure the support of orthodox Indian opinion in the country. It is understood that Government have obtained a few opinions adverse to such change but there is a vast majority in its favour. Mr. Dadabhoy has no doubt taken upon himself a somewhat onerous task, but it is one in which he will doubtless secure the co-operation and support of all well-wishers of the country. The Bill will be placed before the Imperial Council in September.

Council Regulation.

The Hon. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea were accorded an interview by His Excellency Lord Carmichael, on the 3rd May, and their suggestions for the expansion of the regulation as it stands concerning the electorates were most sympathetically received. On the 3rd June they both had an interview with the Governor as well as each member of the Executive Council individually. The allocation of the 50 seats as framed at present is 2 experts, 26 elected and 24 nominated, of whom not more than 17 shall be Government officials, while the conditions of representation are residence in the division as well as service of three years, either on a Municipality or a District Board. The latter condition necessarily restricts the sphere of selection and it is this disability that both Mr. Basu and Mr. Banerjea are striving to remove. This is the crux of the question under consideration and both are aiming at an expansion of the elective conditions. The suggestions which will be put forward at the Council meeting to-morrow may be summarised as follows:—(a) Removal of these disabilities and (b) an adequate representation of middle class interests not by trenching upon the interests of others but by a limitation of the Government power of nomination.

All-India Moslem League.

The following resolutions were passed in the Council of the All-India Muslim League on the 3rd June.—The Council of the All-India Muslim League expresses its utmost surprise at the uncalled for and unjust remarks of Mr. Montagu, Under-Secretary of State for India, when moving the second reading of the Government of India Bill in the House of Commons that it was a mistake to talk of the Muhammadans of India as though they were a homogeneous nationality. The Muhammadans of Bengal had no relation with those outside Bengal. These remarks have outraged the feeling not only of the Mussalmans of Bengal but of the entire community throughout India and the Council of the League apprehends that the statements made by a responsible member of His Majesty's Government, which are wholly contrary to facts, may pass for truth and may cause great injury to the cause of Mussalmans who have been authoritatively declared by the Government of India to possess a distinct political status of their own as a community in India. (s) The Council of the All-India Muslim League is thankful to the Secretary of State for India for having acceded to the united wishes of the Muhammadan community by accepting the principle of the Wali Alul Awaid Bill of the Hon. Mr. Jinnah and trusts that the Government of India will hasten the progress of the Bill and make such modifications therein as may recommend themselves to the community.

TETE À TETE



FORMAL applications with the necessary amount of deposit for the Hamdard Debentures are steadily coming in, though the progress is not as rapid as we may wish. We know there are many intending purchasers who had sent us informal intimations of their readiness to subscribe but have not yet formally done so, perhaps because they think there is no particular hurry about the matter. As we had said a fortnight ago, it is very important that the Hamdard should be launched into existence before the Government of India make their move to Delhi. For this purpose a fully equipped press has to be set up; and we cannot naturally place orders for machinery, type and other printing accessories unless we have in hand Rs 17,500 as deposit. The setting up of a new press in a new place will take considerable time. We trust the intending subscribers will realise the urgent nature of the undertaking and send in their applications with the deposit money as soon as they conveniently can. All those interested in the progress of our new venture will be glad to learn that an eminent Moslem lady and her youngest son have bought 300 and 200 shares, respectively, of the Hamdard Debentures. She has already won universal esteem and regard in this country for her great liberality towards all measures of public usefulness. Needless to say we are sincerely thankful to her for the spontaneous help she has extended to the new undertaking on which we have embarked. It will, we are sure, equally interest our sympathisers to know that many distinguished Moslem gentlemen have shown practical sympathy with our scheme by purchasing considerable number of shares. Our highest ambition, however, is that the number of the subscribers to the Debentures should be as large as possible, so that the greatest amount of popular sympathy and interest should be enlisted on behalf of our new journalistic programme.

SOME time ago we had called the attention of the Indian Government to the humiliating disability that the Transvaal Moslems in South Africa. Government had imposed on the Indian Mussalmans, resident in the Colony. We had shown how a Musselman was liable to arrest and fine if he happened to have more than one wife. We regret to say that the disability continues to be imposed in all its irksome rigour. What is actually happening in those dismal regions dominated by the Little Africander and how His Majesty's Indian Muslim subjects are being treated are now a matter of History. We need not discuss the notorious regulations in detail, but in certain of their effects they are well worth pondering. A Judge of the Transvaal Supreme Court has laid it down that the Transvaal Law does not recognise the Muhammadan Law of marriage, that Musselman wives are therefore not recognised as such, that for the purposes of the Immigration Law, a Musselman Indian may elect to name any one of his wives (supposing him to have more than one) and that even though she may be the last married, she

may enter the Transvaal to the exclusion of all the others. It is held that the clause providing for the admission of the wife of a non-prohibited immigrant does not include wives where there are more than one. Again, a Musselman subject of H.M. the Sultan of Turkey is liable to the disabilities of Law 3 of 1885, including ineligibility even for the Municipal franchise, and inability to own fixed or landed property, while the Christian subjects of His Majesty enjoy perfect freedom of movement and the same rights and privileges as the free-born whitecolonist. We have reason to believe that all Ottomans, irrespective of creed and race, resent this humiliation and will see that the citizens of the Empire are treated with due respect abroad. Our primary concern is that the Indian Mussalmans in Africa should not be subjected to such iniquitous treatment. In spite of all that has been promised by responsible British statesmen in the way of relaxing the existing regulations, nothing effective has yet been done to break the bar sinister of colour and creed. The only remedy that we can think of under the circumstances is that similar regulations should be enforced by the Indian Government to bring home to the Little Africander the enormity of his arrogance and the danger that is creating for the future of the British Empire. The Indians have no reason to accept the existing inequality of conditions as a part of some immutable Law of Nature. The Imperial citizenship is a farce as long as they are treated like helots and pariahs in an integral part of the British Empire.

OFFICIAL ignorance in regard to the social life and habits of the people becomes, at times, decidedly alarming
Gujarat Moslems in some of its manifestations. But far worse, and Their Diet. and even provoking, is the frame of mind that encourages a stolid indifference to facts

and has a horror of all light and air outside the murky atmosphere of red-tapism. For an illustration we cannot do better than refer to a recent answer of the Bombay Government in reply to a question asked by the Hon. Maulvi Rafi-ud-Din Ahmed in the Provincial Legislative Council. It appears that the food for the Hindu and the Moslem boarders of the Ahmedabad Training College is prepared in the same kitchen, where, in deference to the scruples of Hindu students, meat is an absolutely tabooed article of diet. The Moslem students have, in consequence, to go without their staple food; and naturally enough, they are wholly dissatisfied with the existing food arrangements in the boarding house. The Hon. Maulvi Rafi-ud-Din asked whether the Government was aware of the fact, and if so, whether it would direct the College authorities to make separate arrangements for Moslem students. The reply of the Government is a curious mixture of ignorance, indifference and evasion. According to the *Moslem* of Poona, the Government admitted that the Moslem boarders do not get meat in the boarding house, but in justification of the fact it made the ridiculous assertion that the Gujarat Moslems do not eat meat in their homes. Nothing can be more absurd and misleading than the pira with which the Bombay Government has thought fit to justify an absolutely unjustifiable state of things. We think our knowledge of the Gujarat Moslems is much more intimate and greater than that of the Bombay Government is ever likely to be, and we challenge it to prove the accuracy of its categorical assertion. As a matter of fact, the Government of Sir George Clarke has consistently disappointed the Mussalmans in some of their most natural and legitimate demands. We confess there is little hope that their wishes and sentiments will be sympathetically considered as long as the present official attitude of indifference is maintained. The food question, not very important in itself, is serious enough in some of its bearings. It could be easily settled to the satisfaction of the Moslem students by allowing separate food arrangements to be made. As far as we know, in most of the mixed boarding houses separate arrangements already exist. Apart from the natural objection of the Moslem students to eat the food

prepared by a Hindu cook, who cannot be expected to conform to the hygienic and other rules prescribed by the Moslem religion, we cannot understand why the Training College authorities should force the Moslem boys to regulate the quality and quantity of their diet according to the Hindu dietary customs obtaining in Ahmedabad. We wish the Bombay Government may yet see the absurdity of its present attitude and reconsider the matter.

A few months ago a crusade was started by the *Tribune* and the *Punjabis* of Lahore against what they styled "Urdu-Speaking Councillors" in the Panjab Legislative Council, with a decided dash of spitefulness behind it. It was not long before other stalwart "warriors" from various parts of the country joined the crusaders of the Panjab; and ever since then the section of the Press they patronise has been ringing with the din and clamour of their familiar war-cries. It is one of the most interesting features of the "Nationalist" journalism that its judgments in regard to all facts and events which do not smack of the spirit of the orthodox Swaraj, are, with a remarkable cleverness, tuned to a single note. The "Nationalist" organs in the country are always disconcertingly and almost suspiciously unanimous when, for instance, any subject or scheme which may have aroused Moslem sympathies, is to be pelted with mud. It is difficult to recall a single occasion on which any organised Moslem effort designed for the good of the community may have met with the "Nationalist" sympathy or even neighbourly good will and tolerance. The usual method adopted in all such cases is to damn the whole affair with faint praise. As to a Moslem grievance, it is, of course, treated with studied silence, for it cannot be worthy of any public discussion unless it is "Indian National." It is worth while studying these methods in detail, even though it be for no other reason than that of learning an art for the art's sake. We are perfectly sure it would be infinitely interesting to a lay mind to understand how some garrulous old wag of a paper routes out a most innocent-looking detail of a useful measure, turns it inside out, develops a frown and a sneer, insinuates some paltry motive into its purpose and sends it forth, labelled with some tremendous phrase, to go the round of the "Nationalist" Press. The subsequent career of that harmless detail is full of thrilling adventure. It traverses the whole country from Cape Comorin to Kashmir. It has to step on from quotation to quotation on a light fantastic toe till it completes the cycle of its erratic destiny. At last it reaches its starting-place where it is solemnly buried with a sermon. The Hon. Mr. Bhurguri's Bill for the Education Cess has only just undergone its funeral ceremonies. The Moslem protests against Mr. Montagu's speech are being breathlessly bounded to their doom. "The Urdu-speaking Councillors" were laid on the funeral pyre only last week when the *Punjabis* gave them the quietus by quoting itself from the *Bengalee*. It is difficult to estimate how many facts, measures, and movements of "non-Nationalist" origin are annually done to death by quotation. The campaign against "the Urdu-speaking Councillors" has two distinct motives behind it. In the first place, Urdu is in itself a thing very exasperating to the "Nationalist" temper. The matters are aggravated still further when it is spoken by a Musselman Councillor, even though he has been returned by a "mixed electorate." We are sorry we have to say this in plain words, for the furious attacks that have been made on some of the most respectable members of the Panjab Council cannot be explained on any rational hypothesis. We hope the *Punjabis* will be the last to maintain that a knowledge of English connotes in all cases a capacity for sound and clear thinking. Under the existing procedure of the Councils ignorance of English is admittedly a handicap. But then, we should not forget that there are several Legislative Councillors in the country who, with all their pretentious knowledge of English, need a systematic schooling in the elements of Logic. If the "Dedication of Figures and Tables" and

the "Specimens of English Eloquence" could alone furnish the necessary equipment for Indian political life, we would have plenty of embryo statesmen fit to run a vaster Empire than ours. It is a queer commentary on the quality of education imparted through the medium of a foreign language that culture, sanity, balance and breadth of outlook have ceased to have any meaning apart from the loud and emphatic phrases of men of imperfect mental training confused by a doubtful knowledge of English.

It was in a thoughtless moment that Mr. Montagu indulged in his passion for uncompromising phrase and round-Race or Religion. period at the expense of the Indian Mussalmans. The serious protests that his reference to Moslem "homogeneity" have evoked in every part of the country serve to show how necessary it is for a responsible politician directly concerned with the governance of India to see that his ideas do not run away with his tongue. What may have been a merely harmless exercise in self-expression on the part of a literary dilettante has proved very unfortunate in its effects and has caused needless pain and irritation. We hope Mr. Montagu, who had expressed unimpeachably sound views on the character of Islam on an earlier occasion, will himself be the first to withdraw what he was led to say recently. It is rather amusing to think in this connection that some organs of pan-Hinduism have hailed the remarks of Mr. Montagu with extreme gratification. They are now solemnly engaged in the task of destroying Moslem unity by the simple and easy method of denying its existence. Recently the *Leader* of Allahabad quotes, "a correspondent" who is wroth with the "Moslem leaders" on account of their strongly protesting against the implications contained in Mr. Montagu's speech and loudly sneers at them for their "vain and hollow pretensions." "A correspondent" fortifies his conscience and judgment by quoting a peculiarly spleenetic attack on the Mussalmans recently made by the *Madras Times*. We are familiar enough with spiteful manifestations of this kind. They are manifestly intended to wound, but we are sure, they only amuse the Mussalmans. There is, however, one aspect of this scandalous game of malice which calls for serious attention. It is absolutely useless to expect a rapid growth of good will and understanding between the two communities as long as a certain type of papers exist to sow seeds of mischief. What we are rather anxiously concerned about is the future of the younger generations of the Hindus who are being trained on this sorry stuff. Let us look at the matter closely. Islam is not a congress but a creed, not based on accidents of geography, colour or political expediency, but on the immutable verities of human nature. It has bound together its votaries with a tie stronger than any yet fashioned by colour or race or even common political history. To ignore it is to make light of the forces that religion has brought to bear on the men for moulding them into united social groups. The Indian Mussalmans may not be the descendants of a single tribe, but they have been brought up in the atmosphere of a common culture, and common ideals and common purposes of life. The religious affinities that bind them into a homogeneous whole are stronger than those of ethnology. The Hindus have themselves tacitly borne witness to the unifying power that a common religion confers, by claiming 'the untouchables' as Hindus. That the "untouchables" have not been effectively hinduised and, therefore, are actually out of touch with Hindu aspirations, is outside the scope of our argument. What we want to make clear is that the efforts of a section of the Hindu Press to show as if there existed no solidarity amongst the Mussalmans is mischievous. What the character of the men will be who start with such ridiculous notions about a community with whom they will have to deal for the purposes of common political existence, is a matter of speculation. We should think those who are guiding Hindu opinion were alive to the fearful anomalies that render the Hindu society so gigantic a muddle, and would turn their attention to making it elastic in every part instead of indulging in mad and senseless onslaughts on the Mussalmans and their "homogeneity."

The Comrade.

"A Mockery of British Justice."

FORTUNATELY it is seldom that we come across instances in which a grievous and flagrant miscarriage of justice may be said to have taken place in this country. Scrupulous care and impartiality with which on the whole the law is administered in British India, constitute the real bulwark of the peace of the country and the security of the British rule. England's record of achievements in this country is both varied and great. None can see without a certain feeling of hope and elation the rapidly shifting scenes of modern Indian history, the expansion of intellectual horizons, the vitalising movements of thought, the growth of the ideals of political unity and social reconstruction, the wholesome stress and toil of effort. All this intellectual and moral energy is due to the impulse that has been communicated to an inert society by a culture of new and vigorous type. The representatives of this culture may well be proud of having initiated a process of such magnitude and scope. The real glory of England, however, is not that she has planted the seeds of fruitful, progressive and liberal ideas in this country, but that she has striven to lay, deep and solid, the foundations of equity in the relations between the society and the State. No one with a full knowledge of the great political systems that have perished in the gulf of Time, can for a moment imagine that a perfect harmony of such relations is within the scope of human achievement. Still, however, the conception of the law as something impersonal, as the expression of the social conscience and absolutely free from the grip of the forces commonly known as "Privilege" is essentially modern; and this conception has materially helped in the shaping of the principles that have been applied to the governance of this country. The magnificent system of law that has been laboriously reared for the administration of even-handed justice between man and man is, in the last resort, the only strength and the final vindication of the British rule. The number of Englishmen who fail to realise this and pride about Efficiency and Prestige, as though they summed up a new and better formula of statecraft, is unfortunately growing. We wonder if they have ever tried to inquire into the nature of the nostrums they prescribe. Their highest ambition is that the machine should work smoothly, and they recommend, however unconsciously, the application of brute force in settling grave moral and social issues. In short, they insist on Expediency, which they conceive to be something different from justice, as the final test and justification of the policy of a State. It is, however, a very dangerous doctrine that they preach. It strikes at the root of the principles that have won for the British Empire in the East its only sanction—the acquiescence of the governed. Take away the sense of security that is based on the implicit belief of millions in the good faith and sense of justice of their rulers and the Empire will crumble like a house of cards. It is because the people of India believe that they live under just laws and that those laws, in spite of their proverbial delays and the cumbrous and expensive procedure of the Courts that dispense them, can be freely invoked, that the loyalty of India is such a constant, active and spontaneous element in her relations with England. It is the most vital duty of British statesmanship to keep this belief unimpaired. It needs no special gift of political insight to perceive that with this belief is bound up the existence of the British rule.

As we have already said, cases of flagrant and deliberate perversion of justice are happily of rare occurrence. The Executive and Judicial services of the country are, on the whole, composed of men of great integrity, who are mainly actuated by a high sense of public duty. Any lapses from the high standard of rectitude that is so carefully maintained not only dishonour the individuals but also tend to discredit the great Service to which they belong. It is, therefore, the most obvious and imperative duty of the Govern-

ment to visit the offenders with swift and salutary punishment. Neither the Government nor the people can view with equanimity a state of things that might tolerate the existence of dishonest and unscrupulous officials or leave a patent wrong unrighted. The only prestige that should be guarded with jealous care is the prestige of British Justice. We have been led into these general considerations at length, because we have read the report of a case of a peculiarly atrocious character from Burma, in which the guardians of the law themselves are alleged to have conspired to defeat the ends of justice. The facts of the case have been published by the *Burma Critic* in its issue of the 28th April 1912. The Editor, Mr. Arnold, the son of the late Sir Edwin Arnold, seems to have collected the facts with marvellous patience, industry and devotion to the cause of right. He boldly vouches for their truth and we have no reason to doubt his transparent disinterestedness and his veracity. Before making any comments of our own, we will briefly recapitulate the ghastly tale of woe and wrong as disclosed by the *Burma Critic*.

In the month of April 1911, a Muhammadan Malayan couple, Malassa and his wife Fatima, resident in Kampong Tengah, Victoria Point, Tenasserim, sent their daughter Aniah to stay with one Ma Sone, a neighbour. According to her mother the age of the girl was under ten and according to medical evidence, which was based on a subsequent examination, the child was much below the age of puberty. Within a mile or two of her parents' house lived a planter, a certain Captain MacCormick. What type of man this planter is has been fully described by the *Burma Critic*. Says our contemporary — "MacCormick is just the type of man that any country—especially an Oriental one—is better without. An overbearing, violent-tempered man, intemperate in his habits, a loose liver, a boastful bully who has assaulted even Europeans, has thrashed the natives, has gone about armed with revolver and, in short, has terrorised the neighbourhood." It would be well to remember that he "has been for a long time an intimate and apparently valued friend of Mr. G. P. Andrew, I.C.S., Officiating Deputy Commissioner at Mergui." The girl Aniah appears to have attracted the attention of MacCormick. He had spoken of her as a "beauty" and had made some efforts to get her, child as she was. The woman Ma Sone, with whom Aniah was sent to live by her parents, was the mistress of a Mr. Clarke, then Assistant to MacCormick, and she was then living in Clarke's house. One evening soon after the girl's arrival, MacCormick called at Clarke's. He found the child playing with another child in the compound. He forthwith lifted her up in his arms and carried her away to his house. Here we must quote our contemporary to bring into clear relief the hideousness of the outrage of which the "boastful bully" became subsequently guilty. "Now, there is not a shadow of doubt," says the *Burma Critic*, "that MacCormick abducted the child and that he did so, as we allege, for the purpose of subsequently raping her, as he did a few days later according to the child's sworn statement, which was not shaken by five hours of cross-examination before the D. S. P. later on; which evidence is corroborated by the mother's testimony and the radical examination of two Doctors. But leaving aside the charge of rape for the moment, what is the accused's explanation of his taking possession of the child? It is the most amazing and incredible explanation conceivable. We are sorry to be obliged to write plainly, but the facts cannot be boggled. MacCormick asserts that the child was suffering from gonorrhœa, and that her mother had made her prostitute herself to coolies, and that, discovering her condition, he took pity on her, and undertook her treatment for the ailment he declares she had contracted. In refutation of this monstrous excuse we have not only the mother's testimony as to the virginity of the child when she left home. This might be discounted. We have medical evidence which it is quite impossible to print proving that Aniah could not have been living as a prostitute. It was a physical impossibility. That is final."

The facts of the case, then, are that MacCormick took possession of the child about the middle of April 1911, that for about three months he not only kept her in his house, but refused access to her parents, that he drove them or their messengers, or had them driven away, from his house with violence. A few weeks after the abduction the father of Aniah fell ill. He sent his brother and sister-in-law to bring the girl. MacCormick drove them back. When it was recognised that Malassa, the father, was really dying another attempt was made. He wanted to see his daughter before his death. Again, access to the child was not allowed and the father died without seeing her. "She was not allowed to go even to his funeral." "Now what could this mean?" asks our contemporary, "what could this mean but one thing? It must mean that McCormick, having criminally assaulted the child, dared not allow her out of his custody, at any rate till the worst of the physical effects of his crime had been remedied. Aniah's statement bears this out. She declares that she was medically treated by Ma Pe Yui for her injuries during the whole period of her detention."

By the beginning of July the matter of abduction and detention of Aniah had become the subject of comment in the neighbourhood. After the death of the father about the middle of June, the mother tried to lay the information before the local authorities. Her movements were being watched by MacCormick's spies, but she finally managed to reach the S. D. Magistrate's office by travelling by night hidden in the bottom of a boat. On the 1st July she swore her information before the Magistrate, stating the facts of the abduction. She also stated that she had tried to see the Deputy Commissioner who was then staying at MacCormick's house, but had been driven away. The Magistrate, who had, we understand, written a long letter to Mr. Andrew on the 3rd July detailing the reports that were reaching him, handed the proceedings over to the Sub Inspector of Police for inquiry. The inquiry was next day taken up by Mr. Sherar, the Inspector of Police, who went to MacCormick's house to bring the child away. "On his return with the child he reported to the Magistrate that the accused had shouted at the witnesses while he (Sherar) was making his inquiry to make them give evidence so please him." The mother was sent for, who at once asked for the medical examination of the child. "This was done at once; the Sub-Assistant Surgeon reporting that the child had been outraged and there were certain signs of hurt." Two days later the girl came with her mother and made a sworn statement charging MacCormick with abduction and rape.

No warrant was as yet issued for the arrest of the accused. On the 18th July, Lieutenant Andrew McLean Finnie, I.A., the D.S.P., arrived at Victoria Point and took over the papers and the conduct of the case as head of the Police. The S. D. Magistrate saw the D. S. P. on his arrival and handed him a letter saying that MacCormick, in his opinion, should be arrested. Mr. Finnie saw the Magistrate again in the afternoon and said "that it was a 'foul' case, that he was going to take the two charges, abduction and rape, together; that it was hard to prove rape after three months; that he would devote all his attention to the 'rape' part of the case and that, if there were not evidence enough on that point he would throw out both cases." As regards the "fuminess" of the case, we cannot do better than quote the *Burma Critic*. Says our contemporary:

"A funny case!" Does Mr. Finnie, an officer holding the King's Commission, and presumably what is called a gentleman, really think it 'funny' that any man should abduct and criminally assault a child of ten and deny to her dying father sight of her, to keep secret the physical proof of his crime? Does he think it his duty as a representative of the Empire to strive from the first, as it subsequently clear he did, to hush the enquiry into the accused's guilt; to only allow him to escape but to help him to escape? Is that Mr. Finnie's conception of his duty to the King and the Empire? What about the honour of England's flag abroad? Is that the way old-time officials used to act when it is his honour to preside over the Queen's law? All

sun? We venture to think that he will discover very shortly that His Majesty's Secretary of State for India and Lord Haldane and the Army Council do not share his view of the funniness of this disgraceful travesty of British justice.

It would seem that Mr. Finnie from the time he took up the case did all he could to burk and quash the charges. The S. D. Magistrate issued the warrant on the charge of abduction on the 19th July. The D. S. P. went so far as to try to intimidate the Magistrate into withdrawing it. Failing this, he wired to Mr. Andrew, the Deputy Commissioner in Mergui, for instructions. "On the 20th the accused was admitted to bail on a non-bailable charge by the orders of the Deputy Commissioner." During the Police inquiry the D. S. P. and Mr. Andrew were exchanging cipher telegrams; and it is worth noting that the D. S. P. refused to let the S. D. Magistrate see the papers until the latter insisted on seeing them. "On or about the 23rd July the D. S. P. went out on tour taking the papers with him, and they appear to have been entirely re-written. Mr. Finnie's finding was that (1) no criminal offence had been committed with regard to the first charge under 363, I. P. C., and (2) that the charge of rape was false."

Now we come to the inquiry that was made into the case by the Deputy Commissioner. It has already been hinted at above that intimate relations existed between Mr. Andrew and the accused. Mr. Andrew stayed at MacCormick's house during his visits to Victoria Point. He was, it is stated, staying with his friend shortly after the alleged rape. As the *Burma Critic* says, it is difficult to believe that he did not see the child or know of her detention by his friend. At all events, his allowing bail to be granted in a non-bailable offence and his telegrams to Mr. Finnie go to show that he was anxious that his friend should be saved. About three weeks passed before the case was to come up for hearing. Meanwhile the complainants, convinced that the hearing would be unfair, sent a lengthy petition to the Commissioner praying that the case should be transferred to Rangoon. The petition was sent under a registered cover and consequently it may be presumed that it safely reached the Commissioner. He, however, seems to have consigned it to the waste paper basket. About the same time two long telegrams were sent to the Lieutenant-Governor with the same object. In addition to the complainants there are four witnesses in whose presence the telegrams were sent. "We have been officially informed," says the *Burma Critic*, "that no such appeals reached His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. As they were sent, the natural query is, who stopped them and where were they stopped? That is a grave question which will have to be answered sooner or later." As regards the character of the inquiry and the manner in which it was conducted, we read:—

The facts before us indicate that he (the Deputy Commissioner) conspired with Mr. Finnie to burk the case; that he conducted it in camera; that he refused to hear the protest of the complainants that the interpreter employed was a paid parasite of MacCormick and did in fact deliberately mistranslate; that of the witnesses for the prosecution only those called by the D. S. P. and not even all of them, were allowed to give evidence; that in a word the whole enquiry was an outrageous make-believe and a mockery of what he is nominally representative, the "fairplay and judicial honour associated with the name of England."

At this "judicial farce" the poor and helpless complainants were absolutely unrepresented by any lawyer. It appears that they were in communication with some lawyer in Rangoon when they learnt through a telegram that the Government would entertain a lawyer on their behalf. And just a day before they were about to start for Mergui, they were informed through another telegram that "Government would not entertain a lawyer." Mr. Andrew afterwards explained that "the Commissioner had refused to grant more than Rs. 100, and no lawyer would take up the case for that." Why was this solemn promise to allow legal advice made in the name of Government? Was not the question of costs left out of consideration when the promise was

telegraphed? Could any expense be too heavy to satisfy the ends of justice? Seeing that the hapless victims of the alleged outrage had no time to make arrangements for securing legal advice, even if they possessed the means, we are constrained to think the whole proceeding wears a gruesome aspect in regard to the impartiality of the officer in charge of the case. The *Burma Critic* thinks it looks like the meanest of tricks. "If a trick," says our contemporary, "—and it looks uncommonly like it—what a mean, cowardly ruse! What a contemptible manoeuvre to balk the poor and friendless subjects of the King."

Mr. Andrew began his inquiry on the 21st August and concluded it on the 22nd. The accused was discharged. A Muhammadan advocate of Rangoon sent a petition in the rape case to the Lieutenant-Governor, on which an order was passed on the 27th October to the effect that His Honour had "satisfied himself that there is no truth in the allegations made in the petition and declines to take further action in the matter."

These are in bare outline the facts of the case as stated by the *Burma Critic*. Without these facts before us, we could have hardly thought such "a mockery of British Justice" to be possible in British India. Facts are, however, more gruesome and ghastly in their realism than any chapter of horrors in a work of realistic fiction. We need make no comment of ours on the horrible outrage of which a child of ten years is said to have been the victim. The facts are telling enough. MacCormick is the type of a "bully" with whom any civilised race of men would be ashamed to own a kinship. That he should have been protected and saved, as is alleged, by friends clothed with official authority renders the miscarriage of justice a crime the enormity of which it is difficult to estimate in sober language. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, as the *Burma Critic* says, has been hoodwinked in this matter. But should the matter be allowed to rest here? In the interest of justice and good government, clearly not. We earnestly hope some non-official member of the Imperial Legislative Council will draw the attention of the Government of India to this scandalous case. It stands in need of a searching and exhaustive inquiry. We equally trust the Government will not withhold its sanction to a public inquiry into the conduct of the officials who are alleged to have been guilty of a conspiracy against a poor, hapless woman and her outraged child in order to save their common friend from the consequences of his guilt. We can not see how the Government can refuse this demand without appearing to trifle with the momentous issues, such as, the impartial administration of justice, the honesty and rectitude of responsible public servants and the protection of the honour and freedom of poor Indian subjects of the King.

We cannot close this repellent story of crime and iniquity, as told by the *Burma Critic*, without referring to the lewd flippancy with which the subject has been treated by another Anglo-Indian paper, the *Bassett News*. It sets out to whitewash MacCormick and his official friends, though it admits that "the records of the case are not before us" and, therefore, it does not know whether "MacCormick admitted carrying off the girl." But whether the girl was carried off or not, the whole conception is full of romantic possibilities, and this chronicler of MacCormickian adventures bursts forth into a fine melody of feeling:—

"A languorous daughter of Ind This wild Irishman met a beauteous girl Aniah, with large lustrous liquid brown eyes. The brown eyes made him think of the colleens in his native Irish bog. "Bedad," said he, "you'd be a pretty decoration for my house!" And he lifted her in his arms and carried her a mile or thereabouts to his bungalow. The girl evidently enjoyed the adventure for when police arrived on the scene she sat on his knee and said she was very happy. . . ."

The police, it may be noted, arrived about three months after "the adventure" began. The rhapsody about the "eyes," "the Irishman" and "the Irish bog" is of a piece with the rest of the picture. "A languorous daughter of Ind!" Whether she could be a pretty picture for the house of "the Irishman" or not, she was, as we

are told, a helpless victim to his lust. The levity of the *Bassein News* is only another facet of the same pose, the pose that the low type of the European adopts in his dealings with men who differ from him in the colour of their skins. It is the pose of men who lynch negroes in America and Africa or burn them alive. Perhaps the *Bassein News* has yet to learn that the Indians do not lack the sort of artistic sense that is roused to beautious perceptions by visualising the things seen, and that they certainly understand the theory and uses of all decorative Arts, whether ancient or modern. But they have not yet divorced their Art from a moral purpose.

The Moslem University.

A very remarkable communication was published in the *Institute Gazette* of the 22nd May which was bound to provide food for serious thought for every thinking Mussalman interested in the movement for a Muhammadan University. It was a letter of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur, the Honorary Secretary of the Aligarh College, whose great perseverance in the face of physical and mental ailments must have touched the hearts of all Mussalmans and shamed not a few of the younger men who possess every qualification for communal work except the desire to do it. We were startled by the shocking news that, owing to excessive physical and mental work even during the illness which necessitated his partial withdrawal from the work of the Honorary Secretary's office, his left wrist and the fingers of his left hand were paralysed and perceptible weakness was felt both physically and mentally. We were, however, relieved, far beyond anything that can be said, by the telegram we had received from the Nawab Sahib in reply to our enquiries in which he stated that he was much better and that there was no danger now. Who would not admire the courage and unselfish devotion to work of the community of an old man of 73 who kept the shocking news of the attack away from the papers for more than a week and only incidentally referred to it when he had considerably improved. The news that he bids goodbye to the important task of discussing and deliberating upon the constitution of the Moslem University and its recently drafted regulations will be received with speechless sorrow throughout the community, for the hearts of the Mussalmans will be as sad at this farewell as that of the Nawab Sahib clearly appears to be, in spite of the great self-control which is evident from the language of his published letter. We trust the Nawab Sahib has many years of mellow wisdom and sage counsel for his community before him, but knowing the gloomier possibilities we agree with the Nawab Sahib in believing that, after his recent ailment, it was his evident duty to speak out plainly about a matter the importance of which to the present and the future of 70 million people cannot be exaggerated. He was compelled to thrust aside all mere conventions, and although we have no doubt that some of his remarks must have caused pain to some people, we trust they realized that the mood in which the Nawab Sahib's letter was written was not one in which considerations for the feeling of individuals, however able and well meaning, could override the much greater necessity of considering the good of a whole people.

The Nawab believes that those who have had the drafting of the constitution and the regulations have hitherto paid greater regard to the interests of the teaching staff than those of the community, and while he praised their experience, ability and industry and expressed his gratitude to them on behalf of the community, he was compelled to say that the procedure adopted by the members of the Constitution Committee of allowing defects in the Constitution to remain in the earlier drafts in the hope that they would be removed later on in the course of discussion in the interests of the community, has not been an unmixed blessing. The constitution of the University has now been fairly well discussed, and we trust that in the form in which it was submitted to the Government at Simla it would work satisfactorily to the community and to the Government. But the regulations which have been submitted to the members of the Committee are, in the opinion of the Nawab Sahib, full of such defects and we entirely agree with him in this estimate of the draft. The

Nawab Sahib has not attacked the motives of any member of the Committee nor do we feel called upon to do so. But there are prejudices which are unconscious just as there are prejudices which are conscious, and the former seem to have strongly biased those who have been responsible for drafting the constitution and the regulations.

A very able and enthusiastic educationist remarked about our constitution that it was exceedingly elaborate. But it was explained to him that checks and balances are most necessary in a case like this when a community like the Mussalmans rejects the system of education provided for by the Government and, foregoing much of its contribution to the revenues of the State employed for education, provides a very large fund for a University of its own in which, although it is the Mussalmans that are to be educated and in a way that would be essentially Islamic, much of the teaching and the direct management would for long have to be in the hands of non-Mussalmans and non-Indians. It is true that in Europe and America it is the teaching staff that has the larger share in the management and control of Universities. But in Europe and America the teaching staff is of the same religion and same nation as the scholars of the University and the people are under a Government composed entirely of men of their own nationality. Here in India the conditions are totally different, and if non Moslem Europeans ought to have the same share in the management of a Moslem University we see no reason why a poor community like the Mussalmans should tax itself doubly, and while foregoing the educational facilities provided by the State out of funds to which Mussalmans have also contributed, should found a University of its own with a capital of more than a crore to begin with for the education of no more than a thousand students.

The Constitution Committee met at Lucknow at the invitation of the Honourable the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, and threshed out the principles and the details of the Regulations on the three days, the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of June, working about eight hours daily. For this time of the year a surprisingly large number of members had responded to the invitation of the President and members were present from far-off Bombay and Calcutta, Peshawar, and Nagpur. We are not at liberty to say very much about the meetings before the Regulations are published for the criticism of the Community, but this much can be said that changes have been made therein which will entirely satisfy Nawab Viqar-ul Mulk and those who think with him. We may also add that those responsible for drafting them did not persist in retaining what appeared to the Nawab Sahib as defects, inasmuch as they tended to make the teaching staff of the University irresponsible to the representatives of the Community and independent of their control. We reserve criticism of some Regulations relating to residential discipline; but we may frankly confess that some of our misgivings in that connection are not shared by the majority of the Constitution Committee.

Apart from the relations of the teaching staff and the representatives of the Community, the one contentious and, to our mind, far the most important matter was the general scheme of studies and examinations, and we hope we betray no confidence in anticipating the publication of the Regulations by giving the outline of the general plan of studies adopted by the Committee. For two years after matriculation the teaching in the Moslem University will not differ much from that in vogue at present in Indian Universities, namely, instruction in a variety of subjects in a class room, which in England is confined only to schools. At the end of these two years there would be an examination, very much like the present Intermediate, but intended to be about 25 per cent. stiffer than a similar examination in existing Universities. After that there would be a bifurcation unknown in India but quite familiar to students of Oxford and Cambridge. Those desiring to require information on a fairly large number of subjects will study for another two years for the Ordinary Degree in which candidates would take four subjects, one of which shall be English Language, and another English Literature or an Oriental and Classical or a Modern European Language. Those desiring to make researches or

wishing to acquire elementary knowledge of the methods of research; and generally those who wish to know a few cognate subjects well rather than a little of several subjects, would study for the Honours Degree in one of several Schools, like English Literature, History, Philosophy or Mathematics. This course would be midway between the Indian and the Oxford or Cambridge B.A., and something like the Indian M.A. What would distinguish it from the Indian plan of study would be the system of lecturing which would be on the model of the English Universities and not that of English Public Schools which is followed in Indian Universities. There would be University lectures dictated by University Professors and Lecturers, supplemented by the individual guidance and supervision of College Tutors teaching individual undergraduates or small batches of undergraduates one or two hours a week. A model course of studies in the School of History was drawn up at the suggestion of the Committee by a Sub Committee of Oxford and Cambridge graduates attending the meeting. The suggestions of the Sub-Committee were unanimously adopted by the Constitution Committee, and it is hoped that no amount of specious reasoning about increased expenditure would induce the Committee hereafter to go back upon its unanimous resolution, that if the Muhammadan University is to be an improvement upon existing Indian Universities, it should provide a better system of instruction and a higher course of studies than has yet been attempted in India. It is only by keeping a margin of at least 25 per cent between its own Degrees and those of Government Universities, rather than by slavishly following the standards of the latter that the Moslem University would best ward off the charge that it is being established in order to manufacture cheaper and more numerous B.A.'s.

We congratulate the Committee on the result of its labours, and we hope the Regulations as modified at Lucknow would be published not later than a fortnight so that the community may have the amplest opportunity of judging them before they are presented to the Government as the necessary accompaniments of the Acts and the Statutes. It is needless to say that the hospitality of the Hon. Raja Sir Ali Muhammad Khan, K.C.S.I., who entertained all the members of the Committee as his guests during their stay at Lucknow, was lavish in the extreme. But no less gratitude can be expressed to him for the sagacious and kind manner in which he presided throughout the long discussions, allowing full freedom to all to explain their varying points of view and putting in a word of suggestion himself only when it was necessary to drive the discussion into a more fruitful channel. The discussion was animated throughout, but no effort was made to make long and mostly irrelevant speeches, and as each member could speak more than once, if necessary, different points of criticism were caught up and replied to then and there. It is only in this way that a draft comprising 57 chapters and covering 70 pages could be thoroughly dealt with by a Committee of which some 30 members attended the meetings. But if credit is due to the Committee and its President, no less is due to its Secretary whose exertions during the past few months could not but have been great. It is a pleasure to know that he was relieved of much mechanical labour by some undergraduates of the College, and we think he could have received assistance from willing workers among his own Indian colleagues at Aligarh whose association would have been alike beneficial to him, to them, and to the Moslem community.

All that now remains to be done is to collect what little is yet required to make up, in cash or capitalized value of annual grants, the minimum of 35 lakhs, and to have the University Bill introduced in the Simla session. We trust the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler would now hand over the draft Constitution to the Legislative Department for drafting the Moslem University Bill, so that when other things are ready time may not be wasted in the necessary but mechanical processes of drafting. We can find no excuse for such *létamejans* as understand these things and have yet withheld performance after the promise of a donation. But all do not understand, and an impression, which is as *intrepidous* as it is unfortunate,

prevails that the Government is delaying the establishment of the promised University. We trust an authoritative pronouncement declaring that the Constitution drafted by the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad's Committee is acceptable to Government and a Bill framed on those lines will be introduced in the Simla session if the necessary funds are there, would dispel all harmful rumours and put fresh heart into the community. This is not too much to ask; but we cannot say that even this would have been necessary if the workers had displayed the energy and the donors had matched with performance the promise of the first few months of last year.

من از ملک که مرگ کرد نالم
که بر من آنچه کرده آشنا کرد
(I bewail not of the oppression of others, for all that was done to me came from that friend himself.)

Persia.

News of the Week.

A telegram from Teheran received in St Petersburg says, that the Government troops have occupied Kermanshah. No fighting took place. Salar-Ed-Dauleh fled to an unknown destination.

Official Turkish advices explain the conflict on the Turk-Persian frontier reported on the 30th May in the following manner:—The Turkish detachment was sent against the brigands who were raiding Turkish territory. It is possible that the detachment in the heat of conflict entered Persian territory, but, in any case, the detachment will be recalled and there is no intention to occupy Kotour.

Reuter wires from Vienna.—Count Hugo Logothetti has been appointed Minister to Persia.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "STANDARD.")

M. Raadre, formerly French Minister at Copenhagen and afterwards Ambassador to Italy and Japan, has been selected as president of the Société d'Etudes for the proposed Transpersian Railway. In addition to Sir William Garstin, the British vice-president (states Reuter's Agency), there will be a Russian vice-president, who has not yet been nominated.

The French banks participating are the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas, the Crédit Lyonnais, the Société Générale, the Comptoir National, the Banque de l'Union Parisienne and Count d'Arnaux representing a group of financiers.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT)

Teheran, May 12.

Although the situation at Kerman is still unsettled, the Consul apprehends no danger whatever to British subjects.

Discord is said to prevail among Yegrem's Armenian followers, as the Dashnaksoian Society withdraws all support from the Government since the dissolution of the Mejliss. The elections do not appear to approach appreciably nearer. The Regent has postponed departure till May 28th, but still seems determined to go.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

Lord Lamington, who stayed at Teheran from Monday to Friday of last week and was extensively entertained by the Persian Government, was to leave Enzeli yesterday evening for Europe.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, May 16.

Amir Asam, Governor of Kerman, being unable to control the situation, has taken *bast* in the British Consulate.

Owing to the Afghan incursion near Yazdun there is a possibility that a British arbitrator will be, according to precedent, nominated to make an award regarding the frontier, which in this neighbourhood is still undetermined.

Saturday's *Ajtab* will publish an official *communiqué* declaring that the delay in the proclamation of elections is due to the desire of the Government that the elections shall take place in "full security." Nevertheless, the Government stands by the Constitution and exists only as a "National" Government. The Government desires liberty for the Press, but cannot permit "shocking" political articles.

The first announcement appears to relegate the elections to the neighbourhood of the Greek Kalends; the second happily expresses the attitude of the censor in all countries.

MOROCCO.

News of the Week.

London, May 30.

General Lyautey has sent a despatch in which he states that hundreds of Berbers on the evening of the 28th May entered Fez to the east, but receiving no support from those in the town retired at midnight. The French troops at dawn attacked the enemy. Reinforcements are expected from Nequinez. The Sultan is endeavouring to help General Lyautey in the measures to establish order and divide the tribes.

It appears that the French lost heavily in the attack by the Berbers on the town of Fez on the night of the 25th May. A telegram which the wireless station at Fez refused was brought to Tangier by a cruiser. It says that the French lost 42 killed and 75 wounded.

London, May 31.

Reuter wires from Paris.—The newspapers agree that the situation at Fez is grave. The Fez correspondent of the *Matin* telegraphs that the danger is growing daily and that at least ten additional battalions will be required before the French can master the situation. Holy war is being preached everywhere and the unrest is general.

General Lyautey reports that a column left Fez at dawn on the 1st instant to attack a very large body of the enemy in the hills, six miles to the north-east of Fez. They bombarded the enemy's position, the enemy fleeing in a mob to the mountains, leaving many dead. The French losses were nine killed and twenty-eight wounded.

The English Non-Commissioned Officer, Redman, Instructor to the Sultan's troops, was killed while gallantly leading the attack. A special funeral service was held for Redman at Fez. General Bonillaud said he deeply regretted Redman's loss. He eulogised his courage and said he was loved by his superiors and his comrades alike. His death in the French ranks was a fresh bond in the Anglo-French Union. General Lyautey declared that Redman died nobly in a noble cause. The British Consul expressed his thanks and his appreciation of the speech.

General Lyautey owing to the friendliness of the inhabitants of Fez has remitted the war contribution levied on the town. The action has caused intense satisfaction.

It is reported that the Franco-Spanish Agreement on the subject of Morocco is on the point of settlement. The news is greeted with much satisfaction.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "MORNING POST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Tangier, May 9.

All the best informed people here seem to realise the seriousness of the trouble which is impending. With the hearty goodwill of their Kais the great southern tribes have unanimously resolved to pay no tribute to the Shereefian Treasury under foreign dictation. The Sultan being absolutely powerless to collect taxes, this will inevitably mean that he will need the assistance of French troops on a very large scale to bring Marrakesh and the Sub Provinces into line.

(FROM THE "DAILY NEWS" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, May 10.

Reports from Fez state that the *harkas* which scattered before the advance of Lieutenant-Colonel Giraudon's column towards the east has again collected and appears to be meditating an attack. The Zaians are reported to have gathered at Ain-el-Orna, half way between Mequinez and Nuk-el-Arba, in the Zemmur country, on the main road to Fez, where they bar the way of the military convoys. A battalion has been sent to reinforce the troops at Mequinez and disperse the rebels.

It appears that the reported pillaging of a firm belonging to a German firm by Shereefian troops under French officers is based upon the fact that some of the Arbaua deserters had taken refuge in the farm and the Shereefian troops were compelled to surround it before they could arrest the mutineers. Among the workmen on the farm who attempted to defend the deserters were a certain number of German *prolets*. The incident has been the subject of conversations between the French and German representatives at Tangier, but no diplomatic protest has been made.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, May 10.

News from French sources in Fez and other centres points to widespread unrest among the the Moroccan tribes, of which the

Zemmur, Zaers and Beni Warain appear to be the most active. The rebel *harka* which was threatening the capital has been driven back by a French force under General Giraudon. The enemy, who numbered about 600, are believed to have suffered heavy loss, but as they were not dispersed it will be necessary to force a fresh engagement.

According to statements attributed to General Lyautey, the French do not propose until the autumn to do more than police the Taurit region, since heat and disease would work havoc among the troops. It is inferred that as the ultimate object of the French is to occupy Taza and to effect a junction between their forces east and west of Fez, the next few months will be passed in preparing the ground by reorganizing the finances and the administration.

In order to bring up to strength the French Military Mission, which has been decimated by the recent massacre at Fez, 12 officers of all arms and one Algerian native officer have been seconded for service with the Shereefian army.

Berlin, May 10.

According to the Berlin *Lokalanzeiger*, the German Ambassador in Paris has, upon the instructions of his Government, raised officially the question of the alleged depredations committed on German farms in Morocco by native police under the command of French officers. The matter was mentioned in your Paris correspondence yesterday.

(FROM THE "MORNING POST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, May 12.

General Lyautey, Resident-General of Morocco reached Mers-el-Kebir yesterday and had a long conference with M. Varnier, the High Commissioner on the Algerian frontier, and General Alix, commanding the frontier troops. He left last night for Tangier.

A Fez telegram, dated 9th May states that the *harka* of the Innauen tribes reformed after the return of the Giraudon column to Fez. The tribes to the north of the capital, notably the Sheraga, appeared to be calming down. It is announced from Casablanca that General Dalbier is preparing to start with five battalions in order to disperse a *harka* of the Zammur which has gathered under the command of Haka Hamou, a well-known chieftain of the Zainan.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Madrid, May 14.

Fighting of some severity took place in the Riff yesterday between the Spanish troops and the Moors. The enemy for some days had been observed crossing the Kert, and early yesterday morning were discovered in considerable numbers at Taurit, Hannet and Ulad Ganem and the intervening heights, their apparent intention being to cross the valley of the Maxen and attack the Spanish convoys. The Spanish forces moved out to dislodge them. The fighting lasted all day, the Moors being finally dispersed with losses which are believed to have been heavy. The Spanish losses are returned as one officers and seven men killed and four officers and 60 men wounded.

A glance at the map proves the Moorish enterprise to have been remarkable for several of the positions they occupied are well within the Spanish lines.

Madrid, May 16.

In the course of further operations against the Moors undertaken yesterday by the Spanish troops in the Riff, the chief, El Mizuan, was killed. The death of this fanatic, who although not a military leader, was regarded as the soul of the *harka*, has caused intense satisfaction in Madrid. The Spanish losses are officially returned as two officers and 11 men killed, five officers and 42 men wounded.

Paris, May 16.

General Lyautey, the new Resident-General in Morocco, who has been very cordially received by the population and garrison on his arrival at Casablanca, will leave to-morrow for Rabat, where he will remain till his departure on Sunday for Fez, which he expects to reach on the 24th. He has instructed Colonel Giraudon to join him on Saturday at Rabat in order personally to direct any military operations which may be necessary en route.

(FROM THE "NEWCASTLE DAILY CHRONICLE")

The condition of things in Morocco continues to give rise to considerable anxiety. There is, indeed, a haunting suspicion in Paris that the Government is concealing something. Why, for example, should the Sultan hurry off to Rabat? That the journey would be attended by serious risks is shown by the fact that a powerful military escort, commanded by General Moinier himself, is deemed necessary for Mulay Hafid's protection. This escort, however, would necessarily consist of troops drawn from the garrison at Fez, and it is pointed out that the Moroccan capital in its disturbed state cannot spare a single man loyal to the Sultan and the French. M. Poincaré and the Government are strongly urged to keep M. Regnault at his

post instead of immediately recalling him, and to postpone the journey to Rabat until after the arrival of General Lyautaud, the only person believed to be thoroughly competent to deal with the situation. The apprehension is that by engaging in some false step disastrous consequences might follow to the prestige of the French already somewhat menaced by recent events at Fez

Marching to the Unknown.

BY HARRY DE WINDT.

Colomb-Bechar, S.-W. Algeria, April 30.

THE unrest and dissatisfaction among the Moors, which has just culminated in a general massacre of Europeans in Fez, was not confined to the capital and its surrounding districts. For its effects have been felt not only throughout Morocco, but even here—the most remote French outpost in Algeria, at the terminus of the narrow-gauge railway which connects it with the sea, 500 miles due north, at Oran. Colomb Bechar is but seven years old—a giddy, shadeless little town of the usual Franco-Saharan type, consisting of a strongly-fortified "gare," large barracks, and half a dozen desolate, sun-baked streets adorned with double rows of leafless sticks and called "boulevards." There are few shops, but many "cafés," or rather, "buvettes," where French and native soldiers sit, in the cool of sunset, at little zinc tables, and smoke cigarettes and drink "absinthe," while their officers assemble for dinner at a newly-built but truly pestiferous hotel, which also serves as their mess.

But we are here practically in the Great Sahara Desert. Due south of us a dreary sea of perilous plains and sand dunes stretches away to Timbuctoo, a two months' journey, while only three miles westward the frontier, and south eastern extremity, of Morocco is defined by a range of low rugged hills. A day's march beyond them lies Bou-Denib, another new military post in the protectorate, which only last June was attacked by the Moors, who were only defeated after a long and fierce engagement, in which both sides lost heavily. More than half the French were killed, for they were fighting an immeasurably superior force, while, the telegraph wires having been cut, it was impossible to obtain reinforcements until too late from Colomb-Bechar.

Forty miles west of Bou-Denib is the vast and fertile Taflet province, one of the largest in the country, not only famous for its delicious dates, but for its fanatical and warlike tribes, which successive Sultans of Morocco have, for ages past, vainly tried to bring into submission. No European has ever visited their jealously-guarded stronghold, for no white man could ever return.

It is estimated that the Taflet district alone can put 60,000 fighting men, armed with modern weapons, in the field, and it is from these people, who (the authorities here have ascertained) have been falsely informed that the French have been driven out of Fez, that trouble is now expected, the critical nature of the situation arising from the fact that every town, for the latter half of the distance from here to Oran, is now practically defenceless, nearly all the troops having been sent to the scene of imminent conflict across the frontier. All this has happened within the past week.

Three days ago Colomb-Bechar, in its usual condition of peaceful stagnation, was garrisoned by about 400 men of the Foreign Legion Spahis and Senegalese Tirailleurs. Last night, while we were at dinner, a telegram sent every officer rushing to his quarters to prepare for instant departure, and the place is now guarded solely by a score of black soldiers and their sergeant. And the same thing has occurred at every town down the line halfway to Oran, with the solitary exception of Beni-Ounif thirty miles distant, which is still fully garrisoned, for it is in a mining district, and consequently of commercial importance.

Not are towns north of it, though closely skirting the frontier, likely to be attacked, but it is certainly tempting Providence to leave Colomb-Bechar, the terminus of an important railway, practically at the mercy of thousands of wild and fanatical Moors only sixty miles away, who might at any moment appear on the scene, destroy the line and telegraph, and kill every soul in the place. Every Moroccan town and village along the border is now seething with the spirit of revolt, and an instance of this was shown only last week, when M. Lutaud, the Governor-General of Algeria, arrived here on an official visit, during which one of his escort was murdered and mutilated, in broad daylight, within a mile of the hotel, presumably by some Moorish raider, convinced, like the Taflet people, of the downfall of the French and to show his contempt for their authority.

I witnessed the departure of the troops at daybreak this morning on their first stage to Bou-Denib, and never saw a smarter, tougher-looking lot than those tanned and wiry Legionnaires and Spahis, for this rough desert life makes meat of even weaklings. But, alas! they numbered under four hundred, and the bi-weekly train

here will only land six hundred more to complete the expeditionary force, which will thus, as usual, be pitted against overwhelming hordes of well-armed Moors.

"But what can we do?" said a captain of Spahis, when I ventured to suggest that, under the circumstances, 1,000 men seemed utterly inadequate. "We have no available men in Algeria. Morocco has already drained us and the Tripoli frontier has to be guarded." And I wondered as I watched the little column fade away in the grey dawn whether any of those brave men would ever see their beloved France again, for this, in view of their apparently hopeless task, seems highly improbable.

Disaster appeared a foregone conclusion when I thought of that grim, sullen army of sixty thousand Moors calmly awaiting this mere handful of humanity in their mountainous stronghold, sixty miles away. And strolling homewards to the hotel, I recalled the remark made by a distinguished staff officer whom I recently met at headquarters in Algiers.

"How long," I asked him, "will it take you to pacify the whole of Morocco?"

"The Chaouia province," was the reply, "has taken us nearly two years to subdue, and there are thirty more of the same size and strength, so you yourself can calculate." And I was well able to do so—at Colomb-Bechar.—*The Daily News.*

French Treatment of The Sultan.

The *Dépêche Coloniale*, the organ of the French Colonial group, publishes a highly noteworthy article on the unrest in Morocco, in which it disposes of the current fables concerning the origin of recent events and utters a warning against continuing the former "forward" policy. There is not, it says, a word of truth in the reports about the "neurasthenic" state of Mulay Hafid's health, nor in the stories about his sickly character. "The Europeans who had the opportunity of knowing him at Marrakesh and have met him recently at Fez carried away with them an impression which directly contradicts this rather disparaging description. They found him to be an earnest man, acting with deliberation, and but little inclined to yield to fantastic impulses." It is, in fact, the treatment meted out to Mulay Hafid by the French, as if he were a mere puppet, that has led both to his revolt and to the unrest among the tribes. "For the last twelve months," says the journal, "we have been acting as if there had been no longer any Sultan, as if we could do without him, and we treated him like a shadow. His troops were being organised, his cadis were appointed and dismissed, without his being asked any opinion. No wonder that his authority, which was thus being undermined by our own hands, could no longer prevail against the rebellious elements. No wonder also that he himself should feel but a very doubtful pleasure in exercising his sovereignty, which only subsists in name, and only knows its burdens, moral responsibilities and dangers, and no advantages. In this he has the more ground to complain as the actual position does not at all correspond with the prospects which we showed him when he made common cause with us. In those days we spoke of co-operation, of a union in which we should be, not masters bent upon substituting our authority for his, but leaders and advisers concerned with the preservation of his dignity and careful not to infringe his lawful prerogatives. He has kept his part of the bargain and discharged his obligations, but we have robbed him bit by bit of his authority and his prestige. Is that the sort of co-operation that was promised? Is it to be wondered at that he feels disappointed and tired of his position?"—*Manchester Guardian*

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Through Mohamed Salih Sahib, Bangalore—	
K. K.	2 8 0
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Amount received during the week ...	50 1 0
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TOTAL ...	17,019 12 0

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Signor Giolitti, in an interview with a representative of the *Daily Chronicle*, said he did not think that the war would last much longer. "Unless Turkey submits soon," he said, "Italy will strike harder than she has yet done."

Reuter wired from Rome.—Signor Giolitti has introduced a Bill authorising the Government to create a Ministry of Colonies.

Reuter wired from Athens on 1st instant:—Owing to the determination of the Cretan Deputies to take their seats at the opening of the Chamber to-day, thus disregarding the protests of the Powers and the counsels of the Greek Government, strong cordons of troops with rifles tearfully barred their progress. Thereupon the Cretan Deputies sent a deputation to parley with the Premier. Enormous crowds were present. When the excitement had subsided some troops were withdrawn. The Chamber adjourned till 14th October.

Reuter wired from Berlin on the 2nd June.—The *Deutsche Orientkorrespondens* learns from Constantinople that Turkey has informed Great Britain of her decision of abandoning Kowit as the terminal of the Baghdad Railway and of substituting a place on the Gulf of Khor Abdullah.

Negotiations in London regarding the Baghdad Railway are proceeding satisfactorily. The report published on the 2nd June of the Turkish abandonment of Kowit as terminus is denied.

Reuter wired from Constantinople on the 4th June.—A fire broke out in Stambul at ten o'clock yesterday morning and was still burning at eight last night. The flames swept a lane three-quarters of a mile long from the old Seraglio to the Agasophia Mosque, which escaped with damage. Several other mosques were badly damaged.

Reuter wired from Constantinople.—Over a thousand houses, four mosques and ten schools have been burned in Stambul. 15,000 are homeless and several have perished in the flames. The fire originated in a house which was under construction. A fire occurred in Pera, later, and twenty houses were destroyed. High wind and scarcity of water assisted the conflagrations.

On the occasion of the last Id-ul-Zuha, in December, the Amir in a long speech in Durbar, induced his officials and peoples to collect subscriptions in aid of the Turkish and Arab soldiers in Tripoli, and gave Rs. 20,000 from his private purse. The Amir's appeal appears to have met with a general response in Afghanistan, and subscriptions have been, and are being, collected systematically. From a copy of the *Serajul Akbar*, Kabul, just received in India, it appears that up to the end of April Rs. 1,80,000 (Kabul rupees), equal to £6,000, had been collected.

The Aden correspondent of the *Times of India*, writing on 31st May, states that the Italian blockade of Hodeida, Salif and the adjacent Turkish ports continues, and trade between Aden and these places is still paralysed. According to bazaar gossip an Italian warship has again appeared off Shaikh Said but details are lacking.

Salif was lately bombarded by an Italian cruiser. It lies about 34 miles north of Hodeida and some 200 miles away from Aden immediately opposite the eastern side of the island of Cameron. It has no harbour but is protected in some measure by a tongue of land known as Ras Isa and there is sufficient depth of water to allow ships of all dimensions safe anchorage. Salif has been improved during the past decade or so. A jetty has been constructed there of about 1,000 feet in length, the latter two hundred feet of which is built of iron terminating in a T head and two or three lines of rails have been laid along the jetty communicating with different depots. The importance of Salif is evidently due to the fact that it has large salt works and carries on a very brisk trade in shipping salt to Calcutta and other places in the East.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM A SPECIAL "MORNING POST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Zanzibar, May 10.

On 3rd May an Italian regiment left Bukelemeah with the object of capturing a large caravan coming from the frontier, but was engaged by the Turco-Arabs and compelled, after a fight lasting two hours, to retire to its trenches. The Italians left 31 men dead on the battlefield and the Turco-Arabs had 20 men killed and 20 wounded. The guns of the fleet succeeded in stopping the Turkish pursuit.

On 5th May the Italians attacked the Turkish forces outside Homs, but were obliged to retire with the loss of 23 men, including two officers.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

The *Temps* quotes a passage from the latest proclamation scattered among the Arabs in Tripoli by the Italian aeroplanes, announcing the "conquest" of Lebda and Rhodes. "Arabs!" it says, "why do you continue to stay with the Turks, who are poisoning you with bad food? These nauseous and revolting provisions are the cause of the disease, infections and epidemics from which so many of you are dying. Do you not see that God, who gives kingdom to those whom He loves and takes them away from those whom He dislikes, is on the side of the great Italian power, and helps it by leaving the door of conquest widely open? When will you understand?"

A "high Austrian naval officer" (ex-Admiral Chiari) writes in the Vienna *Zeitung* saying that General Mahmud Shevket Pasha, the Turkish Minister of War, has invited all the military attachés in Constantinople to inspect the damage caused by the Italian bombardment to the forts at the mouth of the Dardanelles. He wants to show that the Italian naval gun practice is very faulty, and that the action of the navy was a complete *hasco*. The number of shells fired was 310, and as each cost £90, the total amount spent in ammunition was nearly £30,000, while the damage caused consisted only in one roof burned and one horse killed. The writer himself is of the opinion that the Italian navy has lost fully 20 per cent in fighting value since the beginning of the war.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonika, May 8.

The activity of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee is being amply demonstrated by the determined attempts of the increasing number of bands to cross the frontier into Macedonia. Most elaborate precautions have been taken by the Turks to prevent invasion. The frontier guards have been considerably augmented, ambuscades have been laid in the passes, and frequent patrols survey the line between the blockhouses. Encounters between invading bands and Turkish patrols are of daily occurrence. Palanka seems to be the favourite point of invasion, but is closely followed in importance by the Djumabala district.

Throughout Macedonia the efforts of the authorities to stamp out bands are meeting with more than their customary success. The inauguration of flying companies of gendarmes charged with the active pursuit of *komitadjis* has largely contributed to this result. Some 3,500 gendarmes are now engaged in this special work. Encounters with bands are frequent, but the Bulgars usually succeed in making their escape with the loss of one or two killed.

On his return to Salonika to-day to reoccupy the post of Vali, Hussein Kiazin Bey met with an unparalleled reception. He arrived at Salonika to find the town *en fete*. The streets from the station to the Konak were packed with a cheering populace, the demonstration reflecting the esteem in which he is held by all sections of the inhabitants.

Athens, May 23.

Steamships arriving at the Piraeus from the Aegean islands report that the Italians have disembarked large quantities of war material at Rhodes, together with provisions, tents, apparatus for wireless telegraphy and telephones. Preparations have been made for dredging the harbour, repairing fortifications, and laying tramway lines, and everything seems to indicate that a prolonged occupation is intended. The number of Turkish prisoners, including the Governor, who attempted to escape in disguise, is stated to be 160. Eighty more were captured on board the *Hadji Doss*, a steamer arriving from Smyrna, and were conveyed to Astropolis. Three aeroplanes are already surveying the Turkish positions in the mountains. Bombs were dropped on the Turkish provision depots, which were abandoned, and the Italians seized the stores, conveying them to the town on mules. The Turks entrenched in the mountains are stated to number 1,300.

At Samos the Turkish garrison, stated to number 800, has abandoned the town and has entrenched the heights in the direction of Tigani. The Christian population, fearing that the Turks would oppose the Italian landing and that a bombardment would follow, informed the military authorities that upon the slightest show of resistance they would attack the troops. As at Rhodes, the population is prepared to welcome the Italians.

A Cretan Moslem at Rhodes was tried by court-martial and shot for firing from a house on the trotty, and another was shot by a patrol. The Turks appear to have brought a contingent of irregulars, numbering some hundred, from Crete.

Sofia, May 12

Professors Georgoff and Miletich, who have recently returned from their visit to the European capitals, gave an account of their mission yesterday to a specially summoned meeting of delegates representing Macedonian charitable organizations throughout Bulgaria. The meeting resolved to hold mass meetings in all the towns of Bulgaria in favour of the autonomy of Macedonia. In accordance with this decision a large and imposing meeting took place here this morning, with M. Grozoff, President of the Chamber of Commerce, in the chair. After patriotic speeches by Professor Tzonneff and M. Grigor Vasiloff, describing the intolerable situation of the Bulgarians in Macedonia owing to their systematic persecution by the Young Turks, a resolution was adopted urging the Bulgarian Government by all the means at its disposal to work for the enforcement of Article 23 of the Berlin Treaty providing for autonomy for Macedonia.

Constantinople, May 12.

Exaggerated reports of disturbances on a large scale in Northern Albania have caused no little anxiety even in high official circles during the last few days. This anxiety, however, has been largely dispelled by telegrams from the local authorities indicating that the recent collisions between Moslems and Albanian hillmen on the one hand and gendarmerie or troops on the other in the Ipek, Puka and Lower Dibra districts were mere sporadic manifestations of lawlessness rather than warnings of coming insurrection. The situation in Albania must remain somewhat strained till the reforms proposed by Hadji Adil Bey's commission are put into execution, but it cannot be said to be worse than at any other period during the last six months.

Salonika, May 15

The Albanians at Djakova have dispersed, while those at Istok remain massed in the mountains, but the present action of the authorities is limited to attempts to persuade them to return to their homes. As a matter of precaution the pass of Katchanik has been occupied by troops two battalions guard the route to Ferizovich and three await orders at Mitrovitz.

The *Times* was requested by the Turkish Embassy to publish the following short but general statement of events which have taken place up to now in different Albanian localities —

"On 23rd April some individuals from Ipek attacked the workmen who were constructing the causeway at Mahir Stock. A similar aggression took place against the workers and foremen engaged for the erection of the Governor's residence, the school and a guard-post. The encounter lasted all day, but, thanks to the intervention of the Mutassarif, order was restored. Twenty-five of the aggressors were killed; the troops suffered no loss. By way of precaution, a battalion and half a company of mitrailleuse were summoned to Ipek from Djakova. Four battalions were also ordered from other localities.

"The same day the gendarmerie posts at Ganizte Meirdina, and Iaradj were assailed by brigands from Zadina. The latter had to take to flight after four hours' exchange of fire. The same day, again, three bandits, at ten minutes' distance from Gossina, surprised two officers and a private on their way to the Varvatchatik Springs and robbed them of their bags. The military detachment sent in pursuit was attacked by the populace, troops were then sent and had to bombard Koules for three hours. They finally entered the town, where peace was at once restored. Five soldiers and one gendarme were killed, two soldiers and one gendarme wounded. The casualties on the insurgents' side were 15 killed and wounded."

"All reports to the effect that the troops had hundreds killed are, accordingly, untrue. Likewise are those reports alleging that the Albanians had made certain demands. A part only of the populations from the villages of Kresnik, Budjotch and Has, in Djakova, assembled on 26th April round the Governor's residence and claimed with threats the Government's written pledge to distribute arms to them. Three days have since elapsed without the slightest incident occurring."

(FROM THE "EXPRESS" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, May 15.

A Cabinet Council was held to-day to discuss the concentration of Russian troops which continues at Odessa and Sebastopol.

It is reported that calm has been restored at Diakovo and Ipek in Albania, except in isolated cases, and that the court-martials are dealing satisfactorily with the rebels.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

The *Times* publishes the following information from Constantinople:—"It is stated that the Porte is disquieted by reports concerning Russian military movements. The Porte has been advised from Sinope, on the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor, that the Russian navy is cruising in the night with lights extinguished along the coast. It is said that the Minister for Foreign Affairs has asked M. de Giers, the new Ambassador, for explanations, and the latter

has replied that it is simply a matter of some torpedo-boats executing manoeuvres and that they have now returned to Kertch.

"The diplomatic reception on Monday was interrupted by a special meeting of the Cabinet. Asim Rey, the Foreign Minister, had only received two or three Ambassadors, including M. de Giers, with whom he had a long conversation on the above subject. The reasons for the urgent summoning of the Cabinet are unknown. It is rumoured that the Cabinet met in order to deliberate on the new *demande* which M. de Giers had just made in connection with the opening of the Dardanelles. It is also stated that the Council was engaged on the subject of the Russian concentrations and the movements of the Russian navy in the Black Sea, and with the situation in Albania, which causes the Government considerable uneasiness."

(THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, April 30.

Developing the idea that Turkey is making use of her absolute right of defence and that the Powers which regard themselves as injured in their commercial interests by the Turkish defensive measures should address themselves to the Power which provoked those measures by its aggression, the Turkish Press unanimously approves the reply of the Sublime Porte to the Russian Note on the re-opening of the Dardanelles to the mercantile marine.

The despatch of this Note, followed by the speech of M. Sasonoff in the Duma, several passages of which have caused much displeasure, has given rise in Ottoman political circles to anti-Russian feelings, such as have not been displayed since the revolution of 1908. These feelings find expression in leading articles of a somewhat violent character.

The *Tanin*, *Nahab* and *Yeni Gazete* are disturbed and irritated by the announcement of an *entente* with Italy in regard to the Balkan Peninsula and resent the advice given to the Turkish Government to show solicitude for the Christians in Macedonia.

In regard to the announced intention to renew the attempt at mediation between the belligerents, the ex-Minister Ismail Hakkı Bey Bahazade says, in the *Tanin*, that the intention is praiseworthy, but he asks if, after the speech of M. Sasonoff, one can expect, on the part of Russia, that impartiality which is necessary for a mediator.

It is very characteristic of the actual state of Ottoman opinion that this current of feeling, instead of resulting in a turn towards Germany, has provoked a recrudescence of sympathy for England, even in certain journals which have for a long time been notoriously hostile—such, for example, as the *Frone Turc*, which insists upon the cold brevity of the speech in regard to England, and the courtesy in relation to the benefits derived by Russia from German friendship.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, May 12.

Hahl Bey, Deputy for Menteshch, has been elected head of the Parliamentary party of the Committee of Union and Progress. Seid Bey, of Smyrna, M. Haladjian, and M. Hashim, of Constantinople, and Mehmed Pasha, of Damascus, have been elected vice-presidents. M. Ahmed Nessumi, of Constantinople, Djambelat Bey, of Ismid, secretary; M. Emmanueldes, of Smyrna, treasurer; and Rahmi Bey, of Salonika, and Hadji Mustafa, of Angora, whips.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

The Athens correspondent of the *Corriere della Sera* announces (says Reuter's Rome correspondent) that hundreds of Italians, whose expulsion from Smyrna has been ordered, assembled yesterday in front of the German consulate there and asked for means to take them back to Italy. It is not known whether or not the Turkish decree of expulsion applies to the women and children also, but the Italians are panic-stricken in consequence of the arrest of 90 of their number, and women and children are being hurriedly got away. Up to the present about 20 refugees have arrived at the Piraeus.

(FROM THE "MORNING POST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, May 12.

The *Tanin*, commenting on the rumours of Baron Marschall von Bieberstein's probable appointment to the German Embassy in London, expresses the hope that in any negotiations which Baron Marschall may conduct with the British Government on questions affecting Turkish interest Turkey may be consulted, and that others may not reap the fruits of the efforts recently made to bring about a better understanding between England and Turkey.

The journal further expresses the conviction that Baron Marschall's habitual consideration for Turkish interests affords a guarantee that in negotiations on questions connected with the Bagdad-Basra section of the Bagdad Railway the Turkish Government will not be left out of account, as were the Government of Morocco and Persia during the negotiations effecting those countries.

The Balkan Committee.

The Constantinople *Tanin* prints a letter from the Balkan Committee, dated 24th April, in which the suggestion is made to entrust the administration of Macedonia and Albania for a period of at least one year to two commissions enjoying full powers and composed partly of Turkish officials who have never occupied any responsible post in the Macedonian or Albanian vilayets, and partly of British and French members. The letter is followed by a note from Husein Kiazim Bey, formerly Governor of Salonika, who comments upon the suggestion as follows —

"In view of the new movements of the bands in Macedonia, the above plan deserves attention, for the Balkan Committee, which after the proclamation of the Constitution was favourable to us, has now turned against our present régime and has tried to alienate British public opinion from us. The régime suggested was in great vogue at the time of the Inspector-General of Hilmi Pasha, but its work was destroyed by its own lack of logic. As a matter of fact this régime, so far from preventing foreign intervention, prepared the way for it, so that in the end the separation of Macedonia became a matter of certainty. It was just with the object of avoiding it that the Constitution, as everybody knows, was proclaimed.

"It is true that the new régime has not yet given the full satisfaction which one might have expected, but the fault lies with the Government, which appointed, there as elsewhere, men without energy and without knowledge, who could not but make matters worse. The Macedonian disease is a chronic one, and chronic diseases are not treated by violent means. For the rest it is not the sickness but the sick who ought to be treated, and this is what is only too frequently forgotten. We are convinced that the application of the new law on the administration of the vilayets will give excellent results in Macedonia and will bring the people back to the Government. As for Albania, Hadji Adil Bey has just studied her wants and will be able to find a remedy for her ills. We do not want therefore the 'sincere and friendly' support of the members of the Committee."

The Uskub correspondent of the *Vossische Zeitung* predicts for the near future great activity of the revolutionary bands in Macedonia as a result of the electoral victory of the Young Turkish Committee. "As they fear that the present Government may take up with energy the work of reforms, and thus gain an influence over the Christian population, the leading members of the secret societies have come to the conclusion that something must be done to frustrate the work of conciliation in advance. The idea is to revive, with all its horrible consequences for the country, the old sanguinary war of bands, in the hope of creating the impression in Europe that the cause of the unrest is the victory of the Committee. It is a well-established fact that preparations for a revival of the activity of the bands are being feverishly pushed in the chief foreign centres of the revolutionary movement, and that a series of dynamite outrages of all kinds is being planned. The well-known Bulgarian chief Peter Anieloff has, it is reported, made his appearance in the district of Egri Palanka in order to punish certain villages who have reverted to the ecclesiastical rule of the Patriarch under the pressure of Servian bands.

"The Serbs have quite suddenly taken once more to bands, after having kept away from all agitation since the proclamation of the constitution, and even voted during the recent elections for the Committee. Two Servian Vorvodes have already been killed in a conflict with the troops, one of them being the son of a former chief Gligog, who is the hero of many Servian songs."

The correspondent further states that the authorities are keeping careful watch over the Bulgarian frontier, and are contemplating the erection of blockhouse for the permanent exclusion of bands coming from that country.—*The Manchester Guardian*.

Bulgarian Ambitions in Macedonia.

In spite of the semi-official denials of the political importance of the visit of a Bulgarian mission to Livadia, where the Tsar has gone for a week, the German press is inclined to regard the journey of M. Daness and General Markoff with suspicion. In particular the *Berliner Tageblatt* attaches little importance to the assurances of the inspired Russian press that the visit is of a purely "ceremonial character" and points to the coincidence of the arrival of M. Kokovtseff, the Premier, M. Sazonoff, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and General Sukhomlinoff, the Minister of War, with the first announcement of the impending mission.

"We shall soon," says the *Berliner Tageblatt*, "feel the effect of this 'harmless ceremony' at Livadia and probably nowhere else more than in Macedonia. Bulgaria has no more ardent wish than to have the permission of Russia to make it hot for the Turks there. Officially she confines herself to claims in the interests of the Christian population in Macedonia or puts forward the old

demand for the construction of a railway between Kumanovo and Kustendil, which in practice means Sofia and Salonika. Unofficially, however, she is at work busily arming bands and supporting the *komitadjis*, who recently selected dynamite as their favourite weapon, and coquettling more than ever with the otherwise hated Greeks.

"True, nobody can say as yet that Russia has granted the required consent. M. Sazonoff, in his speech before the Duma, went even so far as to appeal to the Bulgarians and others to maintain prudence and to avoid political adventures, and spoke some energetic words in favour of preserving domestic peace in Turkey. But simultaneously he also warned Turkey against neglecting the economic and moral interests of the Christian population. In Turkey the speech was interpreted as a threat."—*The Manchester Guardian*.

Back from the War.

By ALAN OSTLER.

"Express" Special Correspondent with the Turkish Forces in Tripoli.

I HAVE just returned to the civilised world after more than a year's life among the desert peoples of Northern Africa. For weeks I had been looking forward with an impatience quite beyond words to the joy of walking through busy thoroughfares and looking at shop windows, reading newspapers, and, more than all, talking in my own tongue to people whose thoughts and manners are not those of the desert—to nice, kindly, cleanly, civilised men and women.

And now that I am back again, I find that I don't like civilisation at all. At least, I find in civilised life a great many faults and drawbacks which I hardly seemed to notice before, and many of the joys which I had anticipated most keenly are often not joyful in the very least.

There is rapid travel, for instance. Again and again, riding with the slow caravans hour after hour, I have envied the happy passengers in a railway train, who could cover in twelve hours a journey that a horse cannot accomplish in as many weary, dusty days. When I landed in Glasgow the other day—I came home in a tramp steamer from the Mediterranean—I remembered those envious moments in the desert. I boarded the night train for Euston, congratulating myself on the speed and comfort with which I was to travel, and gleefully reflecting that there would be no horse to groom and feed at the journey's end, no tiresome search for fresh water, no interminable wait while an unsavoury meal was being prepared, no tent to pitch—none of the thousand and one little worries of desert travel.

Within ten minutes I was feeling most lamentably ill, watching the lights whirl past the window with sickening speed, and feeling literally stunned by the roar of the express train. The passing of another train, with the blinding stream of light and furious rattle of carriages, gave me a pang of genuine terror.

And yet, not many days ago, I was riding slowly through the zone of a furious bombardment of an Arab coast village by three Italian cruisers, and—with all modesty be it said—I felt no alarm at all.

Truthfully speaking, there is nothing very terrifying about a bombardment—especially an Italian bombardment. If you have never seen one, no doubt you form a mental impression of a world turned topsy-turvy, re-echoing with shrieks and thunderous detonations, made hideous by charred and blackened ruins and the mutilated fragments of the dead. Fugitives fly screaming from beneath a pall of sulphurous smoke, and shrapnel and fragments of shell fill the air.

This is all very well for the realism of the adventure story and the cinematograph show, but, generally speaking, lamentably overdone as regards the realism of reality. In fact, if you are the object of a bombardment, you will see very little, unless the object of the attack happens to be a town of large and fairly solid structure. An Arab village of two-storeyed mud-brick huts interspersed with palm trees could be knocked to atoms without providing anything much more spectacular than an occasional cloud of dust or shower of splintered palm-wood.

Such a village is Zouara, the most westerly of the larger coastal villages of Tripoli; and save for the final destruction of houses which seemed to be already half in ruins, the periodical bombardments to which it has been subjected by the Italian warships have had about as much effect as so many pyrotechnic displays.

Therefore, approaching Zouara a few days ago on my way from the Turkish camp I honestly did not feel any particular uneasiness on learning that the town was being bombarded again. I had stayed there during two bombardments, suffering no other inconvenience than that of having to turn out of my house lest a shrapnel shell should strike it and bring it down on my head; and after this experience of the harmless pell-mell which the Italians are pleased to

call an attack, neither I nor the drivers of the camel-caravan with which I travelled felt any alarm at the thought of having to pass close to the village.

But civilisation is not only terrifying. To one long unaccustomed to it, it is in a great many respects highly disagreeable.

I have shivered by a brushwood fire—the desert can be bitterly cold—and thought of the joys of sitting by a fire in a cosy room in England. But now, the fire gives me a headache, and the walls of the cosy room seem to touch me on all sides. There is hardly room to move about. I wonder, by-the-by, how many people realise that their houses are merely collections of tiny islands formed by chairs, linked up by narrow pathways between tables, bookshelves, fire places, coal-scuttles, flower-stands, and I don't know how many ridiculous obstacles. Coming from a land in whose houses tables and chairs consist of the handiest clean space on the floor, this peculiarity of European life strikes me forcibly.

I thought that I should greatly enjoy conversation with my own kind. I don't. Most of them talk too much. One isn't allowed to sit silently contemplative in the society of civilised people, and, consequently, instead of peacefully pursuing one's own train of thought, or enjoying that delicious state of mental inertia so dear to Orientals, one has to cudgel one's brains for topics for a conversation which in five minutes will be forgotten.

Women—well born and otherwise well-behaved women—talk freely and openly with men in the very streets, bearing themselves as though they were man's equals, and never so much as putting the corner of a handkerchief in their mouths to veil their faces.

And, finally—it is a disagreeable admission, I know—the majority of my fellow-countrymen seem singularly, and fantastically ugly beings. An Arab or a negro has a dark complexion which somehow seems to conceal faultiness of feature. He walks well, carries his head with an air, and though his mantle be in rags, his bearing is dignified.

In the streets of Glasgow on Saturday I sat in with a crowd of many hundreds who had spent the afternoon watching twenty-two men kick a leather ball about and, looking upon that crowd of pale and pimply faces, narrow shoulders, and flat chests, noting how their owners slouched and shuffled through the dirty street displaying black and broken teeth as they laughed and chattered, I forgot that these were the youth of a highly prosperous and civilised nation, and could only think of my desert folk with keen regret.

Turkey and the War.

(FROM THE "MORNING POST" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, April 27

The shots fired at the Dardanelles apparently did not seriously harm either of the combatants. Morally the Turks actually gained. The shots served as a precipitate which crystallised a variety of floating impressions, of suppositions and premonitions. They finally made the war real to the Turkish mind. During the last two months, indeed, the fact of the war has been steadily growing less unreal to the Turks. The lines of connection between Tripoli and the capital have multiplied. The vague outlines of the Ottoman defence have acquired colour and a strain of personality. The figure of Enver Bey is seen as in a mist, revolver in hand, leading his troops over the desert, indifferent to danger, just as in Macedonia before the Constitution, he led his soldiers first against the Bulgarian bands, and afterwards against Abdul Hamid. Then the steady recruiting of Arabs from the desert, the results already achieved in training them into regular troops, the stubbornness of their resistance to the Italians in the name of the Turkish Caliph and under the leadership of Turkish officers, have given Turks a new sense of possession in Tripoli. Emotionally speaking, the Tripolitania is now more truly a part of the Ottoman Empire than it was before the war.

Yet the war has been from the beginning much more than a trial of strength between two Mediterranean States in Northern Africa. It has been a constant reminder of a number of serious things which may happen and which many fear. It has been a perpetual challenge to those forces which press for the partition of Turkey with what seems to be its inevitable and fatal consequence—an armed conflict between the European Powers. But African distance and the habit of many months of indecisive skirmishes had made the challenge seem almost an empty menace and the war a Colonial enterprise that seriously concerned no one but the Italians, the Tripolitan Arabs, and a certain number of Turkish officers. Then came the attack on Turkish ships at Beirut as a significant warning, and now the bombardment of the Dardanelles has suddenly made plain even to slow imaginations the gravity of the facts implied in the fighting at Tripoli, namely, that the Turkish State is at war, and that this war exercises a strangely disturbing influence on those arrangements on which the present European political system is based.

The sudden realisation of these facts had a bracing effect on the Turks. There was no panic in Constantinople. There was a little bravado at first, but the spirit of bravado seems now to have given place to a very sobering consciousness of the immense difficulties of the situation. The transference of hostilities to the Aegean has, in the first place, made it necessary to scrutinise very closely the attitude of the neighbouring Balkan States. All these States are officially on friendly terms with Turkey. But an exchange of official assurances and courtesies does not always represent popular feeling, and popular feeling in both Greece and Bulgaria is not friendly to the Turkish Government. The defeat of the Greek and Bulgarian popular parties in Macedonia in the recent elections has undoubtedly intensified the unfriendly feelings of the population of the northern and southern kingdoms towards the Young Turks. The bands are once more active. Not only have a number of bands, despite the precautions of the Bulgarian Government, made their way over the Bulgarian frontier into Macedonia, but Greek bands have recently entered Macedonia from the south, over the Thessalian frontier. And whereas in former days Greek and Bulgarian bands fought each other, they will now, it is asserted, co-operate against the Turkish population and the Turkish Government. Again, simultaneously with this reorganisation between Greek and Bulgarian revolutionary elements, an official *rapprochement* is being effected between the Governments of Greece and Bulgaria. That is to say, the friendship of either of these Governments for Turkey is something less precise than their friendship for each other. Hostilities in the Aegean, or a fresh attack on the Dardanelles might lead these two Balkan States to emphasise their community of interests to the extent of an entire reversal of their present policy of reasoned friendship for Turkey. The more impetuous spirits in Bulgaria apparently desire to precipitate such a step. According to a report received here the Macedonian Internal organisation has decided to begin an insurrectionary movement immediately, and in this, it is said, it will be assisted by an Albanian organisation which has its headquarters in Sofia. The Turkish Government would be able to cope with such a movement if its hands were left entirely free in other directions. Nor would it have any difficulty in dealing with any hostile measures on the part of Greece, if the Greek Government ventured to act alone. But if while hostilities were proceeding between Italians and Turks in the Aegean, an insurrectionary movement in Macedonia were to lead to complications with Bulgaria, which might easily be followed by complications with Greece, the situation of the Turkish Government, even if the area of disturbance could be imagined as being confined to the Balkans and the Levant, would be unenviable. The Italian naval action has made it imperatively necessary to take all these possibilities seriously into account.

Again, the Cretan question has entered on a new phase. The firm attitude of the Powers, combined with the firm attitude of the Greek Government, in the matter of the Cretan delegates to the Hellenic Parliament, seemed to provide a guarantee that serious trouble would be averted. But the attack on the Dardanelles has given fresh encouragement to the Cretan annexationists, and has led to a certain relaxation of severity in Athens. And if trouble is averted it will be owing to an increase of severity on the part of the protecting Powers.

The Powers are by no means interested in Crete alone. The mention of the Powers at once opens up the whole broad perspective of interests, the whole complicated network of International relations, which are so profoundly affected by the transfer of hostilities to the Aegean and the Dardanelles. The Powers are concerned in the Cretan question; they are balancing their rivalries in the Balkans, and their commerce is most vitally affected by the closing of the Dardanelles. It is very natural that the Turkish Government and Turkish public opinion should be anxious to know the real attitude of the groups of Powers and of each of the Powers in the present crisis. On this subject Turkish public opinion appears already to have arrived at some interesting conclusions.

The first is that the attack on the Dardanelles was the direct result of the conversations of the German Emperor with the Emperor Francis Joseph and the King of Italy. The Powers of the Triple Alliance would seem, on this supposition, to have agreed that the war must be brought to an end immediately by energetic action in the neighbourhood of the Turkish capital. If the Central Powers have so far identified themselves with their ally—perhaps in order to prevent her exhaustion by a prolonged campaign in Tripoli—it at once becomes a question of vital importance how far and in what form they are prepared to bear the consequences to which Italian action may lead in the Balkans. The Porte, it is said, has been informed that the Austro-Hungarian Government has warned the Balkan States, and particularly Bulgaria, that if they disturb the peace Austro-Hungarian troops will at once enter Albania and Macedonia. This would hardly seem to be a ground for optimism, but in the present circumstances the Porte is said to find even this statement reassuring.

But if Italy be now encouraged by her allies, what of the Powers of the Triple Entente? And here Turkish opinion is at a loss. It fears Russia. Rightly or wrongly, it is convinced that Russia is

waiting for an opportunity to carry out certain aggressive plans towards Turkey. It believes that Russia has made some agreement with Italy. Nothing definite is known, but there is an uneasiness, a dread of what Russia may do. On the other hand, the impression is gaining ground that the English attitude to Turkey is growing more friendly. That is to say, as concerns the conception of the nature of neutrality in the present crisis there is no line of demarcation between the two groups of European Powers, and there is no real agreement between the members of each group. The interests involved are so many-sided, so complex, that diplomatic action in the form of the division of interests into two main groups corresponding to the two groups of Powers is out of the question. This circumstance may serve as a ground either for optimism or for extreme pessimism. For the moment Turkish politicians are inclined to be optimistic. They think that, in view of such a hopeless confusion and incompatibility of interests, aims, and ambitions, the consequence of serious disturbances in the Balkans would be so incalculably disastrous to the peace of Europe that all the Powers will prefer to unite to stave off the evil day. For that reason many Turks are inclined to believe that the Powers will find it possible--especially in view of the indecisive character of the first Italian attack on the Dardanelles--to give a guarantee that the bombardment shall not be repeated.

That is the form in which the situation presents itself to-day. The Turkish politicians hardly exaggerate its gravity, but they are probably excessively optimistic in hoping that it will be possible to obtain from the five non-combatant Powers at such short notice as the exigencies of war time demand so ill-defined and so hardly definable a thing as a guarantee against the repetition of an attack on the Straits. In any case, the present phase of the war between Italy and Turkey illustrates in a striking manner the growing inability of diplomacy to cope with the bellicose tendencies latent in European international relations.

Italian Reply.

(FROM THE "EXPRESS" CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, Sunday, May 12

I have endeavoured to secure an interview with Signor Giolitti, the Premier, on the prospect of an early termination of the war.

The Premier, owing to the press of urgent State affairs, was unable to receive me personally, but he has given me, through one of his secretaries, the following statement for publication in the *Express*:

It is not possible, at present, to make any statement regarding the possibility of peace. One thing may be said, however. Italy is not at all pressed to make peace for the war does not disturb either her commerce or her internal politics and she has largely the financial means to carry on hostilities.

The conditions on which Italy was prepared to cease hostilities up to a short time ago are sufficiently well known.

As for the absolute sovereignty of Italy in Libya this is a condition imposed peremptorily by the Italian people which no Government would be able to set aside.

As for the other conditions, it may be said that the longer the war lasts the smaller will be the concessions we are willing to give, for it is evident that if Turkey can only be induced to make peace when she will no longer be able to continue the war, we shall then have no more concessions to make.

As for the duration of the war, we are not at all preoccupied. You are in a position to witness in what manner the war is being borne by the country and by confronting the serene calm of the Italians with news of revolution in Italy, circulated by the Turkish Government.

You may judge the credibility of the reports emanating from Constantinople as to the condition of our finances. You may consult, for this, the statements which our Treasury publishes regularly.

From these statements you will see that though the Treasury is authorised to ask advances of about seven millions sterling from the issuing State banks at 1½ per cent, it has not so far been necessary to take such a step.

Only Way to Peace.

"EXPRESS" CORRESPONDENT.

Constantinople, Friday, May 10.

In REPLY to a question how he thought it would be possible to arrange peace, the Grand Vizier replied:

It is probable that peace will come only by mediation and by a conference. My personal opinion is that it will be by mediation, because a conference would be unfavourable to Italian interests. On this point, however, you must see that I cannot express more than an opinion.

But one thing is certain Turkey will not abdicate a single right which she possesses.

There is only one possible base for the conclusion of peace so far as Turkey is concerned, and it is the recognition of Turkey's

effective sovereignty—not a theoretical sovereignty—in Tripoli and Cyrenaica.

The equilibrium of the Mediterranean insist that the sovereignty of Turkey shall be effective and not theoretical. To speak only of the religious sovereignty of the Khalifat is Utopian, because the Sultan is the Khalif of Mussalmans throughout the entire world.

England and France have every interest to maintain the equilibrium in the Mediterranean, and it is in the interest of general peace that Italy shall be prevented from extending her control along the basin of that sea.

If the Powers gave this liberty to Italy they would be acting against their own interests. This I believe to be impossible.

I sincerely hope that the Powers will study their own interests, as they are bound up with those of Turkey.

I asked the Grand Vizier if he could make any statement in regard to the Bagdad railway from Bagdad to Basra. He replied:

We have submitted to the British Government the Ottoman point of view with regard to the solution of the final section of the railway and of the question of the Persian Gulf, and we are now awaiting the reply of Sir Edward Grey.

In view of the friendly sentiments which exist between the two countries, we hope for an *entente* in conformity with our mutual interests.

I asked the Grand Vizier if he apprehended any serious trouble in Albania owing to the disturbances which are again taking place there. He replied:

There is nothing grave in the Albanian situation. It is being exaggerated for political reasons. An ex-deputy is at the back of the movement, but we have no fear of possible developments. The Government has taken all necessary measures for the maintenance of order and tranquillity.

As I took my leave of the Grand Vizier he thanked me for the impartial attitude which the *Express* has taken during the war and expressed the hope that the English Press would at the opportune moment take action in the cause of right and justice. He added in conclusion: "We count on the impartiality of the Cabinet in London."

Misery in Italy.

It is reported from Milan that the prolongation of the war is intensifying the serious industrial commercial crisis in various parts of Italy. Thousands are starving in the Southern Provinces on account of the heavy rise in the price of foodstuffs and the wide spread unemployment. A general strike has been proclaimed in Cerignola, and mass meetings are being convened in Northern Italy. In the big cities acute misery is experienced by the working classes. The price of bread is higher than ever.

Il Serafino demonstrates that the recent dearth is due to war, prices being three or four francs in excess of the rises in England and other countries. There is an enormous increase in the consumption of horseflesh and such-like inferior foods. Even in Turin, where the poorer classes have shown a marked traditional repugnance for this sort of meat, the eating of horseflesh has been recently growing by leaps and bounds till the consumption is now actually 100 per cent greater than five years ago.

Forty thousand skilled workmen are standing idle in Milan, the number of unemployed during the first quarter of this year surpassing that of the unemployed during the entire 12 months of 1911. Only 7,000 bricklayers are now at work, as against 25,000 last year.

The textile industries of Lombardy have lost at one fell swoop full three-fourths of their export trade. No such large number of failures in banking concerns and commercial enterprises is remembered in recent years. Factories are constantly shutting down owing to the crisis. Money everywhere is tight, and banks are declining to give credit. —*The Levant Herald*

The Havoc of War.

A correspondent writes—If any explanation were needed for the determined opposition to Italian aggression in Tripoli by the Arabs, a recent letter to the *Serafino* of Milan will help to afford it. Says the writer, Signor Lucatelli:

I know not whether, as some hope, the desert may be transformed into an oasis, but certain it is the oasis may be changed into a desert. One needs only to wander about the oases of Tripoli and to see them yellow and withered, slowly fading into solitude and desolation, to understand how in the absence of man this once fertile soil is hastening to death,—oases which only last October were dense with luxuriant vegetation, and which seemed to exhale, in an exuberance of foliage and rich perfumes, a riotous manifestation of life. The soil is normally so thin and mobile that but for the unceasing vigilance of its cultivators the crops wither, the land takes on an ashen hue, and dies like a living soil. In these vast abandoned oases one feels that something is perishing around one with alarming rapidity. Apart from the material destruction wrought by the necessities of war—the innumerable date palms mown down by the canons or cut down to give

free play for the riflemen in the trenches—there is a veritable and literal agony of the land, which might indeed be yet arrested, but which in a brief lapse of time will perhaps prove incurable.

In some of the gardens, whose former owners are either slain or fled, poor patches which the heels of horse and man have reduced to sandy solitudes, is now gathered an Arab colony, a refuge for all the human misery of the city and the oases—for the widowed and orphaned by the war, for deserted families that come, dying of hunger, to beg at the trenches. This miserable population is increasing without any diminution of the profound wretchedness of its abode. True, the Italians have at least saved them from starvation, but the promiscuity of their camp has debased them, they pass hours wrapped in fierce sullen distrust towards all, even to those who feed them, towards the doctor who tends them and to whom they confess their ailments only when they can be no longer concealed.

London All-India Moslem League.

The following Representation was submitted by the London All-India Moslem League to the Foreign Office and India Office respectively on the subject of the new development in Italian activity in the Aegean Sea and the vicinity of Constantinople.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE, FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir,

The Committee of the London All-India Moslem League beg respectfully and earnestly to draw the attention of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the extreme gravity of the situation the latest development of Italian activity in the Dardanelles and the Aegean Sea is creating in the East.

The Committee submit that failure to conquer Libya, with which object the enterprise, condemned by the unanimous moral conscience of Europe, was undertaken, furnishes no justification for endeavouring to set in flame the whole of the Eastern World, to create an irreconcilable hostility between two great religions and to involve neutral Powers ruling over large Mussulman populations in difficulties by placing their policy in conflict with the cherished sentiments of their subjects.

The Committee have reason to fear that the direct and immediate result of Italian action against the Asiatic possessions of the Sultan, coupled with the report that some of the neutral Powers intend to take advantage of Turkey's difficulties to her detriment, will be to impel large bodies of Mussulmans from India as well as the Frontier to endeavour to reach the seat of war as volunteers, and it would be impossible for His Majesty's Government to repress the movement without risk of great unpopularity.

So long as the war was confined to the regions for the conquest of which it was undertaken, the Asiatic Mussulmans were brought into direct touch with the conflict and the influence of this League and of other Muhammadan bodies in India and elsewhere was directed to allaying the natural excitement among their own people by pointing to the evident desire of His Majesty's Government to use their good offices at the first favourable opportunity to bring about a termination of the war on equitable terms honourable to Turkey. But the extension of hostilities to the Dardanelles and places within reach of Constantinople, which is regarded by the bulk of the Mussulman world as the seal of the Caliphate, is calculated to act as an incentive to the warlike elements alike in the neighbouring States and in India to organize a system of volunteering for the assistance of Turkey.

The Secretary of State is aware of the extreme inconvenience to Mussulman pilgrims and the loss to Indian commerce that has been occasioned by the Italian blockade of the Red Sea ports. The Committee are requested by many of their Indian co-religionists to submit that the injury caused by the Italian action has been far greater than is usually imagined, for large bodies of pilgrims have been unable to leave Hedjaz for fear of capture by the Italian ships of war, and that the suffering and distress among them is very great. The present hostilities by intensifying the hatred against Italy will further aggravate the difficulties that stand in the way of an early restoration of peace.

The whole Mussulman world, not without reason, looks upon His Majesty's Government as the upholder of justice and fair play, and the Committee believe that the interests of England are directly involved in the maintenance of peace, not only in the Balkans, but in the whole of the Near East.

In view of these considerations the Committee earnestly pray that His Majesty's Government may be pleased to take such steps as they may consider expedient to prevent the further development of a situation which they really fear will prove most prejudicial to the interests of humanity and to progress in the Eastern World.

The Turkish Woman.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

As one who has lived in Constantinople for many years, and followed with close interest the progress of the Turkish women's movement towards emancipation, I should like to be allowed to correct certain impressions that have become current in regard to the

attitude of the nation towards their aspirations. The active opposition to their wish for a larger measure of freedom than has hitherto been their lot may be dismissed as non-existing. There is everywhere noticeable a growing freedom among them. Nowadays one may see Turkish women constantly walking with their husbands; every day one hears of things that before the Constitution would have been impossible.

The statement made recently that women are condemned for not wearing the veil is one that my experience does not bear out. The veil is not considered absolutely necessary, although I may say that all the better class of women are very careful to wear the tcharchaf (the covering).

During the recent elections hundreds of Turkish ladies stood around the Municipality waiting for the news, and there was no riot, no disturbance whatever; their husbands and fathers, who saw them, seemed equally interested and quite contented.

Much has been made of a lecture delivered by the well-known authoress Halidé Hanum at an American College. It has been said that the lecturer addressed her audience unveiled, which was not the fact, as she wore her tcharchaf, and that her address raised a fierce burst of indignation among the orthodox Moslems. As far as I have heard she has received only praise from the Turks for her address. From the following excerpt it will be seen how little inflammatory was the nature of the lecture given by Halidé Hanum on the position and the duty of the Alumnae in the Ottoman Empire.

"It is the part of women," said the lecturer, "to fight against ignorance, evil and oppression. No matter in what country they live, no matter to what race or religion they belong, they are the natural mothers of the human race and wherever they see evils dominant they must unite and fight them down. Here comes the great responsibility of our Alumnae. In this great Empire of ours there have been great political changes; but those changes do not concern us here, for politics is the domain into which at present women are not ready to enter. Women usually enter politics when they have a great part in the economical movement of the land, and that movement has not come yet."

"What concerns us here is the social evolution of the land... It is our duty to lay the foundation of a new life, a life more useful to the country, working towards higher progress, regardless of all obstacles. Here we are in a land where the larger number of women need help, spiritual, social, and educational, a land where we have to build purer homes—factors that will constitute a purer Empire."

"As I have said before, the strongest and most characteristic part of a woman is her motherhood, it is motherhood that has made of woman an eternal giver of the abilities of her soul. If a woman does not give her intellectual, spiritual, politics to her children, neighbour, society, country, and the whole human race, it means that there is something wrong, there is something missing in that wonderful soul of hers. It means that the divine light that goes to the humblest and most ignorant woman's heart and makes her a mother to her own children and to her neighbour's, is missing in her. We, the Alumnae, who have had higher intellectual and spiritual opportunities, must pass on to others what we have gained. As in economics goods that are not exchanged are valueless, so the goods of head and heart that are kept for oneself are valueless. Men and women, but more especially woman by that divine gift of motherhood in her soul, must keep no good that is within. She is the guardian only of any great intellectual or spiritual abilities that she has, she is obliged to pass them on, she is obliged to illuminate her surroundings according to the measure of the light she carries in her soul. The light that the Alumnae carry in their hearts is brighter than the light, or rather darkness we see around us, and if we fail to give it to whom it belongs, we are traitors to the unique greatness of a woman's soul—motherhood."—*The Daily Chronicle*.

The Dardanelles.

The world is talking again about the ribbon of sea forty-seven miles long where Europe and Asia are close neighbours. The world has talked about it before. In the narrows, twelve miles up from the southern entrance, Xerxes scoured the waters for their rudeness in sweeping away his first bridge of boats. They behaved better to the second, and Asia hurled herself against Europe, and failed. Higher up on the Asian shore a river empties itself into the straits. It is an insignificant stream, but its name is a mighty one in history—the Granicus. On its banks Alexander won the victory which led him to the Indus and Europeans to their first penetration of Asia.

On the opposite Tracian shore is the mouth of another stream, a mere rivulet—Kara Ova Sow the people call it now. But it gave its former name, Agospotamos, to the battle which ended the Peloponnesian war. A little to the south of it is a bight; Akbashi Liman is its name. It used to be Sestos, but it has been Akbashi Liman ever since Suleiman I. planted his drums and horse-tails there. It is the first bit of European soil held by the Ottoman Turks. They did not conquer Constantinople for more than a century afterwards. Miles away to the north, where the Dardanelles open into the Propontis is Gallipoli, conspicuous on the shore, the first European town to be occupied by the Turks, in 1357. The

grey old keep which frowns above it was built a few years later by the Hayazid the Thunderbolt. This Asian invasion of Europe was more permanent than that of Xerxes. It rolled up to the walls of Vienna, and has been receding ever since from that high-water mark.

The Ottomans are extremely sensitive as to the inviolability of this strip of coast on the narrow seas, their first foothold, followed by such a rapid stride. They have not held it unmolested. Venice gave them some hard knocks. On this very spot Mocenigo took or sank the Turkish fleet, some seventy sail, big and little, in 1656. But the Turks quickly built another fleet, drove out the Venetians, and dislodged them from the neighbouring island of Lemnos—not an easy task, for the position is strong. It was then that Sultan Mohamed IV., in order to prevent future raids, constructed the forts which the Italians bombarded the other day. Sedul Bahr—Barrier of the Sea,—at the southern extremity of the straits on the European side, is faced, across two miles off water, by Kum-Kaleh—Sand Fort,—on a low sandy spit near the mouth of the Simos. The entrance cannot be seen until one is abreast of the forts, nor can Europe and Asia be distinguished from one another. Those white cliffs which remind you of England are in Europe, and the one in the middle is Cape Helles.

On your left you have a bit of an island about six miles long and three wide. That is Tenedos, *natisma fama insula*, with its attendant rocky islets, known as Rabbit Island, though there are no rabbits there now. But on the mainland, divided from Tenedos by a narrow channel, there are plenty of snipe and woodcock on the marshy borders of a stream, and the adventurous may start wild-boar on the wooded flanks of that bold mountain mass against the eastern sky which relieves the dullness of the plain. The world has been talking about this spot for a very long time. The stream is the Scamander, the mountain is Ida, and the level dotted with olives and dwarf oaks is the Plain of Troy. That strip of beach beneath the six-sailed windmills—nine in a row—is where the “long black ships” of the invaders of Ilion were drawn up. From those white cliffs Alexander crossed and first set foot in Asia on that sandy spit and did homage to yonder mound on the rising ground above, doubting the while whether it were the tomb of Achilles. Whatever opinions we may hold as to that, there is no doubt as to the visit of the great Macedonian, nor as to that of Julius Caesar in after times.

The ruins of Alexandria Troas are visible on the coast. They used to be accepted as those of Troy, which was itself a legend ere Troas was reared. They were a quarry for the Turks, who fashioned the granite and marble into the huge Bould shot which they used for their mortars. They may be seen piled in pyramids on the ramparts of the castles of Europe and Asia. It was with these that

the Turks pounded Sir John Duckworth's squadron as he ran through the Dardanelles after his futile raid on Constantinople. It was no fault of the Admiral's that the expedition failed. He carried out orders that ought never to have been given, and he at least succeeded in forcing the Dardanelles and destroying the Turkish squadron, consisting of a 64, four frigates, and six corvettes. His instructions were to demand the immediate surrender of the Turkish fleet, and, sailing instant compliance, to lay Constantinople in ashes. The Turks replied by busily fortifying, and it was greatly to Duckworth's credit that he got his ships through the Dardanelles again, though not without loss. The story will be found in text-books of English history. The Turks' refusal to send away Sebastiani, the French envoy, was the *causa belli*.

This was in 1807. In December, 1808, a new British Ambassador arrived at Chanak, and the Treaty of the Dardanelles was signed in January 1809. His secretary was little more than a boy, still a Cambridge undergraduate, and destined to be a Minister Plenipotentiary at twenty-three. In May 1810, came another Englishman, whom the young secretary, an Etonian, “remembered as an opponent in the Harrow eleven, a boy in a flannel jacket, with a bat over his shoulder.” The Etonian was Stratford Canning, known later as Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and to the Turks even to-day as *aynâ elâchi*, the “Great Ambassador.” The Harrovian was Byron. Just above the town of Chanak is a low point on which the Turks have their heaviest battery. That is Abydos, the goal of Leander and the landing-place of Byron, his emulator. His companion in the famous swim, Lieutenant Ekenhead, of the Royal Marines, whose name has been handed down to posterity on that account, met with an untimely end afterwards. He was killed by falling from the fortifications at Malta. Byron had done bolder things. Crossing the Tagus was one, with wind and tide against him. It took a longer time—two hours—for a much shorter distance. A noteworthy swimmer was Dr. Julius Millingen, who crossed the Bosphorus where the current is fierce. It is worth noting that he was the son of the Dr. Millingen, who attended Byron at Missolonghi, and to whom we owe the account of his last moments.

These are trivialities, perhaps, but they relieve the venerable story of the Hellespont reaching back to Jason and the Argonauts. It has not been all battles, there come back memories of picnics at Lapsaki—once Lampsacus, the prettiest spot on the rather solemn shores. And looking across from the heart-shaped keep of Kiliâ el Nehr—the Key of the Sea—to the white walls of Chanak one recalls pleasant hours under an English roof-tree, whence hospitality has been dispensed to at least two generations of pilgrims to the plain of Troy.—F in the *Manchester Guardian*.

WAR CARTOONS.

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ماہوای چھید ضمیمے سال بھر میں
بارة مرتبہ گانٹھ مورکر اپنا گھست لکھئے
میں ۔ چنانچہ حسب معمول تازہ
بیتازہ ضمیمہ بابع ماہ جون سنه
۱۹۱۲ء بغرض ضمیمہ طبع شائع گئیں
گراموفون پیش کیا ہوا ۔ اور
 واضح رہے کہ یہ سال ہال کی آنھیں
شمسمی کے اعلیٰ ترین رکارڈوں کا
نہجور میں جفہن ذیل کے مشہور اور
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انداز کیسا تھے تیار کیا ۔ بعد دو طرفہ
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گوئیوں کے لئے میں ۔ قیمت نی
رکارڈ تین روپیہ ۔ ان کے علاوہ اور
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(۱) (محمد حسین ماسٹر اف
ما رمولیم) کوئی ہوا سے والف
لہیں ایہ اپنے طرز کا ایک میں کا لے
والا ۔ جیسا کہ لہرواب کا ہے دیسماہی
ما رمولیم یہی بھائی ہے ۔ اس کے
رکارڈ کی بھٹ مالک ۔
(۲) (مروج الدین) یہ دسی بیرونی
مروج الدین میں ہن گورنمنٹ موسیقی میں
کمال حاصل ہے ان کے کاٹے کی السان
داد نہیں دے سکتا ۔
(۳) (پیارا صاحب) ان کا کام تمام
اطراف ہندوستان میں مقبول ۔
(۴) (سراب جی) الفرید گھنی
کے سرواب جی ایک نامور ایکٹر میں ۔
ہن سے بچہ بچہ والف ہے ان کے کاٹے
میں غصب کی لے ناداری اور ہلاکی
غیرینی موتی ۔ اور مہرب مراقب
تو ان پر قول مار گیا ۔
(۵) (سراب جن و بیکو) ہے رکارڈ
اچھوئی الہڑتے سرواب جی دیکھو
لے دیا ۔ مراقبی حاضر جو ایسی
اور موزون پبلیک سننے میں کے قابل میں ۔
(۶) (تعلیم حسنن لکھنؤی) گھنائی
الذیہ بھر میں ان سے بہتر کوئی نہیں بھا
سکتا اور کمال یہ ہے کہ بھتی بھتی ایسا معلوم
ہوتا ہے کہ کوئی خوش الحان گوئیا کا رہا ۔

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Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 24. Annas 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, June 15, 1912.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1.

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The Week.

Durbar Changes.

In the House of Commons on the 10th instant the Government of India Bill entered on the report stage.

Sir J. D. Rees, criticising the Durbar announcements in detail, declared that the sole policy of the Government in India as in England was one of surrender to agitation. Such policy, he said, would be absolutely fatal to India. He dealt at length with the views of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and read out the Chamber's resolution of protest. He declared that the Chamber was composed of men as well fitted to deal with the matter as any official. He pointed to the failure of the recent gold loan as an instance of the flow of British capital to India being impeded by the removal of the capital from the industrial centre. Sir J. D. Rees concluded, "It is impossible to pass over these momentous changes in silence, though it might be undesirable to compromise the position of the Crown in India in the slightest, by dividing on the Bill, but the change has been secretly discussed, rushed, and forced upon the people of India." It might be said that nothing could now be done, but he believed that public opinion could be roused, and the Government of India might be forced to treat Delhi as a standing camp. He

only hoped that the Government of India would be forced to finance the new capital by loans, not by sums filched from the railways and irrigation. He hoped that the error of attaching undue importance to the discontented elements would be avoided for the future and that the old order of consulting those most concerned, those upon whom the Government of India have to fall back in time of trouble, would be restored, and finally that the scheme unnecessarily expensive and already pronounced a failure would as far as possible be abandoned.

The Earl of Ronaldshay said he accepted the situation because of the tremendous sanction given thereto by the announcement made by the King-Emperor amid circumstances of great solemnity. "But though the proposals were not widely criticized," he said, "let us not believe that they are not viewed with great apprehension in many quarters, and alarm and dismay in some cases. Recent events had led him to the conclusion that it is not wise to show distrust of the high executive officers in the Indian Civil Service. The Government ought always to be most careful not to create the impression that they give way to clamour, and to avoid action calculated to shake faith in the inviolability of their pledged word."

Mr. Montagu said he could not escape from answering the most grave charges Sir J. D. Rees had brought against the Government of India. He proposed, however, to leave for the Indian Budget the question of the finance of the Delhi arrangement, because it was essentially a part of the finance of the year. With regard to the criticism of the Bill and of the transfer of the capital to Delhi, he asserted, without fear of contradiction, that students of the Government in India for generations past had been impressed with the growing difficulty that there were two seats of Government in Calcutta, interlaced and intertwined. Delhi was an enclave, ruled directly by the Government of India and comparable to Washington. The Government of India had taken up a proud position in the historical capital and railway centre of India. Mr. Montagu, advertising to Bengal, said that the fundamental mistake of the critics of the changes was suggesting that there was a reversal of the Partition. There had been no reversal. He was accused of saying something derogatory to Lord Curzon when he ventured to suggest that Lord Curzon had had no policy in this matter. There was nothing derogatory in that. It was only a well-known fact Lord Curzon had himself described his objects. Lord Curzon was perhaps the greatest administrator India had ever had. His object in dividing Bengal was to reform the administration of an unwieldy province. The unrest produced had militated against the efficiency Lord Curzon desired, and the Government had done Lord Curzon's work over again, and again divided Bengal, not into two, but into three parts. All they claimed was that the policy was likely to be more efficient, because the keeping of the national boundaries was more acceptable to the population. Mr. Montagu reproached Sir John Rees for recklessly accusing the Government of breach of faith. The words about the settled fact continually quoted against the Government were Lord Morley's. What Lord Morley meant was that the great administrative improvement from the subdivision of Bengal must never again be sacrificed and that the partition of Bengal would never again be reversed. But there had been no reversal. What was meant by a settled fact in politics was, it was suggested, that a thing once done was never to be modified by experience. That was the theory of crystallized Conservatism. He emphasised

that the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal would lose nothing by the change. Mr. Montagu, referring to Sir J. D. Rees' presentation of the arguments of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, declared that, if Sir John Rees would consult the files of the Indian papers, he would be struck by the way in which the Chamber's alarm was ignored by the rest of India. He thought that the alarm was based on a misapprehension. When they saw better results from the working of the scheme, the fears of the Calcutta commercial community would be allayed, and they would share in the enthusiastic welcome which the scheme had received from the vast majority of the people of all classes. Advertising to the charge of yielding to agitation, Mr. Montagu said, that in Bengal, as in many other countries, there was an overwhelming and almost universal section who were peaceful and lawabiding, and an insignificant minority of irresponsible agitators. He challenged the House to say that, since 1906, the Government had been supine in putting down agitation. "Lord Minto brought back, as one of the greatest triumphs of his rule, the way in which he, with Lord Morley, had stamped out, as I believe, what is known as the seditious movement. You have not only to punish the seditious, but also to remove the just grievances which bring sedition recruits and prevent repression having the desired effect. The Government of India believes that the real wounded race-feeling and feeling of unfair treatment, spreading far beyond the miserable confines of the disloyal and rebellious, was as strong on Durbar Day as it had ever been during the irresponsible agitation, but no greater disservice can be done to the Government of India than carelessly to lump together the agitation, such as presenting of the petition against the University of Dacca, and the agitation punishable, let us say, by deportation." Mr. Montagu continued. "I venture to suggest that the responsibility of those who govern a country like India to listen to grievances is even more vital than in a country where votes are the armoury of the governed. If I have shown any irritation to-day, I can only plead that the charges of broken pledges are as annoying as they are in domestic affairs, and must be met by the Government which has an overwhelming responsibility for the good government of India. It is because I believe that I have answered these charges on a subject where party politics play no part that I venture confidently to commend this Bill to the House. It is the first Bill of importance connected with the affairs of my department which I have had the honour to introduce, and it is a Bill which I can recommend with enthusiasm because I believe, and believe all the more strongly to-day after this debate, that it will lead to the improved government and greater peace in the country which benefits to a greater degree every day by the fact that the British people are responsible for its Government."

Sir John Jardine remarked that judging by the results, the proclamation of Delhi had been entirely satisfactory.

The Bill was read a third time.

Labour Unrest.

It is estimated that, up to the present, only twenty-five thousand men have struck, namely, in Bristol, Southampton, Plymouth, Swansea, Manchester and Llanelli.

Shipowners have rejected the Government's proposals, whereupon it is understood the orders to call out all transport workers were issued on the night of the 10th instant. The National Executive of the Transport Workers has telegraphed to every centre demanding an immediate general strike. The Cabinet has been summoned to a special meeting to consider the situation.

The Unions affiliated to the Transport Workers' Federation claim a membership of 314,000, but it is probable that large numbers will not respond to the summons to strike. Thus the dock labourers at Barry have unanimously decided to decline to strike and Cardiff and other South Wales ports are also expected to hold aloof. The Sailors' and Firemen's Executive has issued a manifesto warning members to ignore the summons to strike. On the other hand, at Bristol and elsewhere, the strike has been acclaimed with enthusiasm. The transport workers' employers and the Port of London authority have all published manifestos justifying their positions. The transport workers appeal for money to feed 300,000 children and 100,000 women.

London dock owners have passed a resolution that the Government's proposals are not acceptable, but they are willing to negotiate with the men on the basis of cash penalties for breaches of agreement and freedom of the employers with regard to non-Unionist labour.

All the traders doing business with the Port of London have written to the Government accepting the principle of pecuniary guarantee, but emphasising the impossibility of federating all trades. In a manifesto the Port of London says it is conscious of the unjustifiable pretext of the present strike, but that it prefers matters to take their course.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain was to move the vote of censure on the 15th instant.

The motion of censure standing in Mr. Austen Chamberlain's name declares that it is the duty of the Government to protect men

desiring to work in a lawful occupation, and that Mr. McKenna's claim to differentiate between cases in which the Government will afford protection and others in which it will afford it only after a breach of the peace has been committed, is unconstitutional and illegal.

The Labourites have given notice that they will move an adjournment to-day to call attention to the situation.

A deputation of the Chamber of Commerce waited on Lord Crewe. No publication of the proceedings will be permitted, until a summary has been agreed upon between the deputation and the India Office.

Cabinet Changes.

The resignation of Lord Loreburn is officially confirmed. Lord Haldane has formally taken the Great Seal and will take his seat on the Woolsack to-morrow, when the House of Lords re-assembles. Though it is understood that the appointment of Colonel Seely to the War Office is settled, no announcement has yet been made. It is stated that Lord Ashby St. Ledgers, formerly Mr. Ivor Guest, will replace Colonel Seely as Under-Secretary for War.

Papers of all shades of political opinion publish hearty eulogies of the past services rendered by Lord Loreburn and Lord Haldane.

Lord Haldane took his seat on the Woolsack on the 11th instant. Lord Crewe and Lord Lansdowne paid cordial tributes to Lord Loreburn. Lord Crewe added that Lord Loreburn wished it to be known that he resigned on grounds of ill-health alone. Lord Haldane, responding, said that he was filled with the sense of the difficulty of adequately following in Lord Loreburn's footsteps.

Sir Rufus Isaacs has been appointed a member of the Cabinet. The appointment of Sir Rufus Isaacs is unique. It is announced that it is entirely personal and is not intended as a precedent.

The German press makes bewildered comments on Lord Haldane's departure from the War Office, based on the cherished theory that his mission in the Cabinet is to effect an Anglo-German understanding. The German papers are unable to decide whether his appointment, synchronising with the arrival of the new Ambassador, Baron Marschall Von Bieberstein, is a good or evil augury for Anglo-German relations. Some are of opinion that Lord Haldane has been shelved to the detriment of Baron Marschall's chances of success.

Colonel Seely's appointment to the War Office is officially announced.

It is understood that Colonel Seely will be succeeded as Under-Secretary for War by Mr. Harold Tenant, M.P., Financial Secretary to the War Office, and that the latter will be succeeded by Mr. Harold Baker, M.P.

Afghanistan.

News from Khost shows that there has been no further fighting and that negotiations are proceeding between General Nabir Khan and the tribesmen.

The *Englishman's* Jellalabad correspondent writes that by the Amir's order the Governor of Jellalabad has posted a notice at the Jellalabad Kotwali that the Amur's troops, with the help of Afghans, has defeated the Mangals and Jindran rebels, and the Afghans and the troops will return to their destinations after pacifying the country, and the Afghans, who have brought some goods from the Khost country, are allowed to retain them. The Amur's troops at Jellalabad, with the Governor's staff, have left for Hungam Pachiri and Mama Khel for the summer. The Amur has sent urgent orders to Salar Syed Shah Khan, Commander of the Amar and Leghman troops, to go on tour every month into the illakas and send his reports of his tours weekly stating the condition of the illakas and to watch very carefully the movements of the people.

All is quiet in the Khost Valley. The Governor of Khost, Shahgassi Mahomed Akbar Khan, has been recalled to Kabul, and left Khost some days ago. As through his actions, the origin of the trouble was largely due, his recall undoubtedly helps towards peace.

A frontier correspondent states that the number of Afghan troops on the Herat border have been increased by order of the Amir. This step would seem to have been taken after news had been received that a strong force of Russians had been sent to Meshed to restore order there. It does not appear that the Russian outposts in the Kushk Valley or anywhere south of Merv are above the normal strength, and Afghan apprehensions may be considered groundless.

News from Kabul states that the sons of Jahanbad Khan, the Ghilzai trader, who temporarily joined the Khost rebels, have been placed under arrest. They were employed in Afghan service and were, doubtless, considered in a way as hostages for their father's good behaviour.

Brigadier-General Abdul Aziz, the Afghan General, has arrived at Chakmanni with two regiments and has called in the Margis Jirga in order to discuss possible terms of settlement.

China.

In reply to Mr. Ginnel in the House of Commons, Sir Edward Grey said that pending the final issue of the Chinese loan, His Majesty's Government had assured their exclusive support to the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Bank, the British representative in the International combination, which, it is hoped, will render effective the aim of His Majesty's Government and prevent any return to the former unprofitable policy of International competition in Chinese loans. The support now given to this Bank in no way confers a monopoly on it for the issue of future loans, and I understand that the Bank will admit to full participation British houses of established reputation. We have no desire to take advantage of China's difficulties. It is China who wants to borrow, not others who wish to press loans upon her. If China can dispense with foreign loans, it would be a very great relief and put an end to many troublesome questions. It is clear that in the present state of affairs in China, if money is to be lent, it must be on proper conditions, otherwise Chinese credit will disappear, and confusion and chaos result, and I cannot support anything likely to produce these consequences.

A telegram from Kashgar states that Kashgar is in a condition of anarchy. The head of an influential political society in Kashgar has been murdered, and officials are in a state of panic. The southern towns of Yarkent, Kargalik, and others are in the hands of the popular Miltia, and all officials at Chotan have fled.

Reuter's correspondent states that owing to anarchy the Russian Consular guard in Kashgar has been reinforced by two companies of infantry and three squadrons of Cossacks.

News received by way of Kashmir fully confirms the recent statements as to the anarchy that prevails in Chinese Turkestan as a result of the revolutionary movement among the Chinese garrison. Mutinous troops seem everywhere to have overthrown the ordinary administration and installed officers of their own. They have been quarrelling among themselves also, and traders in Kashgar and other towns appear afraid of outrages. No looting, however, has occurred in the city of Kashgar, according to latest accounts, though business generally has been greatly affected. It is reported that Russians have moved three squadrons of Cossacks and two Companies of Infantry into the country to protect Russian subjects, and these detachments should have reached Kashgar itself a few days ago.

Tibet.

It was definitely settled that the Dalai Lama and suite were to leave Kalimpong on Thursday, the 5th current.

Serious fighting is expected to follow this move. Those who have followed his fortunes declared that the false move made by him first was when he threw himself into the arms of the Chinese in Lord Curzon's time and again when he became an involuntary guest of the British Government. The reception that will be his portion is not difficult to predict, but it is to be hoped that it will not embroil the Government into mere punitive expeditions on account of the lives of its subjects who accompany the Dalai Lama.

Opium Trade.

PEKIN messages continue to indicate that the opium situation is daily growing worse, and in spite of Sir John Jordan's earnest remonstrance the Pekin Government has failed to compel the provincial authorities to pass certified opium into the interior. The Government of India, it is believed, are inclined to continue the sales, as their suspension is regarded as unsound on political and commercial grounds. The situation, however, is receiving the closest attention of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, and some definite decision will be reached before long.

Indian Assistant Surgeons.

The British Medical Council has adopted the recommendations of the committee with regard to the admission of members of the Assistant Surgeon Branch of the Indian Subordinate Medical Department to an examination for a British qualification. Only certificates of qualifications of intending candidates drafted by the India Office will be considered.

Council Regulations.

In connection with the revision of Council Regulations all provincial Governments except Bengal and Punjab have sent up their recommendations and letters from these provinces are expected almost immediately. The Government of India will then proceed with the discussion and it is yet unsettled whether a committee of the Executive Council will be entrusted with the task of dealing with the regulations as was done on the last occasion.

It was understood that the Hon. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu and Mr. Surendranath Banerjee would have had the privilege of personally laying their suggestions re the expansion of the electoral regulations before the Executive Council, but, as it was subsequently found

that such a procedure would create a precedent which might hereafter be found embarrassing, they were given an opportunity of having a further interview with each member of the Executive Council individually in order that further fuller explanation of the needs of the middle class for increased representation may be advanced. This meeting, which lasted fully two hours with the Hon. Mr. P. C. Lyon and Sir William Duke, took place at the residence of the latter and the interviewers were assured that their suggestions would receive a carefully sympathetic consideration. It is understood that, if necessary, both gentlemen will proceed to Simla to press their views with the Government of India.

New Delhi.

THE Delhi town-planning experts have condemned the swampy Durbar area as the site of new Delhi and have suggested instead building the capital on the higher and more salubrious ground to the south-west of Delhi. The new site is on the right hand as one leaves existing Delhi by the Ajmer gate and proceeds southwards towards the Kutb Minar. The ground here is more open and free of ruins, and it rises gradually to the breezy uplands of the Aravali Hills of which the historic Ridge is a continuation. These are here only a hundred feet or so high but they break the monotony of the plain and will lift the houses out of the dust. They are close to the road at first but diverge gradually from it as one proceeds southwards, the level area of cultivation being about two miles broad at Saifur Jang's Tomb, a fine building close to the road on the right some four miles south of the Ajmer gate. To the west of the hills the country is open and should afford an excellent manoeuvring ground for the brigade which will no doubt eventually be located there. The only objection is to be found in the distance some five miles as the crow flies, separating the new site from the Civil Lines where it has been proposed to erect accommodation for the Government of India as a temporary arrangement. There is still time, however, to remedy this defect if any nearer location can be found, as little has yet been done to the temporary quarters, and now that the site of the permanent city has been decided upon the question of arranging that the temporary one should be in its closer neighbourhood will no doubt be carefully considered.

The view is now entertained that it will be not before five years at least that the Government of India will occupy the new city. The planning of cantonments to the west of the permanent city is being taken in hand.

Hindu University.

A HINDU University meeting was held at Naini Tal at very short notice and resulted in subscriptions of some sixty thousand rupees. The Maharaja of Darbhanga left for Aligarh.

Moslem University.

THE Maharaja of Darbhanga reached Aligarh on the morning of the 9th instant. A large gathering received him at the railway station. In the evening he was shown over the various college buildings. On Monday morning a meeting was held in the college premises. Nawab Viqar-ul mulk, Mr. Aftabahmad, the Maharaja Bahadur, and Nawab Mozammil-ulla Khan made speeches on the necessity of unity between Hindus and Muhammadans. The Maharaja Bahadur gave Rs. 20,000 to the Moslem University he had promised previously. He left Aligarh on the night of the 10th instant.

The Imperial Council.

Mr Montagu, replying in the Commons to Sir J. D. Rees, said that it was not proposed at present to increase the number of members of the Viceroy's Council, but that certain re-arrangements were contemplated as regards the position of provincial representatives as whole-time members of the Imperial Council, the exact cost of which cannot yet be estimated.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND COLLECTION IN INDIA.

Name of place.	Name of person in charge of the Fund.	THE WEEK'S PROGRESS.				PROGRESS UP TO DATE.				REMARKS
		R.s.	A.	R.s.	A.	P.	R.s.	A.	P.	
Karachi (Slid).	Seth Hall Ab-dullah Haroon.	448	10	1,407	1	The R. Honble Syed Amr Ali by a D.D on the National Bank of India, London. The President Croissant, Rangoon Ottoman by a D.D on the Deutsche Bk, Constantinople.	10,300	1	10,300	1
				1,300						For week ending 5th May 1912
				1,100						
				3	10	Misc Charges.				

TETE À TETE



After a prolonged period of inactivity, an Italian force consisting of 14 battalions of infantry and a cavalry brigade moved out of the trenches at Tripoli and attacked the Turkish position at Zanzur.

According to the accounts that have hitherto reached, the fighting was fierce and resulted in heavy casualties on both sides. It continued the whole day and towards the evening the Turks, according to the Turkish commander, "were compelled to retire in face of overwhelming odds," leaving an edge of the oasis in the possession of the Italians. According to the Italian version the Turks lost over 1,000 in killed alone, while their own casualties were 31 killed and 263 wounded. The Turkish commander reports that his losses were 100 killed and 300 wounded, while the number of the wounded on the Italian side was over 1,000. In the absence of fuller reports, for which we shall have to wait a fortnight, it is obviously difficult to estimate the accuracy of the rival versions. One thing, however, is clear. The Italians had taken the offensive and they assert having carried the entrenched positions at the point of the bayonet. Manifestly, therefore, it is the attacking force that must have suffered much more heavily, unless, indeed, as the *Statesman* pertinently remarked, the Italian soldiers are bullet-proof. War news emanating from Rome have always been found to be wildly exaggerated and, in many cases, utterly false. The Turkish accounts, on the contrary, have never been found to be deliberately mendacious, and their general accuracy has always stood the test of scrutiny in the light of fuller knowledge. It is, therefore, impossible not to accept the figures given by the Turkish commander as approximately correct. Only a short time ago the Italians had made an attack on Zanzur in full force, but were repulsed with heavy loss. Rome, however, telegraphed the news of a great victory to the four corners of the world. Had not the correspondent of the Paris *Temps* with the Turkish forces exposed the lie, Zanzur would have continued to be associated with a glorious "victory" of a "glorious war." The oasis lies about 10 miles towards the west of Tripoli, not very far from the coast. An outpost of Arab volunteers assisted by a few Turkish regulars was entrusted with its defence. We can hardly imagine the Arab force defending the oasis could be much larger than 1,000. After the recent fighting the Italians themselves admit to have taken only an edge of the oasis; and it is probable the Arab attacks on the Italian position will soon be commenced. Whether the Italians will be able to hold "the edge" much longer remains to be seen. As we go to press the news of another fierce battle at Homs comes from Rome. As usual, the Turks and Arabs are reported to have left more than four hundred and twenty one dead on the field. In fact, it is claimed that the Turkish force was hemmed in by an enveloping movement, a part of it having escaped by flight and the rest having been "annihilated." It may be remembered that a great Italian victory was announced at Homs not very long ago, which, according to the latest mail news, appears to have been an utter rout of the Italians at the hands of a couple of hundred Arabs. We doubt if there are more than

500 Arabs and Turks at Homs. If they are killed in "thousand" in every engagement, big or small, we do not know whom the Italians are fighting against—the will o' the wisp of the Sahara or the ghosts of the victims of their massacre.

The Mangal tribesmen of the Khost Valley, some time ago, rose in revolt against the local Afghan Governor, The Khost Rebellion, who had incurred their ire by his brusque and summary ways. The rising seemed to have spread with rapidity and, although no other important tribe joined the rebels, it, nevertheless, assumed serious dimensions and grew to be a menace to the peace of the neighbouring country. The Amir ordered a force of regular troops and a lashkar of tribal levies to go to the relief of the besieged Governor and to put down the rebellion. The relieving force, however, did not enter into the valley at once, but waited outside apparently marking time. The comments of the Anglo-Indian Press on the seemingly slow movement of the Afghan troops and their utter lack of organisation, in the meantime, waxed loud and sarcastic. Even the *Times* came out with a leading article which was a strange mixture of cold patronage, mild rebuke and condescending advice for "King Habibullah." The burden of the Anglo-Indian and British Press comments has been that the so-called formidable Afghan army only existed in name, that there was hardly any officer having adequate military knowledge and skill, that the commissariat arrangements were still in the most primitive stage, that the Amir lacked the vigour and strength of will of his father, and that the pacification of the rebellious tribesmen might well prove a task beyond the resources of the present Afghan Ruler. The news of the despatch of Mullahs on a mission of peace was received with sneers. It was even hinted that peace overtures had been rejected by the rebels. It has, however, come to pass that the rebellion is subsiding and the tribesmen are returning to allegiance without a shot having been fired. Is this not an achievement of which the Amir may truly be proud? The latest news from Simla states that "news received through Lahore from the frontier shows that a further stage has now been reached in the remarkable proceedings in Khost, where, contrary to all Afghan precedents, the Amir is negotiating with a rebellion and appears to be succeeding in winning over tribesmen who have just been in arms against his officials. His General has now entered Khost and summoned the tribal *juges* to a conference, besides making a characteristic Afghan proclamation to the effect that the Amir is prepared to use force if necessary, though the armaments of Afghanistan are meant to be used against the enemies of Islam and not against his own people. From the news recently received that one of the more seriously committed rebel chiefs has taken refuge in British territory, would seem that the Amir's methods are likely to succeed. They are in curious contrast to those of the late Amir." No wiser method could the Amir have chosen to pacify the unruly tribesmen without useless bloodshed. But, perhaps, the intense jingoism of a section of the Anglo-Indian Press could only be satisfied if mountain guns had been instantly brought into action to mow down thousands of his misguided subjects in the name of prestige.

The names we would have most liked to see in the Honours List issued on 13th June are again conspicuous by their absence, though some effort has been made to recognise modest merit. As usual, most of the higher decorations and titles have gone to the members of the Civil Service. Without grudging that privileged Order of the Bureaucracy its enjoyment of the lion's share of the honours conferred by the Sovereign and the State, we may reasonably assume it would be infinitely better if the basis of selection were broadened. As we had remarked on an earlier occasion, State officials are not the only class of men who are spending their lives in the public service. There are a thousand and one ways open to

a man to do some genuine good to the people, although his whole life may be spent outside the charmed circle of officialdom. To pick up such individuals for public distinction, whatever may be the form of their activities—provided they are honestly directed to the public weal—would greatly enhance the value of the official honours and would make them the genuine hall marks of useful and honourable careers. As things are they are simply like unto the wind of which Christ said that it bloweth where it listeth and nobody knows whence it cometh and where it goeth. Amongst the recipients of the honours, there are some names fully deserving of the distinctions conferred upon them. Among the new Companions of the Order of the Star of India, the names of Mr Abbas Ali Baig, of the India Council, Major Sahibzada Obaidullah Khan, Commandant, Bhopal Imperial Service Troops, Mr Moreland, I.C.S., of the United Provinces, and Mr. E. A. Gait, Census Commissioner for India may be particularly mentioned. Mr G. A. Grierson's K.C.I.E. is a just recognition of his great scholarship and erudition and his position as, perhaps, the highest living authority on the languages of India. The great explorer Mr. M. A. Stein, of the Archaeological Department, receives a K.C.I.E. His researches and explorations in Central Asia, conducted amidst great difficulties and with immense patience and labour, have won for him a world-wide renown. His name would lend distinction to the eminent Order into which he has entered. A number of the Companionships of the Indian Empire go to the civilians of Madras. Mr T. W. Arnold's C.I.E. must be peculiarly gratifying to the large circle of his friends and admirers in India and particularly to his many friends and associates and old pupils of Aligarh, where he is still a name to conjure with. A scholar of great merit, he has been, ever since his retirement from India, discharging the arduous duties of the Educational Adviser to Indian students, besides his ordinary work as Librarian of the India Office. We have also read with pleasure the name of Dr. Edward Denison Ross, Assistant Secretary, Education Department, amongst the recipients of the C.I.E.'s. Dr. Ross is a well-known figure in the literary circles of Calcutta. He has done useful and varied work during his interesting career. He has always commanded respect as a scholar and an educationist. As head of the Calcutta Madrassa for many years he had unique opportunities for studying the educational needs of the Mussalmans of Bengal, and his long connection with that institution has, we are sure, created in him an abiding interest in the question of Moslem education. The Honorary rank of Major has been conferred on Nawab Mohamed Nasrulla Khan, eldest son of H. H. the Begum of Bhopal. The Knighthood bestowed on Mr Justice Sankaran Nair, Judge of the High Court, Madras, is well deserved by that zealous and vigorous champion of the cause of the Hindu social reform. The number of the new Khan Bahadurs and Rai Bahadurs, Khan Sahibs and Rai Sahibs, is, as usual, sufficiently large, and we hope the honour is in every case, fully deserved. We note with gratification that Babu Ganga Prasad Varma, Editor, the *Advocate*, Lucknow, has been made a Rai Bahadur. We had been led, in common with many others, into the error of supposing that he had been made a Rai Sahib on the occasion of the Durbar. The honour has come richer by being a little late, and, we are sure the recipient has fully deserved it.

STATISTICS relating to the offences committed against women in the Panjab furnish a melancholy reading. Taking **Offences against Women in the Panjab**. All the offences under various heads it would appear that about ten thousand persons were tried in 1910. The number of cases that ended in conviction is about 30 per cent. In the absence of the statistics relating to previous years we cannot say if the offences of this nature show a tendency to increase. Even as they are, they disclose a grave social danger which calls for urgent, close, and exhaustive treatment. The social conditions in the Panjab have for some time past been subject to a process of transition. Apart

from the new economic forces that are silently affecting the relative value of social relations, a new spirit of intellectual change is in the air, which is profoundly modifying the old moral standards. These are, however, general causes, more or less operative throughout India. The problem as it affects the Panjab must be studied with reference to the peculiar circumstances and social conditions of the province. Disparity in the proportion of the two sexes cannot fully account for the large variety of the offences against women. In many cases the cause is decidedly trivial. Again, the motives are as various as the offences, and, indeed, even in cases of the same character the motives may be different. In considering the bearing of crimes of this nature on the conditions of the people as a whole, it is easy to lose sight of the facts and run away at a tangent in search of some fantastic explanation. The *Punyadee* of Lahore has of late been in the habit of dabbling in sociology. In a recent article on "Offences against Women in the Panjab" it has indulged in puerilities, some of which are decidedly amusing and a few not a little mischievous. We admire the following observations for their undiluted wonder and mystery—"The small number of female population, which can probably be traced from the time of the Mahabharat, has a weakening effect on that side of human nature which represents all that appeals to the sense of true emotion, culture, and art. Consequently, the rough and non-emotional side of human nature and environments gets an undue influence and power which grows with the strength gained in every generation." This is, however, a mild exercise in the art of the Inang of which our contemporary is a past master. One of the reasons advanced by the *Punyadee* for the existence of crime against women is the following—"For another, the domination of the Mahomedan element composed of very ignorant tribes who are the descendants of converts from the lower strata of the Hindus, is quite apparent. Hindu religion and Hindu civilisation have an undoubtedly ethical and progressive effect, leading to peacefulness and control of the aggressive and passionate tendencies of men. We do not deny similar wholesome effects in Islam and other religions, but their effect has not so fully permeated among a people made up by the accretions from various castes and communities never completely assimilated to the best side of any religion." We can not expect anything better from a paper that is in the habit of talking with profound gusto about the "spiritual democracy of the Hindus." It is refreshing to be told in the same breath that "it is difficult to find what classes of people are mostly concerned in the offences against women, to what religion and part of the province they belong. *The official reports do not give these details*." The evident pathos of the words we have italicised is rather heightened by the paltry implications contained in the passage quoted above. Need we say that we have no desire to defend the Mussalmans against these cowardly aspersions? We would only wish that Hinduism, a creed that satisfies the hearts of millions and for which we feel genuine respect, could have as its exponents men who really possessed "peacefulness and control of the aggressive and passionate tendencies of men."

ACCORDING to the London correspondent of the *Prince*, the St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Standard* The latest Russian Ukase. say "that all private Mahomedan Schools in Astrakhan are ordered to close owing to Pan-Turkish or Pan-Islamic propaganda amongst the Tartars of south-east Russia." The latest ukase of the Russian Autocracy is conceived in the true spirit of which it is the symbol. The representatives of official obscurantism in Russia always aim their first blow at the schools, for they, in their ignorance, imagine that by stopping all sources of light and knowledge they would effectually stop the growth of liberal ideas among the people. Their next move will, of course, be to arrest all those who show the slightest discontent against repression and send them to a life-long exile in Siberia. An army of rapacious myrmidons of the

police will be let loose on the panic-stricken masses. With the help of outrages, exactions and tortures a perfect reign of terror will be established. Eventually a report will be submitted to the Autocrat of all the Russians by his faithful and humble servants that the "unrest" along with "Pan-Turkism" or "Pan-Islamism" has been driven out of the land. What is this "Pan-Turkism," one may ask, that is getting on the nerves of the Russian Autocracy? The Tartars of south-east Russia have a close racial kinship with the Ottoman Turks. They must have naturally felt some sympathy for the troubles of their brethren in Turkey and may have been led to give it a free expression. In Russia, however, freedom of expression is one of the deadliest of sins. Repression is its only remedy; and in Russia repressive measures are never taken by halves. The fiat has gone forth that all private Moslem schools should be closed. It may be stated here briefly that the Russian Mussalmans have organised a powerful and widespread movement for the organisation of communal education. They have started schools managed and financed by themselves which teach a curriculum of studies adapted to the special needs of the Mussalmans, in accordance with what is called "The New Method." The apostle of this educational movement is the famous and learned editor of the *Teryman*. We will deal with the aims and ideals of this great movement in a subsequent issue. The Russian bureaucracy has now frankly declared itself as the enemy of the Moslem progress. Will it succeed in suppressing a great movement for intellectual emancipation that has taken deep root amongst millions of the Mussalmans of Russia? One thing is certain. No civilised Power of Europe will dare protest against the brutal methods of the Government of the Tsar. The Russian Moslems will have to rely on their own resources in their fight against the forces of repression, tyranny and obscurantism.

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Amount received during the week ...	1,877 9 0
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TOTAL Rs ...	18,897 5 0

Verse.

The Moth and the Butterfly.

A PANSY-PINIONED butterfly,
Flitting from rose to mignonette,
Espied a moth on wings to lie
To where an open casement met
The dusking day with timid light,
That ev'ry minute grew more bright.
Said butterfly to moth in jest,
"What wings you, cousin, on your way ?
The sun is all but gone to rest :
They tarry now who tarry may,
For flowers here are sweet to see,
And sweeter still for company."
But here the busy trifler spied,
Ere half his jesting speech was done,
A tall white lily by the side
Of a steep bank that kissed the sun ;
And flitted forth incontinent,
On ever-changing pleasure bent.
The moth scarce seemed to heed the song,
But sped demurely on his way,
As one impelled by purpose strong
Whom way-side trifles might not stay,
Till past the curtained casement frame,
With deathless love he fed the flame.
But ere his life was half consumed,
I seemed to hear some murmuring,
As of a soul to silence doomed
(Though Death for him was rest of sting)
Who still would voice his inmost pain,
And would not make his passion vain.
That sweet sad wail no mortal ear,
Though kindred passion gave it name,
May in the body ever hear,
For singing wing and hissing frame—
Burnt-offerings of steadfast love
On the high altar reared above.
With inward sense he sees the light,
He feels it in his inmost soul :
He finds it fair, he knows it bright
He seeks it for his destined goal :
Welcome to him the chastening fire,
For love is one with love's desire
Shall love at love's hand seek for good
Alone—soft sunshine and sweet shade .
And way-side blooms and blithe abode
In yonder smiling valley-grove ;
Smooth paths that will caress the feet ;
Sweet wines to drink, sweet food to eat ?
Shall love at love's hand wince or cry,
If e'er frosty sting, or hot suna smite ;
And bitter tears that bite the eye
Well up unbid, and aches that write
Strange wrinkles on the anguished heart,
Swart galley-marks that ne'er depart ?
Go to ! thy creed is wearisome.
Nay ! may not love once smite for love ?
Is travail vain ? Do trials come
In wrath alone ? Nay ! up above,
Thy fire and light, thy wrath and ruth,
Are witnesses of one same truth.
Say which slays soonest—light or fire,
The sun speeds swiftest or the day ?
Why need the fearless heart enquire
If wrath may quicken, ruth may slay,
When faith and hope are given to love,
And all consecrated above ?
A voice calls ! and the exiled soul
Rejoicing, answers back—"I come!"
What boots it how the goal is won,
The way was long and wearisome,
The way was long, and bleak and strait,
And 'twas an agony to wait.
An unsung Idyll in his life,
The little fragile moth reveals,
The primal ley of mortal strife
To win the light that death conceals :
And dying thus he leaves behind,
A burning message for his kind."

The Comrade.

Islam in China.

The subject of "Islam in China" has been a fertile field of speculation ever since the affairs of the Chinese Empire were drawn into the orbit of international diplomacy. Missionaries and travellers who have from time to time visited the extensive regions of the Far East in quest of converts, pleasure or knowledge, have published accounts of the life of the Chinese Moslems, their strength and vitality, materially differing from one another and frankly based on the insufficient data of local knowledge, or on hearsay and chance impressions. Like the rest of China, a trustworthy and accurate history of the Chinese Moslems with special reference to their origin, growth, numbers and existing conditions is yet to be written. With the advent of the Republican *régime* the old prejudices against the modern standards of administration are sure to die away, and the time may soon come when an accurate estimate of the relative strength of the races and religions in a part of the world that has hitherto remained almost hermetically sealed will become available. Until such time all estimates about the population of China will continue to be received with caution, if not with scepticism. The glaring disparity in the various estimates that have hitherto been attempted, stamp them all with the character of indeterminate guesses or, at best, elaborate inferences from essentially local experience tempered by personal indiosyncrasy. The generally accepted guess—for it is scarcely better than a guess—about the total population of China placed the number at between 450 and 400 millions. Many doubts, however, have recently been expressed about the general accuracy of this estimate, and the consensus of opinion seems now to favour the latest guesses which bring down the total to about 300 millions. These vast variations are inevitable as long as the sole instrument of calculation is the missionary engaged in proselytising work in distant towns and out-of-the-way places, or a traveller "doing" the whole Chinese Empire in a fortnight, borne along the beaten track with the help of the "Tourist's Guide."

While, therefore, it is difficult to place any undue credence on the generally accepted estimates of the population of China as a whole, the strength of the Moslem element becomes still more difficult to ascertain with any approach to accuracy on account of its numerical inferiority and uneven distribution. Several estimates have been framed by those interested in the subject, which are conspicuous only for their wide diversity. The data available for such estimates emanate from three different sources. In the first place, we have the impressions of the European and other foreign travellers supplemented by random official records to which they "could find ready access. Secondly, there are the figures compiled by different missionaries in their particular localities based on local knowledge. Thirdly, there is the opinion of the Chinese Mussalmans themselves. As regards the first source of information, the least that can be said against it is that it has grown stale through a long lapse of years, the latest estimate having been framed about 1878. Besides, it is hopelessly bewildering in its gaps and contradictions. We will take only a few examples. A. H. Keane, the author of "Asia," gives 30,000,000 as the probable figure, an estimate which the "Statesman's Year Book" accepts as approximately correct. M. De Thibaut, who was for many years the French Consul-General in China and is said to have devoted eighteen years to the study of the Chinese Mussalmans, gives the number in 1878 as 20,000,000. An anonymous French writer considers M. De Thibaut's figure as "toutefois exagéré" and thinks 15,000,000 more approximate. Mr. W. S. Blunt in his work, entitled "The Future of Islam," also accepts the same figure. H. H. Jessup, in "the Muhammadan Missionary Question," places it as low as 4,000,000, while Dr. Ellsworth of Canton thinks that the entire Moslem population of

China does not exceed 3,000,000. Thus it would appear that the estimates framed by the most competent European authorities range between 3,000,000 and 30,000,000. It is remarkable that the figures rise in proportion to a rise in the standard of individual competence. A. H. Keane's statement seems to have been based on comparatively greater knowledge, closer investigation and sounder tests and methods of inference. All the same, even he, with all his scientific methods, broader outlook and freedom from bias, has achieved little beyond an elaborate guess.

Coming to the second source, i.e., the information supplied by the missionaries working in China, we cannot help thinking that in this case we have to deal with a class of men who cannot wholly free themselves from the reticences and the peculiar point of view of their vocation. A Missionary is nothing if not a partisan, and no one can honestly blame him if he looks on Moslem population in China as so much virgin field for the growth of Christianity. Naturally it would hurt his *amour propre* a good deal, besides committing him to an awkward confession of failure, to have to admit the popularity and strength of a rival faith. The serious flutter that was recently caused in the missionary circles owing to the rapid spread of Islam in Africa was primarily due to the loud warnings of a few enthusiasts who thought it more advisable to frankly recognise the existence of serious "Peril" than to go on keeping up a convenient fiction. As a result of this agitation an important Missionary Conference met in London and measures were discussed for an organised and vigorous campaign to combat the growing influence of Islam amongst the heathen races of mankind. A monthly journal, entitled the *Moslem World*, was also started, in January 1911, under the editorship of Rev. S. M. Zwemer, with a view to keep the Christian propagandists in touch with the "current events, literature, and thought among Muhammadans and the progress of Christian Missions in Moslem lands." The very first number of this periodical contains a long article on the Muhammadan Population of China" contributed by Mr. Marshall Broomhall. The writer invited "over 800 persons in China" to send him an account of the Moslem population and his conclusions are based on the details "supplied by about 200 correspondents from different parts of the Chinese Empire." It must, however, be noted that the "correspondents" are mostly missionaries whose testimony is conflicting and mutually destructive, apart from the fact that it fails to inspire confidence even on its merits. The writer himself is careful to disclaim absolute accuracy in his estimates and rightly considers that "at the best all that is possible is a careful estimate based upon such data as is obtainable." With the materials at his disposal he summarises the position under minimum and maximum columns and, according to the table he prepares, the Moslem population in the Chinese Empire is calculated to be between 4,727,000 and 9,821,000. How far these figures accurately represent the strength of Islam in China may be best judged by the fact that they include the population of the Chinese Turkestan, a thickly peopled province, in extent about two-thirds the area of India, having a rich soil and genial climate and an overwhelming majority of Moslem inhabitants.

The statements of the Chinese Moslems at present available are few. Yet it is their testimony that ought to be the most reliable. They alone can be expected to have an intimate knowledge of the numerical strength and conditions of their co-religionists. It is possible they may be led to exaggerate things in their enthusiasm to impress the world with "the strength and glory of their creed;" but it is safer to accept them as our guide than to rely on a "foreigner" who is absolutely ignorant of the country and is prone to "exaggerate" things on the other side. We know of only two statements made by the Chinese Moslems; one was made by Syed Sulayman, a Chinese Moslem official of Yunnan, during an interview that he accorded to the representative of a Cairo journal in 1894. According to his opinion the number of the Chinese

15th June.

Moslems could not be less than 70,000,000. According to Abdur Rahaman, a Chinese Moslem scholar, who was also interviewed at Cairo in 1906, the Moslem population of China was above 34,000,000. The wide divergence of opinion even amongst the Chinese Moslems themselves indicates how utterly futile it is to expect that statistical accuracy will be attained in the absence of organised census undertaken by the State. Still, however, the calculations of the Chinese Moslems may not be as wide of the mark as all other estimates appear to be. Taking all the facts into consideration it is safe to assume that the Chinese Moslem population is somewhere between 30 and 70 millions.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das, the Indian traveller, who has made a number of journeys through Tibet, read a paper a few days ago at a meeting of the Indian Research Society at Darjeeling on "Islam in China and Higher Asia." The Rai Bahadur dealt with the history of the growth of Islam in China, the political and social condition of the Mussalmans, their number, distribution, their manners and customs, and the general intellectual tendencies that are beginning to manifest themselves in the Moslem society to-day. The paper did not make any original contribution to the study of "Islam in China." It was for the most part a *resume* of the bewildering variety of impressions of missionaries and travellers which have found expression in a peculiarly loose and scattered mass of contemporary literature. The opinion of the lecturer himself seems to be equally indeterminate. In "Islam and Christianity in the Far East," published some time ago, he is made responsible for the statement that Moslems of China number 50 millions. Now he seems to have changed his mind and thinks with Mr Marshall Broomhall that they cannot in any case be more than 12 millions. Naturally no great weight can be attached to pronouncements that are so elastic and so obviously depend on extraneous authority.

To trace the history of Islam in China to its origin is beyond the compass of this article. The Arab traders first introduced the religion into the country within the first century of the death of the Prophet. It continued to spread and win converts amongst the Chinese population of the great trading centres, till a new and continuous stream of Islamic influence began to penetrate from the north with the incursion of the Tartars who had embraced the faith. Thenceforward the progress of Islam was steady and rapid and it won its way into the heart of China, the treasuring centres of population, and spread far into Mongolia and Manchuria. In some of the great provinces of China Proper the Mussalmans form about 30 per cent. of the whole population. Kashgar is almost entirely Moslem, while even inaccessible places like Tibet have not remain unaffected. According to the very modest estimate of Mr J. R. Muir, there are 2,000 Moslem families in Lhassa and 2,000 more scattered over the surrounding provinces.

The political relations of the Chinese Mussalmans with the sovereign authority remained very straight and even cordial up till the advent of the Manchus in 1648. Within the last 250 years they were on three occasions involved in serious political trouble. In some cases they were persecuted by provincial authorities and grave religious disabilities were imposed upon them. With the birth of the Republic every vestige of the old spirit of persecution and hostility has disappeared. The leaders of the revolution have gratefully borne testimony to the energy and patriotism of their Moslem compatriots who materially helped them in their efforts to inaugurate an era of law, liberty and constitutional government. There is every reason to believe that Islam will enter on a fresh career of expansion and vigour in an atmosphere of freedom, which is its native element and is the supreme condition necessary for its spontaneous growth.

The social customs and modes of life of the Chinese Mussalmans, in some respects, stand in sharp contrast to those of their Buddhist fellow-countrymen. This phenomenon may furnish some food for thought to a student of sociology. Physical and social environment is a factor of tremendous power in the direction of human development. It is, however, a moot point whether the

spiritual environment cannot, to a large extent, neutralise the effects of race, heredity and other secular forces. The Chinese Mussalmans have, in the main, sprung from the common Mongol stock. They speak the same language, live under the same laws and are subject to the same undefinable influences known as "physical environment" as their non-Moslem fellow-subjects. Yet they differ from their Buddhist neighbours in their social habits and organisation, in their manners, thoughts and customs, their deeper spiritual instincts and outlook on life. There are very few amongst them addicted to the vice of opium-smoking. The Moslem women never smoke. The Hui-Hui, as the Chinese Musselman is called, does not, naturally, eat pork or drink wine. His nuptial and funeral ceremonies are conducted according to the teachings of Islam and, consequently, differ from those of the Buddhists. There is a greater confidence and vigour of character in him. Military service attracts him much more than ordinary civil avocations. He is more robust in physique and virile in personality. His hopes and fears, his joys and sorrows, his aims and aspirations are essentially different in the quality of their texture. This difference in the essential elements that constitute personality is manifestly the result of the dynamic forces with which religion has equipped man in his perpetual fight against the tyranny of heredity and environment.

The Chinese Moslems are fully alive to the need of a new intellectual synthesis. They readily avail themselves of the facilities for modern education recently provided by the Government. But their most earnest efforts are being applied to evolving a system of education suitable to their own peculiar needs, of which religious instruction will form an integral part. For this end in view they are establishing schools in every important centre by private subscriptions. In the province of Yunnan there are several colleges which are great centres of Moslem thought. Several institutions have been started for the training of teachers of both sexes, while it must be noted that several schools already exist which are exclusively meant for the education and training of Moslem girls. The Mussalmans of India may well take a leaf out of the book of their Chinese brethren and organise a workable system for female education. It is a rather sad spectacle to see them still wrangling amongst themselves, not only about ways and means, but about aims and ideals as well.

The future of Islam in China has been rendered much more hopeful by the success of the revolutionary struggle for constitution and liberty. The Mussalmans form an active, vigorous and virile element of the population and they are taking part in the work of political reconstruction with energy and enthusiasm. Their sense of civic responsibilities, their public spirit and their loyalty to the new régime have been publicly acknowledged by the new rulers of the country. They are as good citizens of the State as they are good Mussalmans. This combination is after all not as difficult of achievement as some would have us believe. A good Musselman cannot but be a good citizen. The distinction that is sometimes drawn between the two aspects of a life's duty and purpose—be that life a Christian's, a Buddhist's, a Hindu's, or a Moslem's—is as unscientific as it is mischievous. An individual's duty to a State is but a part of his larger duty as a man, and politics get their ultimate sanction from the fundamental beliefs that sway human purpose. It matters little whether we call those beliefs Evolutionary Philosophy or Agnosticism, Socialism or Christianity; Theosophy or Islam. Professor Vambery, who was betrayed into a pitiful exhibition of ignorance and temper at the overthrow of his pet theories about the Chinese Moslems, was perhaps labouring under the same difficulty as men with a special weakness for generalisations have to face, because they cannot comprehend correlated activities of human life except in watertight compartments. The gross dogmatism of opinion that is sometimes exhibited in this respect even by men of undoubted capacity and some breadth of outlook is chiefly due to the surprise they feel at the stirrings of a new intellectual aspiration throughout the Islamic world. The activities of the

Chinese Moslems are a part of the world movement for a great intellectual renaissance which is taking definite shape under the stress of modern conditions. It would be interesting as well as instructive to watch the new inspiration working amongst the various Moslem communities of the world. We shall deal next with the conditions of "Islam in Russia" in ampler measure, we hope, than what has been possible in the case of the Mussalman of China.

The Persian Affairs.

We have often complained that the *Pioneer* can find no space for questions that interest Indian Mussalmans and on one occasion it could not even publish the contradiction of Enver Bey's death owing, no doubt, to pressure on space, having to record the death of an unknown merchant and the arrival of a Sculler in England. But we shall be unfair to our Allahabad contemporary if we did not give it full credit on this occasion for giving a whole paragraph in its issue of the 9th instant to the question of Persia and the views of Indian Mussalmans. It publishes a letter "from a Muhammadan correspondent lately returned from Persia," a certain Nanna Khan, whose adventure on the Bushire road forms the text of that pathetic communication. The *Pioneer* selects some choice bits to reproduce them in a paragraph with the stamp of its approval upon them. The writer of the letter, does not, according to the *Pioneer*, share "the views so often and so vigorously expressed by All-India Moslem League speakers concerning the treatment accorded to Persia under the terms of the Anglo-Russian Convention," and it is enough for the *Pioneer* to pronounce the judgment that such views "are not shared in by Muhammadans who have had practical experience of the conditions at present prevailing in that much disturbed kingdom." The writer of the letter stated that while he was travelling down to Bushire from Shiraz with a caravan of Persians he was robbed of all he possessed "though I repeated the Fatiha (sic) and Kalama and showed I was a good Musselman." He concludes the letter with a request to those "who do not wish to see any force used to their Persian brothers" either to make good to the writer and other Indian Mussalmans who have been robbed the losses they have suffered at their Persian brothers' bands or to visit Persia and endeavour to persuade these "brothers" to "disgorge the property they have annexed." We are glad that the *Pioneer*'s pet correspondent excludes himself from the fraternity of Islam for the simple reason that some Persian brigands robbed him as well as a caravan of their own countrymen. But we should like to ask this Muhammadan with "practical experience" of the conditions at present prevailing in some parts of India, also whether he found the Fatiha and Kalama an effective talisman against the tactics of highway robbers in India which is not yet free from its dacoits. He certainly did not go to Persia on a national Islamic errand or for those who regard the Persians as "brothers," in spite of highway robberies and other disorders that remain unchecked, chiefly because the Anglo-Russian Convention has dumped a Power into Persia that has no business to be there, and occasionally dumps an ex-shah and his brothers who, but for that Power, could have never entered Persian territory, or left it alive. He either went to Persia to work for private gain or as the dependent of a foreign Power. In the latter case he may rest assured that he will reap a compensation beyond the dreams of avarice; and in the former case the robbery is only part of the bargain, and if he does not wish the experiment to be repeated he has an excellent guide, philosopher and friend in Persia's poet who says—

* مارے در میں اس کا اک طوایہ ہے۔

(In the sea there are innumerable gains, but if thou seekest safety it is on the shore.) The letter concludes as follows:—"I would like to say, Sir, that all Indian Mussalmans do not feel the same as these gentlemen aforesaid, and that some of us would like to see

these insolent braggarts of Persians get the punishment they deserve and that the Indian subjects of the British Raj and also the sepoys sent out by the Raj, may feel that they are subjects of a Power which is not afraid to look after its own people. I am an educated man, Sir, and know something of the power of the British Raj but what can I and other poor ignorant men think when we set ourselves used so and no steps taken to help us." As regards the feelings of Indian Mussalmans "these gentlemen aforesaid" are at least in some manner representatives of some of their co-religionists in India, but we do not know whom the correspondent represents—unless it be the *Pioneer*. The noble sentiments about the British Raj will no doubt be noted by the powers that look after the manufacture of Khan Bahadurs and the *Pioneer* will, we are sure, press forward through its subterranean channels the claims of its correspondent. There is only one possible hitch. The correspondent says he is "an educated man." Were it not for this almost insuperable difficulty, we would ourselves have placed odds on the *Pioneer's* favourite winning the Khan Bahadur Stakes in a canter. We should suggest that such as the *Pioneer's* correspondent should boycott Persia and turn their itinerant footsteps towards South Africa as "subjects of a Power which is not afraid to look after its own people."

The departure of Nasir-ul-Mulk, the Persian Regent, for Europe has not probably been necessitated by reasons of health alone. Though outwardly quiet, Persia is internally passing through that diplomatic crisis which immediately precedes the declaration of a "veiled protectorate." There is also a grave Cabinet crisis still unsettled. And although the scheme for constituting a Senate and the idea of summoning the Majlis seem to have been shelved at present, they cannot be held in abeyance indefinitely—particularly when the "extremists" are being held in durance vile—for the Persian Railway Project shall have to be imposed on Persia, and some popular instruments in the shape of a pliant Majlis and a Senate filled with Russian nominees will render the task much easy, and smooth. Salar ud Dauleh has at last been put to flight, though it is difficult to believe that he is not preparing another dire threat for the Russian Government with the help of his faithful henchman, the editor of the *Novec Vremya*. At this shapeless and fluid stage in Persian affairs, the withdrawal of the one man of undoubted capacity and force of character appears much like quitting a post of duty and danger out of sheer personal confusion and terror. We must, however, take certain other circumstances into account and see if there are no other causes that have driven the Regent in despair out of the country. There exists hardly any doubt now that Teheran is in the grip of Russian dictatorship. The imprisonment and exile of the most patriotic members of the old Majlis and popular leaders of the people have been carried out by a helpless Government at the bidding of Russian agents. The Regent as well as the Government long ago lost all initiative and freedom of action. It must have been peculiarly galling to him to have to register the decrees of the Muscovite and help in the reduction of his own people to servitude. The Persian Railway scheme which, when carried out, will effectually reduce the country to bondage, loomed with fearful imminence before his eyes. Torn between his sense of duty to his nation and his country and the awful sense of the realities of the situation he could find no other alternative than to end his own mental tragedy by giving up the nominal direction of affairs. Some of us may think that a true sense of Persia's tragedy would have held him to his post. All, however, have not been cast in the heroic mould, and the difficulties of the Persian situation could be much easily solved if the legitimate freedom of action in internal affairs were allowed to men even of common clay. That freedom has long ceased to exist. We trust even Sir Edward Grey has learnt not to mistake the Russian designs now in process of development. He has, however, committed himself too far, and we do not see if the situation can be retrieved by mere good intentions. The petty incident on the Perso-Afghan border, which the Persian Government considers to have been an utterly trivial affair, created a greater sensation in the British Press than the Meshed atrocities. The Railway Project will seal the doom of Persian independence and endanger the safety of the Indian frontier. All the same it is receiving enthusiastic British support. We hope it is not necessary that the lesson of Muscovite perfidy should always come home to England on the stepping stones of dead nationalities.

Persia.

News of the Week.

News has been received at Simla from the Persian Consul-General that the latest news from Persia state that Salar-ed-Dowleh has fled from Kermanshah, being defeated by the Imperial troops, who have taken possession of the city. The situation has greatly improved at Shiraz and Bandar Abbas. Intimation has been received that the Government at Teheran is perfectly satisfied that the recent reported encroachment of Afghans on the Persian border was not of any consequence and did not indicate any hostile attitude on the part of the Amir's Government. It is believed that the movement of the Afghan troops for the customary change of guards gave rise to a false alarm.

The following letter has been received by Dr Rash Behary Ghose from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal :—

Political Dept.

Sir,—With reference to the communication addressed by you to His Excellency the Viceroy regarding Russian relations with Persia, I am desired, under instructions from the Government of India, in the Foreign Department, to inform you that the subject is one which receives the constant attention of His Majesty's Government as the friend of both the Governments referred to.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Sd) C. J. STEVENSON-MOORE

(Chief-Secretary to the Government of Bengal).

Darjeeling, June 8th, 1912.

The Teheran Regent with his family has departed for Europe in spite of the fact that the Cabinet crisis is not yet settled.

It does not appear likely that Great Britain will be able to reduce the Consular escort at Shiraz. The assailants of Consul Smart have not yet been caught, and the road between Shiraz and Bushire is very insecure.

Mr. M. de P. Webb of Karachi contributes to the *Pioneer* an article strongly supporting the Indo-European Railway scheme by the trans-Persian Railway. He says "Is the whole of India together with the wealthy and populous countries beyond to the east and south-east to be for ever cut off from quick railway communication with Europe in deference to the out-dated theory regarding the necessity of isolating India from the possibility of a Russian attack by retarding the natural development of Persia?" Mr. Webb to facilitate such development would like to see the railways carried straight through from Karachi to Teheran by the shortest possible route and without any break of gauge whatever.

Over four thousand Musalmans of both sects, Shiites and Sunnis, attended a meeting under the presidency of Maulvi Abdul Majid, of Firozganj, held at Lucknow, to protest against the high-handedness of the Russians at Meshed. Among the speakers were the Hon. Raja of Mahmudabad, Mr. Nabuullah, Barrister, and Wazir Hasan, honorary secretary of the All-India Moslem League. The audience were greatly moved by these three speakers especially and much indignation was shown. The honorary secretary of the Moslem League read a letter from Sir Edward Grey in reply to the resolutions sent by the League, also many telegrams, among others one from Hyderabad expressing sympathy. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted. (1) That this public meeting of muftis, ulema and all other classes of Musalmans of Lucknow places on record its deep sense of grief and indignation at the bombardment and desecration of the holy shrines of Imam Raza and the Gohar Mosque at Meshed by Russian troops which had been a great religious calamity, agitating the whole Moslem world and deeply wounding their feelings; (2) that this meeting respectfully but strongly urges upon the Government, as the greatest Moslem Power in the world, to demand from the Russians the rest return to the shrines of all the sacred relics and treasures which have been carried away and to provide against the recurrence of similar incidents in the future; (3) that a copy of the above resolutions be sent to His Excellency the Viceroy with a request that it may be conveyed to the Secretary of State for India and through him to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Bihari Musalmans in a general meeting, held on 9th instant in Aligarh Mosque under the presidency of Prince Mirza Akbar Khan, passed a resolution placing on record their intense grief and indignation at the outrageous desecration of the holy shrine of Hazrat Imam Raza at Meshed by Russian troops, praying that Government may in view of their religious feelings and convenience be pleased to take such diplomatic action as may be calculated not only to allay their feelings but also to prevent effec-

tively a recurrence of such sad and disastrous incidents in future. They also resolved that the 11th of Rabi-us-Sani every year be observed as a general mourning day in commemoration of the event.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "B. DAILY POST")

I have excellent ground for stating that as the consequence of a series of meetings which has been held in Paris, at which representatives of all the British, French, Russian and Belgian financial houses interested in Persia were present, steps are at once to be taken to organise an expedition for the purpose of exploring the country in a more complete manner than has ever been attempted. The expedition would concern itself primarily with areas known to be productive of minerals and oils, but close research also will be devoted to matters connected with archaeology and some discoveries in this connection of the greatest importance are anticipated. It is interesting in this connection to note that the Foreign Secretary is to be pressed from the Radical branches to-morrow to state the date on which the proposal for forming a *société de tendes* to promote a scheme for a Trans-Persian railway first came before the Government, whether any meetings of this society have yet been held; and when he expects to be in a position to make a statement or to lay papers in order that the House of Commons may have full information on the subject.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, May 17

After telegraphic communication with Teheran the Governor of Kerman has left the British Consulate and resumed the Governorship.

Teheran, May 20

After apparently gaining a victory in his usual sharp and decisive manner yesterday over Mujallal-es-Sultan near Hamadan, Yezrem Khan, Persia's best hope in the present weary internal war, was foully murdered while writing a despatch in his tent, his skull shattered by a bullet fired into his mouth by an unknown assassin.

There is reason to suspect the assassination is due to internal dissension in the Dashnakutian Society, which on 12th May I suggested was likely to mar the success of Yezrem's last campaign. It will be remembered that since the acceptance of the Russian *ultimatum* Yezrem, who never lost a battle and consequently possessed a prestige on which the Government always drew in moments of special emergency, was its principal prop as chief of police in Teheran. He had advised the Government to bow to the necessity of accepting the *ultimatum*, and unquestionably his presence gave all the Europeans a sense of security which the Russians during recent months have shown a disposition handsomely to acknowledge. The Society, however, held that its object was to assist Persian independence and that the recognition of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 removed that independence. Therefore, the Society was unable to fight on behalf of the Government. The question was finally referred to the central committee at Geneva which counseled complete neutrality. Nevertheless Yezrem held on his way, determined that Salar-ed-Dowleh should not enter Teheran. His death will undoubtedly demoralize the Government's force.

Yezrem is said to have been the son of a bricklayer. His youth he spent in plotting a revolution in Turkey and the Caucasus. He spent a long term of imprisonment in Siberia and achieved fame by leading an army from Resht to Teheran in 1909, the Sipahdar, the titular chief, being only a Persian figurehead. Last autumn he broke the power of the ex-Shah and Arshed-ed-Dowleh and defeated Salar-ed-Dowleh in the action I described at Baghi-Snab. Either of these victories might have been decisive if it had been followed up, but lack of support from Teheran in each case prevented pursuit. In these last months the ex-Siberian exile has been regarded by Russia as the chief prop of law and order. I have met at various times Boris Sarafoff, Sandjany, Satar Khan and other guerilla fighters in national causes. Of them all Yezrem was the most gallant and most attractive on account of his sincerity and simplicity.

Teheran, May 21

Later telegrams from Hamadan affirm that Yezrem was killed in action. The Armenians and Bakhtiari joined hands over the dead body and swore vengeance, and continued the fight three hours longer, completing the rout of the enemy.

The fact that the enemy's defeat was severe seems to be established beyond dispute. Their number was 2,000, of whom 300 were killed. The Government forces consisted of 800 *Mujahids*, 500 Bakhtiari and 80 Persian Cossacks with seven guns. The guns lost by Firman Firnia were recaptured. Forty of the victorious army were killed.

Tehran, May 22

The new advance required by Persia will be made, like the former, conjointly by England and Russia, but it appears probable that there will be one interesting difference. The English contribution will again be made by the Government, but the Russian is likely to be made by the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas with a view to ultimate French participation in the large loan. The amount of the total new advance will probably be £100,000.

Persia appears to be gratified by Great Britain's reception of the request for her good offices in the question of the Afghan frontier. Possibly the question will be settled by arrangement between Simla and Kabul, otherwise a Mission similar to that of Sir Arthur MacMahon in 1901 will probably be sent.

As the reconstruction of the Cabinet appears to be imminent, it is not likely that the Regent will succeed in departing so soon as he contemplated.

Tehran, May 23

The funeral of Yezrem to-day was the occasion of a vast popular demonstration in which many thousands of people took part. A mulah delivered an eloquent address over the grave. It is now established beyond doubt that Yezrem was killed by the enemy and was not murdered.

Advices from Kermanshah declare that Salar-ed-Dowleh has now only a handful of followers. Mujalleh-es-Sultan also appears to be in full retreat.

(FROM THE "DAILY NEWS.")

As "it is desirable more strictly to define the limits of" the British sphere of influence in Persia, an Order in Council has just been made repealing that of 1907 and delimiting the British jurisdiction thus: Mohammerah, with its dependencies, the coast and maritime provinces of Persia from Mohammerah to Gwettus both inclusive and the islands of the Persian Gulf and Gulf of Oman which belong to Persia. The maritime provinces are Arabistan, Fars, Laristan, Karman, Persian Baluchistan and those districts under the Persian Governor of the Gulf Ports.

The Order affirms that "by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance, and other lawful means His Majesty the King has power and jurisdiction within the dominions of His Majesty the Shah of Persia."

(FROM THE "DAILY NEWS" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Odessa.

Mohammed Ali, the ex-Shah, who is still here, has been formally advised from Tehran that the young Shah's journey to Europe has been definitely fixed for the coming autumn.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Odessa, May 19.

Lord Lamington, returning from his tour through Persia, was expected here yesterday, where despatches were awaiting him. As he wired instructions for his correspondence to be forwarded to Constantinople, he has apparently diverted his homeward route and Batoum and the Bosphorus. Lord Lamington's visit to Persia was made, I believe, on behalf of the Persia Committee in London. It has been a flying trip from south to north, accomplished in a few short weeks. It may have enabled his lordship to gather a more intimate general knowledge of the condition of affairs in the Shah's dominions, but it was too brief and superficial for a close study of the chaotic situation and the various factors and causes which continue to retard a durable restoration of peace, order, and security.

The ex-Shah continues to observe a sort of monastic seclusion in his villa residence here. He is never seen abroad. After his return here he received an occasional visit of courtesy from the City Presses, but those gubernatorial attentions were discontinued. He declines to accord audiences to local Press representatives, but, as a matter of fact, neither the Press nor the public now take the slightest interest in Mohammed Ali or his affairs. During the first period of his exile here the ex-Shah took a lively interest in his surroundings. He was then lodged with his family, suite, and harem in a spacious and luxuriously equipped fifty-roomed palace in the Gogol Street. He was daily seen in the city, occasionally in the saddle, but more frequently in a motor-car or well-appointed Victoria. He visited by turns nearly all the local industrial works, and was initiated into the mysteries of the production of a daily newspaper. He was a regular *hautier* at the opera, the hippodrome, and the chief café-chantants. He was also a patron of the racecourse, and founded a sweepstakes in his own name. His second term of exile in the southern capital has no such royal diversions. Mohammed Ali is said to be in impaired health, and he has become extremely morose. It would appear that he has abandoned his previous intention of taking up his permanent residence in England, his majordomo is now looking for a more suitable and commodious villa-residence than that in which his Majesty, family, and small suit are very crampedly accommodated at present. Mohammed Ali Shah maintains a regular correspondence with his leading partisans in Persia, and is occasionally visited by emissaries from Gomesh Tépé.

Morocco.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "MORNING POST" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Paris, May 16.

GENERAL LYAUTET will leave Casablanca for Rabat to-morrow. He will, as at present arranged, stay at Rabat until Sunday, when he will leave for Fez. General Lyautet has instructed Colonel Gouraud to meet him at Rabat and accompany him to Fez, where he will arrive on the 24th.

Madrid, May 16.

The official confirmation of the news of the death of the prominent Riff chieftain El Mizzian has created great satisfaction, and it is thought that it may hasten the end of the campaign, the duration of which, with the accompanying loss of men and money, has begun to create some irritation.

The following details of El Mizzian's death have been received. A group of Regular native Cavalry, belonging to General Navarro's advance guard, occupied a certain strategic position, whereupon splendid horseman, at the head of a large group of prominent Moors, advanced, calling upon it to abandon Spain, but a Spanish corporal fired and killed him on the spot. The Native Cavalry also fired against the group who surrounded El Mizzian, killing several Moors, whose bodies, with that of El Mizzian himself, were left on the field. The body of El Mizzian was subsequently removed to Melilla by the Spaniards.

Fifteen thousand men under the personal direction of General Aldave, the Commander-in-Chief of the Melilla Army, occupied and fortified yesterday positions from which they can render difficult further Moorish attacks on the main body. Sharp fighting took place, and the troops are known to have had the following casualties: Two lieutenants and 11 men killed, a major, four lieutenants, and 42 men wounded. The Moors left about 40 bodies on the field.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Madrid, May 17.

Although the most absolute reserve is still maintained here regarding the details of the Franco-Spanish negotiations it is nevertheless generally understood that they have now reached a stage when some definite results may reasonably be looked for. It is known also that for some weeks past the British Foreign Office has been actively interesting itself to promote a mutually satisfactory understanding.

When, however, the *Imbarcial*, which is often well informed where Spain's foreign relations are concerned, says this morning that the differences between France and Spain regarding the valley of Wergha have been submitted to England "for a sort of arbitration," and that England has given a decision adjudging part of the disputed territory to each of the contracting parties, it is clearly going beyond facts. As the friend of both France and Spain Great Britain has by the desire of both parties been closely associated with the course of the negotiations since their inception, and has of late, owing to the difficulties encountered in the settlement of the conflicting claims relating to the Wergha district, put forward some mediatory suggestions with a view to promoting an agreement.

From such suggestions, however, which have no binding force and are of a purely tentative and auxiliary character, it is still a far cry to arbitration or even to a "sort of arbitration."

Paris, May 17.

Owing to the threatening attitude of the eastern tribes a battalion of the French garrison at Fez has been sent forward as far as the River Sebu, with orders to watch the enemy's movements. The French garrison is not strong enough to risk a general engagement with the rebel *harkas* which already numbers about 3,500 men and is said to be making fresh recruits among the tribes.

Yesterday, at the first sitting of the French court martial appointed to try the *askaris* and others who took part in last month's mutiny at Fez, nine prisoners were condemned to death and four to penal servitude. One of the accused was acquitted.

Tangier, May 19

The proclamation as Sultan of one of the sons of Mal Ainin, which is announced from the Sidi district, may lead to very serious consequences. Mal Ainin, who died last year, was a famous religious chief and sorcerer in the Sahara. The new Pretender's programme is fanatical, just as was Mulai Hafid's at the beginning of his reign, and it appears that many of the large and influential tribes in the South have espoused his cause and that adherents are flocking to

his standard. Altogether the situation in the South is by no means brilliant and signs of this coming trouble have been increasingly apparent since for some inexplicable reason Ould Haj Minnou was appointed Hasha of Marakesh last year, presumably on the recommendation of Hafid's French advisers. Minnou is a man of no birth, influence, or attainments, and his nomination to this high post in a city where the local hereditary chiefs have always held all the power was severely criticized at the time, especially as Haj Thami Glawi, the strongest member of all that powerful family, was ousted to make way for him, to the intense irritation not only of the tribesmen but also of the citizens themselves.

Minnou, as might have been expected, failed miserably, and all that his appointment has accomplished has been to estrange the powerful families of that region from the Maghzen, with the result that to-day the situation causes considerable anxiety. Were not the Glawi faction keeping order by force of arms in Marakesh serious events would almost certainly have already occurred, for Minnou's influence is nil. But the Sultan's treatment of the whole Glawi family has not been such as would tempt them to make many sacrifices on his behalf, though up to the present Haj Thami's conduct has been beyond all praise, more especially his continual protection of the lives and property of Europeans.

Bad as is the situation in the South it is little or no better in the North. The feeling of the natives against the French is increasing in hostility and will continue to increase until the French authorities give some clear sign that they have the welfare of the Moorish people at heart. A fresh outbreak of opposition to French action has been aroused by the Edict issued by the General commanding the French Army of occupation, in which he fines the city of Fez £1,000,000. (£40,000) for its share in the late revolt and massacre. The behaviour of the Fez residents, apart from the native soldiers and certain tribal riff-raff, was excellent during those trying days, and many Europeans owe their lives to their agency, and, as far as is known, no real resident of Fez joined the revolt. The whole native population consider this fine brutal, unjust, and impolitic, and they criticize as adversely as the fine itself the fact that the Edict was issued in the name of General Moinier instead of in that of the Sultan. Nor has the fact that this Edict entirely ignored the Treaty rights of foreign protected natives caused a good impression at the European Legations.

I must again refer to the question of certain natives who complain that Frenchmen illegally seized and remain in possession of their lands. Experience has shown that, as the law now stands, it is very difficult for a native to obtain justice against Frenchmen, but the French authorities promise a new code of laws in two years' time. Meanwhile the native has lost his lands—probably for ever. I would once again point out that these cases of landgrabbing have already cost the French Government very dear, and that the natives should now be told that they have no redress until after a period of two years is merely exasperating them. I would now add a word of warning that this exasperation is becoming serious and that there is reason to fear that some incident may occur even here in Tangier long before that date. The French authorities have been constantly warned but nothing would appear to have been done and an ugly spirit is becoming visible which may break out in open action. As at Fez, the outbreak will be anti-French and not anti-European.

The situation throughout the country is so unsatisfactory that the French authorities should realize that the continuation of their apparent policy can only end in a disaster more serious than that which was recently experienced at Fez. It would be futile as well as wrong to disguise the fact that the position of France to-day in Morocco is precarious, and that this unfortunate state of affairs is largely owing to the fact that the French Government, in supporting the despicable Maghzen, has up till now ignored the welfare of the entire Moorish population except in the Shawia. It remains to be seen whether the tragic warning of Fez is sufficient, or whether further deplorable incidents will be required before the French Government can be brought to realize and acknowledge that its policy has been at fault.

Tangier, May 29.

The Edict of General Moinier fining the city of Fez £1,000,000. on account of the massacre of last month, to which I referred in my telegram yesterday, has been withdrawn. It is officially stated that its publication was premature, but, premature or not, it was published and replied to in most dignified manner by the Fez Moors. Its withdrawal was the only course open to the French authorities, but this ill-advised Edict has left a most unfortunate impression on the minds of the native population. I am authoritatively informed that no fine will be levied.

Large bands of natives are collecting among the tribes east of Fez and the whole country between the capital and the Algerian frontier is up in arms. The Berber tribes to the south of Fez are joining the movement and have already attacked Sefrou. It is believed at Fez that an attempt will be made by a great

body of tribesmen to obtain possession of the capital. Unrest is increasing all over the interior of Morocco and the situation is becoming critical.

The sentiment appears to be entirely anti-French and not anti-European, and in the Spanish zone, where I have been spending a few days, no anti-Spanish feeling seems to exist except the natural political dislike to foreign intervention of any sort. At Tetuan the greater part of the population look to the approaching occupation of that town by Spain with little more than mild regret that any occupation is necessary, though the tribes south of Tetuan are frankly hostile to Spanish intervention.

Tangier, May 29.

Letters announcing his proclamation as Sultan were received by the native authorities of Marakesh on the 16th instant direct from Sid Muhammad Hiba, the new Pretender, who was at that date still at Tiznit in Sus. These letters bear the Imperial seal and employ all the usual titles of the Sultan. Haj Thami Glawi remains loyal to Mulai Hafid, but looks to immediate French intervention to put down this very serious rebellion. All the other great Kais appear to be either openly or secretly in relation with Sid Muhammad Hiba, and Haj Thami will not probably be able alone to defend Mulai Hafid's throne in the south for long. His courageous loyalty to Mulai Hafid and to the French is admirable, as the treatment he has received in the past from both has been less than gracious.

Paris, May 30.

The *Temps* learns from Fez that the unrest among the tribes is spreading to such an extent that military measures on a considerable scale will have to be taken. As operations will have to be conducted in the north, south, and west, the French forces will have to be divided. It is feared that in these circumstances the situation will become extremely difficult unless fresh reinforcements are immediately despatched to Morocco.

To the EDITOR OF THE "TIMES"

Sir,—I do not wish to take up your space unduly. But it is not fair to describe, as your Paris correspondent described the other day, my book on "Morocco in Diplomacy" as a "denunciation of Sir Edward Grey," although, of course, the case it sets forth is hardly likely to be fairly judged in *Le Temps*. It is a criticism upon the whole policy pursued since 1904 through secret arrangements negotiated by British and French diplomacy, with held from the knowledge of the people of those countries until revealed in Parisian newspapers, to settle the Morocco question outside the Power which had participated in the first International Conference concerning Morocco, which had a Treaty with Morocco, which had large commercial and industrial interests in Morocco, and which had supported Lord Salisbury's policy of the independence and integrity of Morocco, and to settle it in the sense of the destruction both of Moroccan independence and integrity in spite of an international agreement to the contrary. Rightly or wrongly, I believe that the policy thus pursued has served no national interest and has enormously embittered Anglo-German relations, and rightly or wrongly I hold that an improvement in those relations is a cardinal national interest. The case urged is, of course, unpopular, but it has been advanced quite as strongly in France from a similar point of view; for example, in the writings of M. Félicien Challaye and in the speeches of Baron d'Estournelles de Constant and M. Jaurès. It may be wrong or it may be right; but it is not disposed of by abuse and sneer, which is all that has been forthcoming from the critics so far, although I gratefully admit that the review of the book which appeared in the *Times* was extraordinarily generous.

Your obedient servant,

E. D. MORRIS.

96, Talbot Road, Highgate, N.

Paris, May 31.

A column under General Girardot has been attacked by a native *harka* close to the Muluya river. The rebels were put to flight, but the French had ten legionaries and one artilleryman wounded.

It is stated that General Lyautey, who arrived at Mekinez yesterday evening, will reach Fez in all probability on Saturday. He will then forward definite advice to the French Government with regard to the despatch of reinforcements.

(REUTER'S AGENCE.)

Mogador, May 30, via Tangier, Thursday, May 31. Kais Gilooly, Zekry, and Zenzmy, in the province of Haïja, have adhered to the proclamation of Mai Aïnî as Sultan through special envoys.

Kaid Anfous has sent four horsemen secretly with a letter conveying his support to the new Sultan. The tribes in the country surrounding Marakesh are in a state of rebellion and are in sympathy with the movement.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Reuter wired from Rome.—The Italians after prolonged inaction have resumed offence in Tripoli. Fourteen battalions of infantry and a brigade of cavalry marched out on the 8th instant and seized the oasis of Zanzur. The official Italian despatch describes fierce fighting and the storming of heights with bayonets ending in the defeat of the Turks and capture of the edge of the oasis. No mention is made of losses. General Caneva reports that the battle at Zanzur on the coast, ten miles west of Tripoli, lasted the whole day on Saturday the 8th. The Italian losses were 31 killed and 263 wounded. The captured trenches were full of the dead. The enemy's killed alone are estimated at a thousand, while the number of wounded is enormous.

While the Italians were storming, with bayonet, the heights commanding Zanzur, which were a long threatened position, a large body of Turks made a vigorous attack on the Italian positions at Gargaresh. This attack was repulsed with great slaughter by the infantry and the artillery.

In the House of Commons on the 6th instant Sir Edward Grey said that no decision had been reached with regard to the terminus beyond Baghdad. Negotiations between the British and Turkish Governments were still in progress.

Referring to the Hedjaz Railway a Constantinople telegram published in the Cairo Arabic paper *Al Nahar* states that the Turkish Cabinet have decided to start the construction of the Medina-Mecca section at once. Railway materials are, it is reported, being brought to Medina and the work of construction is now to be commenced. The Arab tribes who live about Medina and are interested in the caravan traffic are reported to be opposing the laying of the line and are threatening to revolt against the Turks. It is rumoured that these tribes have sworn not to allow the railway to reach Medina. Meanwhile, the French engineers and surveyors who have been engaged during the past year or so in making preliminary investigations in connection with the Sana Ebb section of the Yemen Railway have arrived here from Yemen through the Aden Hunterland and have left for Marceilca.

The *Times* discussing the annual report of the Baghdad Railway, believes that when the question is fully understood the British public will come to the conclusion that it is preferable for us to participate in the construction upon the basis of strict internationalisation of the Baghdad-Basra section. The important question is the selection of the terminus, and Turkey has declared in favour of Basra, which has Britain's strongest support. Its choice would remove the only serious British objection to the Baghdad Railway scheme, and would, moreover, leave Turkey free to recognise the position of the Sheikh of Kuwait as an autonomous ruler under our protection.

The Turkish Commander in Tripoli reports that the recent fighting at Zanzur was desperate. The Turks were compelled to retire in the face of overwhelming odds and lost a hundred killed and three hundred wounded. He asserts that over a thousand Italians were wounded.

It is semi-officially stated in Rome that the Turks lost a thousand killed on Saturday in the fighting at Zanzur.

Plans for the Mediterranean port of the Baghdad Railway at Alexandretta have been approved. Work on the branch line to Toprakale began at Alexandretta on 10th instant.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Athens, May 17.

TRAVELLERS arriving at the Piraeus from the smaller Aegean islands occupied by the Italians state that in all cases the Turkish authorities have been removed and deported either to Astypalaia or Rhodes. At Lero all the Turkish officials and the garrison of 15 *gendarmes* have been captured and Italian officials installed. A proclamation has been issued stating that the nationality, language and religion of the inhabitants would be respected. Two hundred soldiers have been disembarked who will remain in the island. No opposition was offered and perfect tranquillity prevails.

Several warships, accompanied by transports, appeared off Samos, where the garrison had withdrawn into fortified posts in the interior and prepared to offer a resistance. Nineteen families of Turkish officials at Karpathos have been transferred to Rhodes,

where foreigners are not yet allowed to land. The island of Syme is not yet occupied. In the other small islands the local Government has been entrusted to the municipal authorities, who have been sworn in the name of the King of Italy. The Turkish authorities have in all cases been removed, but no troops have been left in the islands. The population of Kalymnos made a demonstration, waving Italian and Greek flags.

Rome, May 17.

In a series of telegrams from Rhodes General Ameglio reported to-day that the troops under his command had attacked the Turkish forces remaining in the island, and, after hard fighting, compelled their surrender.

The attack was made at an early hour, the Italians advancing in three columns, two of which had been disembarked the night before in the bays of Mallona and Calamona. These latter troops, supported by the fire of the battleships *Ammiraglio di Sant' Bon* and *Regina Margherita*, were intended to cut off the enemy's retreat. The main column, commanded by General Ameglio, proceeded directly against the enemy, who were posted on the summit of Mount Psithos. The enemy, to the number of 1,800, gave way after a fierce resistance, leaving 26 killed and 83 wounded, 122 rifles and 200 cases of ammunition.

A later telegram announced that the rest of the Turkish troops had ultimately surrendered and were made prisoners. The Italian losses were insignificant, one officer being wounded and four men killed and 25 wounded.

General Ameglio's despatches were read to the Chamber and Senate by Signor Giolitti and provoked scenes of unbounded enthusiasm.

Vienna, May 19.

The Vienna Stock Exchange was buoyant yesterday on the news of the Turkish capitulation at Rhodes. This mood, paradoxical in a centre so Turcophil as the financial circles of Austria, is explained by the hope that the undeniable Italian success may hasten the end of the war by affecting Turkish opinion and thus promote Turkish interests.

The Clerical *Reichspost*, hitherto Italaphobe, publishes to-day a despatch from its war correspondent at Tripoli stating that a large proportion of the Arabs are growing tired of the war and that hardly a day passes without the arrival of Arab families with their flocks to seek Italian protection. Most of these families come from Gefara and Tahuna, where epidemics and scarcity of food prevail. They are attracted especially by the reports from the Arabs within the Italian lines that they are well treated and are making money. The tribes remaining in the desert, adds the correspondent, seem more fanatical than ever, though their supplies are growing scanty in consequence of the Italian occupation of the Makabuz Peninsula, which compels caravans to make a detour of 25 days' march. The Italians are building a wall four metres high and nine kilometres long round the inner oasis of Tripoli. The wall, which is defended at intervals by blockhouses, is intended not only to enable a small garrison to ward off attacks from the desert, but as a protection from the flying sand.

Rome, May 20.

The report of the fighting round Psithos, the Turkish stronghold on the island of Rhodes, as given by General Ameglio, the commander of the Italian forces, says that having learned of the intentions of the enemy to retire to the mountains, the General decided to surround their position at Psithos in order to cut off all retreat, to prevent them from breaking up into small parties, and to force them to fight a decisive action. He therefore suddenly left the town of Rhodes on the evening of the 15th instant with his forces disposed in three columns.

The main column under the direct command of General Ameglio himself advanced towards Psithos, a 25 miles march which was very fatiguing to the men, owing to the mountainous character of the country. The other two columns proceeded to the Dalayardo and Malona roadsteads, respectively west and east of the Turkish position, where they landed, being supported during the operation by the Italian warships. No difficulty was experienced at any time in the disembarkation, although it was carried out on a moonless night, with lights out, on an open hostile shore. The two columns marched on Psithos, distant about 20 miles from the landing points over the same sort of ground as that traversed by the main body. At 9 o'clock on the morning of the 16th instant tactical communication between the three forces was established, exactly according to arrangement.

The enemy, taken by surprise, endeavoured repeatedly to escape in the direction of Kalopetra, but were repulsed. Being

unable to move towards Kalamane and Maritsa, where they were exposed to the fire of the warships' guns, they made a counterattack. Threatened by envelopment on their right flank by the Bersaglieri, driven back in front by the Alpine Fusiliers, attacked and overlapped on their left by Fusiliers supported by two mountain batteries, and unable to intrench themselves in the village, which had been destroyed by the concentrated fire of three batteries, the enemy's forces made a gallant resistance. When their position finally became desperate and they saw the battle was lost they dispersed in the direction of Mount Leukopoda, at the foot of which they succeeded in emplacing a mountain battery.

At last the Turks in scattered bodies took refuge in the ravines of Maritsa, where General Ameglio intended to attack them the following morning in order to inflict a decisive blow. However, at 11 P.M. the Turks sent in a flag of truce and the General demanded their surrender, which took place under the conditions already reported. The total number of the prisoners was 33 officers, including the Commander-in-Chief, and 950 men. With the prisoners already sent to Italy this accounts for the whole garrison. The Italians also captured six mountain guns with mules and 200 rounds of ammunition and about 700 rifles. Other rifles were collected from the Psilhos ravines.—*Reuters.*

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, May 22.

Italy proceeds with the seizure of islands in the Aegean, and to-day comes news of the occupation of Cos. In the present state of Italian public opinion it is difficult to see where this policy of occupation is to end or in what circumstances the islands will be restored to their rightful owner. The wholesale seizure of these Turkish possessions by Italy seems like a satire upon the thankless efforts which for years the Powers have been making to prevent a violent settlement of the destinies of Crete. Nor can it be denied that the continued occupation of Aegean islands by one of the partners in the Triple Alliance might result in a serious alteration of balance of power in the Near East. Yet no one can assert that Italy in what she has done is transgressing the legitimate scope of warlike operations. There seems to be as yet no Power which will take the responsibility of warning her off the Aegean, as Austria warned her off the western coasts of the Balkans, and so she strikes at the point of least resistance.

Reports regarding the possibility of a European Conference to end the war have been current. The *Temps* points out the radical difference between the situation in 1876, when the Berlin Congress assembled, and the present position of affairs. Then it was a case of revising the terms of a peace that had already been concluded by the Treaty of San Stefano. Now, even if both belligerents consented to enter a conference, the great difficulty would be to decide upon a preliminary basis of peace. In 1878 Germany and Italy did not profess to have any direct political interests in the Near East, and Austria-Hungary was not a Balkan Power to the same extent as now. In the case of all three Powers the situation has since undergone a radical change. Europe has already shown in connection with the Russian suggestions for mediation that she is prepared to play the part of arbitrator, but this manifestation of impartial good will has had no success. Would the task of mediation be any easier if the Powers, including the belligerents, were assembled in conference round a green table? France, as the *Temps* observes, earnestly desires the restoration of peace, and feels, like the other Powers, that she would then have a liberty of diplomatic action an influence which is now impossible in view of her strict neutrality. At present every one's hands are tied.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, May 20.

After a long discussion, the Council of Ministers has definitely decided on the expulsion of all Italian subjects in Turkey with the exception of artisans, widows and orphans, and members of religious orders.

The decision of the Cabinet is generally, and probably rightly, ascribed to the effect produced by the capture of the garrison of Rhodes. The untoward event, though anticipated in the best informed military quarters, seems to have surprised the civilian elements which, oblivious of the difference between Rhodes and Tripoli, hoped, with the *Temps*, that the Ottoman troops would maintain a protracted resistance in the interior of the island. There is now a tendency to criticize the Government for giving the Italians an opportunity of winning a series of easy victories by its failure to withdraw the garrisons of the islands.

Constantinople, May 21.

AN Imperial Edict decreeing the expulsion of all Italian subjects who do not leave Turkey within a fortnight has been promulgated this evening. Members of religious orders, widows, orphan children, indigent persons, and workmen employed on the railways and in certain important factories are exempted from the operation of the measure, which, however, affects at least a

third of the 50,000 Italian subjects still residing in the Empire. The case of many of these people, especially of the many Jews whose fathers became subjects of the various Italian States before the unification of Italy, is particularly hard. Italian neither by race, language, nor tradition, they regard Turkey as their home and have in some cases rendered considerable service to the Turkish authorities.

While the effects of the measure are likely to be more severely felt at Salomika than here, several of the leading banks, not to mention the Public Debt Administration, are likely to be hard hit by the expulsion of their Italian employees, over a hundred of whom are employed in the Constantinople branches of the Ottoman Bank alone. The adoption of the measure is generally believed to be due to the insistence of the military authorities and Talaat Bey. Supported by certain members of the Committee, they are anxious to convince their countrymen that the efforts of certain prominent members of the Grand Orient of Turkey who formerly belonged to Jewish Lodges affiliated to the Grand Orient of Italy to enlist their sympathies on behalf of their Italian brethren could not shake their uncompromising patriotism.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, May 22.

The first batch of Italians expelled from Smyrna disembarked at Naples to-day to the number of about 400. The Italian newspapers, which have hitherto treated the threat of the wholesale expulsion of their fellow-countrymen with silent disdain, to-night give vent to the general feeling of indignation. It is pointed out that this cowardly measure of reprisal undertaken by the Young Turks is merely a confession of their impotence to meet Italy in the open field. It can only alienate any sympathy with the Turkish cause that may still exist in Europe. As far as Italy is concerned, it is added, its only effect will be to stimulate the country to fresh endeavours and to strengthen its resolution to carry through the war to the end. The pretext offered by the Turkish Government, which attempts to justify the expulsion of thousands of peaceful and industrious Italians by the imprisonment of a few civilian officials from the islands occupied by Italy is manifestly ridiculous. These officials were quite as much military as civil, and there could exist no doubt whatever as to the justification for treating them as prisoners of war.

Constantinople, May 22.

The Council of Ministers to-day decided that Italian subjects resident in Turkey who desire to become Ottoman subjects shall be allowed to do so. The Government will not permit or recognize a change to their former status after the conclusion of hostilities.

Rome, May 23.

According to the Ministerial *Tribuna* the Government is already taking steps to provide for the Italians expelled from Turkey when they arrive on Italian shores. The Minister of Public Works and the Emigration Commission are concerting measures to find employment and means of livelihood for the fugitives, however numerous they may be.

Chesme (near Smyrna), May 20.

The town of Chesme is somewhat overcrowded with refugees from Turkish families in Chios. Sailing boats with munitions of war continue to leave for Chios at the rate of five or six a week. Two thousand Turkish soldiers have been moved from near Smyrna to Chistazik, on the Asiatic coast near Samos. All steamers coming from Smyrna are crowded with Italians now being expelled from the town by order of the Turkish Government. The Marconi station destroyed by the Italian fleet on the occasion of its first visit a month ago has not been reinstalled.

(THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN")

One of the *Temps* correspondents with the Turco-Arab forces gives a description of the situation in the neighbourhood of Bu Kemmesh. According to him, the Turks have formed a sort of blockade round the position which, as will be remembered, was occupied by the Italians a few weeks ago. "The Italian journals," the correspondent says, "announced that the road from Bu Gerdan (Tunis) to Tripoli had thus been cut. The facts are that this road has been avoided by the caravans for the last four months or so as it was too close to the shore, and there was always a danger of its being bombarded by the Italian warships. There are in addition to this five or six other roads which are always open to the caravans. Besides, there are enough foodstuffs in the country to last for a long time."

The writer proceeds to describe the disposition of the troops on both sides in detail, and mentions that on the day of writing, 1st May, one of the Italian dirigibles came over Arziza and dropped about a dozen bombs. It was, he says, the market day, and there were a considerable number of cattle and of Arabs. Nevertheless only one person was hit.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, May 17.

The *Tanis* says that the Italian occupation of the islands produces neither cold nor heat in Turkey, whose standpoint is in no way modified. It adds: "The Sultan and the entire nation are in favour of the continuation of the war until Tripolitana has been restored to Turkey."

The draft address of the Chamber of Deputies in reply to the Speech from the Throne declares that the reference to the war in the speech—namely, that peace is only possible on the condition that Turkey's sovereign rights are maintained—reflects the national will and public opinion.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT)

Sofia, May 17.

On Thursday two Turkish soldiers approached the Bulgarian frontier station at Kuru-tepe and fired six shots at a soldier named Christoff, who was repairing the roof of the station building. The man died of his wounds. The soldiers did not return the fire. The Bulgarian authorities have ordered an inquiry into this matter.

May 18.

It is announced here that a body of Turkish soldiers, supported by the neighbouring Pomaks, yesterday attempted to enter Bulgarian territory near the frontier station at Kuru-tepe to remove the body of the Bulgarian soldier Christoff. There was exchange of shots between the Turkish and Bulgarian soldiers, in which one of the former was killed and another wounded. There were no Bulgarian casualties. The Minister of War has instructed the Bulgarian force to abstain from firing, and to avoid any provocative action.

The Pomaks are Bulgarian-speaking Moslems inhabiting the mountainous districts on both sides of the border of Eastern Roumania and Turkey, to the south of Philippopolis.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, May 22.

Nail Bey, Minister of Finance, has resigned, and his resignation has been accepted by the Council of Ministers. The Cabinet thus loses a very capable and energetic Minister who is universally respected and whose influence has always been exercised on behalf of a moderate policy. It is expected that he will be succeeded by Djavid Bey, the Minister of Commerce.

The causes of the Minister's resignation are unknown. Ill-health doubtless contributed to it, but will not generally be regarded as a sufficient explanation of his unexpected retirement. It may be noted that rumours have been current for the last few days to the effect that Nail Bey and Assim Bey, the Foreign Minister, would shortly resign office and be succeeded by Djavid Bey and Ismail Hakkı Babanzade, Djavid Bey's portfolio being taken by Haladjian, of the Ministry of Public works.

Constantinople, May 29.

The Ministry of Public Works recently invited limited tenders for the construction of irrigation works in Mesopotamia. The works were divided into two groups, the first of which comprises the new Hindieh barrage and protective works against floods of the Euphrates and Tigris, while the second includes the construction of the Feludja barrage, with two systems of canals connected one on the right bank of the Tigris and the other on the left bank of the Euphrates. Two British firms—namely, Messrs. Pearson and Son (Limited), financially supported by the Imperial Ottoman Bank, and Sir John Jackson (Limited), working in combination with the National Bank of Turkey, survived elimination. The former offered to construct the works of the first group in four years for £T2,380,000, and the work of the second group for £T1,500,000 in five years. Sir John Jackson's tenders were for £T2,735,000 and five years, and £T4,534,000 and five and a half years respectively. Messrs. Pearson having made reservations in their final tender which were calculated to increase the price and were not in conformity with the conditions imposed by the Government, the commissions responsible for the provisional adjudication rejected their tender, but did not recommend the definite acceptance of Sir John Jackson's offer, considering the price too high.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Perim, May 14.

The Italian warships bombarded Dubab on Monday, but no casualties are reported, the shells having failed to explode. A dhow was stopped to the east of Perim, but on producing papers for Perim was allowed to proceed. The vessel landed provisions at Dubab. The Italians made an effort to seize these by means of a launch, but were driven off by the Turkish fire. The dhow was, however, eventually destroyed by fire from the warships. Another dhow stranded near Dubab on Sunday, and 2,000 rifles and 200 cases of ammunition were seized by Arabs.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST.")

The local press announces that the Ministry of War has placed an order for two aeroplanes with a Bristol company at a cost of

£T1,300 each. It is also stated that six officers and five engineers will be sent to the makers to study aviation.

The economic effects of the Turco-Italian war are echoed in a recent sartorial failure in Cairo. The unhappy victim, an Italian tailor, has demanded a *concordat preventif*, on the grounds that his trade has been ruined by the persistent boycott to which he was submitted by his native patrons. There is no truth, however, in the rumour that he has claimed damages from the Turkish Government, in imitation of the spirit of the times.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Paris, May 19.

The reports to the effect that the French Government had authorized the issue of a new loan of £20,000,000 to Turkey are denied. It is stated that so long as the Italo-Turkish war continues, no fresh loans to either of the belligerents will be authorized in France.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, May 20.

In consequence of a sprained ankle, the result of a fall from his horse last Saturday during military manoeuvres, Mahmud Shekvet Pasha, the Minister of War, is confined to his room at the War Department.

News From Turkish Sources.

(Specially translated for the "Comrade")

(FROM THE "JEUNE TURC.")

May 20.

The *Agence Ottomane* has received the following communications from the Ministry of War.—

Telegram from the Commandant at Tripoli dated 4th May.—"On the night of 3rd May the enemy attacked the ruins of Lehda at Homs. We too responded with a night attack which lasted until morning. The losses of Italians were heavy and we have captured some material of war and ammunition. A party of our soldiers placed in ambush surprised at dawn a detachment of the enemy and inflicted serious losses, our casualties being only 3 men killed and 12 wounded."

May 10.

We are informed that at the Diplomatic reception of last Monday, Assim Bey, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, has protested to the Ambassadors of Great Powers on the subject of the attack by the Italian fleet on non-fortified towns and Red Crescent buildings—a thing which is contrary to the International Conventions signed by Italy herself.

According to the news received by the Minister of War, a force of enemy at Crova comprising 4 battalions of infantry and 2 Mitrailleuses attempted to advance southwards on the morning of the 3rd May with the intention of "cutting" the route of caravans. The sudden and fanatical onslaught of the Arabs on the front of the enemy and the attacks of Zouara and Zoavia volunteers forced the Italians to retreat to the refuge of their entrenchments at Crova. The enemy left a great number of dead on the scene of action, while the Arab warriors had 20 killed and as many wounded.

May 11.

We are informed from Cairo that General Edham Pasha, Commandant of the Military Forces at Benghazi, who lately arrived at Cairo to be treated for the ailment he contracted at Benghazi, has not yet completely recovered. Prevented by his indisposition His Excellency has been obliged to postpone his return to Benghazi for a few days.

May 13.

A Council of Ministers was held yesterday in the afternoon under the presidency of His Highness the Grand Vizier. The Council occupied itself with the following questions.—

1. The situation in the Tripolitaine. Mahmud Shekvet Pasha, Minister of War, communicated to the Council all the telegrams received from the Tripolitaine. These amply prove that the situation of our combatants is excellent and that they are only waiting for the time when the enemy, who has hitherto always been strictly on the defensive, will come out and fight face to face.

2. The situation in Albania. Talaat Bey, the officiating Minister of the Interior, communicated to the Council a telegram from the Vali of Kosovo saying that the recent incidents have not produced a situation of any gravity. The criminals will be pursued and excitement is subsiding.

All the world is looking forward to the good results of the new reforms which are being introduced.

3 The expulsion of the Italians The Council also occupied itself with the question of the expulsion of the Italians from Constantinople if the Italian fleet continued its activity in the Archipelago.

We are informed that the Council discussed the question of detaining the Italians of the Vilayat of Smyrna as hostages. The Legal Counsellor of the Sublime Porte, Rashid Bey, explained some matters to the Council, in connection with this question.

1 The new loan Nail Bey, the Finance Minister, has informed the Council of the details of the new loan contracted by the Government with the Imperial Ottoman Bank. The explanations of Nail Bey were accepted unanimously by the Council.

5 Ministerial responsibility The Council also touched on the question of the power and responsibility of the Ministers which will be a subject of discussion at the next sitting. The Council also discussed several matters connected with national defence and current affairs.

The Situation in Albania.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, May 21.

No news except that the Lyuma clan has joined the Ipck and Djakova insurgents has been received from Northern Albania, where both sides appear to be mustering their forces before coming to grips. The Constantinople journals now admit that the situation is less favourable than the Government maintained, but they express the hope, which is shared by not a few Albanians, that the outbreak will be localized. A *communiqué* was issued by the Ministry of the Interior to day repeating the substance of your Salónica Correspondent's account published in the *Times* of 15th May of the disturbances in the Mirdite country. This account has up till now been described by the inspired Press as false and tendentious.

May 20

Though only one battalion has actually left the capital for Albania, the remainder of the 1st Division has been warned for service in the event of an extension of the insurrection. The Nizam battalions of the 6th (Uskub) and the 7th (Monastir) Army Corps have been brought up to their average strength of 600 by the incorporation of over 20,000 of first reservists from Anatolia during the last six weeks.

Ithom, May 20.

Although the dangers which may result from the present troubles in Albania are obvious, there is reason to believe that the Governments of the Great Powers do not as yet regard the situation as critical and they apparently anticipate the early suppression of the movement. In Vienna especially, the apprehensions widely expressed in the Press do not seem to be shared at the Ballplatz. The optimism of the Governments may explain or to some extent excuse the apparently helpless attitude of European diplomacy at the present moment, which seems resigned to let things take their course. Some relief to the anxiety prevailing outside official quarters may be afforded by the circumstance that a truce has been arranged between the Mirdites and the Turkish authorities on the basis that all the concessions granted to the Malissors last year shall be extended to the Mirdites. Whether the promise will be kept time will show, but the experience of the past is not encouraging.

Constantinople, May 21.

According to the local journals, 17 Albanians have been killed in a collision with the troops which occurred in the Laria district between Lyuma and Mirdita.

A further official *communiqué* announces that a general rising need not be apprehended, and ascribes the present disorders to the intrigues of a few *Barrakars*. I may note that news from extremely well-informed sources in Macedonia partially confirms the official view that the insurrection may be localized.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN")

The Salónica correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* sends to his paper the following telegram — "Thanks to the efforts of the Albanian Ulema the Albanians assembled at Istok have begun to return to their villages. The attempts to raise a revolt among the Mirdites must undoubtedly be put down to the efforts of Montenegro. Happily the attempts have proved unsuccessful, and the position is decidedly better."

His Uskub colleague writes in a similar strain — "It would seem as if the winter months had been made use of by strong influences beyond the Ottoman frontier for purposes of incitement and for arming the Albanians in such wise as to create fresh difficulties for the Turks in Albania. This time the Albanians can by no means assert that they are revolting in consequence of the attitude and the inactivity of the Government. For now all sorts of public works have been taken in hand, roads are being constructed,

foreign engineers are studying various tracks with a view to opening up the country by means of new railways, and a beginning has already been made with the erection of several hundred schools. Should the revolt, as seems likely, spread, the execution of these public works will inevitably come to a standstill and the credits granted for improvements will be swallowed by punitive expeditions. Then the leading men in Constantinople will lose all taste for dealing with these highlanders by diplomatic means. They will soon come round to the view that the expensive journeys of the Sultan, of the Minister of the Interior, Hadji Adil Bey, and of the Governor General of Kossovo, Halil Bey, have all been wasted efforts, and that the large sums which were distributed on those occasions only served the purpose of providing modern arms and ammunition, which are now being used against the Ottoman troops."

The Salónica correspondent of the *Temps* has had an interview with a high Albanian personage, in the course of which the latter made some valuable remarks. This is how he explained the circumstances of the present unrest — "We are really poor, and the exploitation of our forest riches is impossible owing to the complete absence of means of communication. Throughout the North the population has no other means of livelihood than their cattle, a very meagre source of income, as there is no commerce owing to the difficulties of exchange. Being unable to find any remunerative work wherewith he could satisfy his wants and support his family, the Albanian has contracted other habits, which you no doubt severely condemn, but which nevertheless are natural. Abdul Hamid had an unlimited confidence in his special Albanian Guard, and we abused this confidence perhaps in order to obtain numerous favours. Can we be blamed for that? I think not. The ex Sultan treated us throughout his reign as spoilt children. This the Albanian people considered, and still consider, as their right. Is it possible to uproot at one stroke this idea in the minds of the Albanians—minds superstitious, simple, and ignorant? Such a process requires time, and it will never be achieved by the force of arms."

"Do you not believe," asked the correspondent, "in the existence of foreign intrigues?" "Which?" inquired the Albanian. "Montenegrin, for instance; for it is undeniable that the programme of the Malissors was drawn up at Cetinje, and to argue from this to the inspiration of Italy seems to me only a matter of logic." "I do not believe in it," replied the Albanian gentleman. "The Albanians will never admit foreign intervention, being too proud of their independence. I am convinced that my compatriots are acting on their own initiative, or rather on the advice of persons in whom they place entire confidence." Among the persons enjoying their confidence, however, there are said to be many Austrian and Italian agents in the disguise of priests and school masters, as well as King Nicholas of Montenegro.

In the course of his further remarks, the Albanian said — "The Turks have tried to disarm us, they have burnt down our villages, bastinadoed us before our women and children, they have violated almost all our sacred rights, and undermined the prestige of the husband over his wife (*sic!*) The Albanian cannot and would never forget these grave injuries. We demand the right freely to carry arms, freedom from taxation for another few years, the reconstruction of our villages destroyed by the Turks in the course of last year's repression, the construction of roads, railways, schools where the Albanian language should form the basis of instruction, obligatory knowledge of the Albanian language by the officials, and local military service. The Albanians are willing to serve, but only in their own country."

The Macedonian Commission.

As our readers are aware, a Commission has been travelling during the past few months in Macedonia and Albania. The President of this Commission is Hadji Adil Bey, Ottoman Minister of the Interior, and the other members include two civil inspectors, delegates of the Departments of Finance, War, Justice, Public Works, Education and Gendarmerie. Mr. Graves, Financial Adviser to the Ministry of Finance, represents this department in the Commission.

The Commission has full powers to suspect everything, listen to the complaints of the inhabitants, discover their real needs, dismiss officials proved guilty of wrongdoing, introduce on the spot the most immediate measures of reform in the different branches alluded to above, and to draw up plans where the introduction of the reform requires study and time. The Commission, which has already accomplished its mission in the Vilayets of Salónica, Kossovo and Scutari in Albania, is at the present time in Monastir. We publish below extracts of an official report, by the President, Hadji Adil Bey, showing the result of the work accomplished by the Commission in the Vilayet of Kossovo.

Guard houses have been established and placed in telephonic communication with each other. The number of those to be constructed immediately in the Vilayet of Kossovo is as follows:

Four in the Uskub district, 37 in that of Prichtina, 26 in that of Ipek and 37 in the Prizrend district—or a total of 104. The numbers of gendarmes in the Vilayet has been likewise augmented as follows:—300 men have been added to the Prichtina battalion, 150 to that of Ipek and 250 to the Prizrend battalion.

It has been decided to have recourse to armed force in extraordinary cases, such as the pursuit of bands, the repression of revolt, or the protection of road constructions or other enterprises of public utility from the attacks of brigands.

The Governor-General of Kossovo has been authorised to appoint to the Administrative Councils of Prizrend, Ipek and Prichtina members chosen from among the Albanian and Bahraktar chieftains. Four have been appointed in each of these three districts with a monthly salary of 200 piastres.

Among the officials whose bad conduct has been proved the Commission has recalled the Director of the Uskub Prison, guilty of maltreating a prisoner. An inquiry having been opened as regards judicial officials, the Juge d'Instruction of Prichova and a judicial official at Yeni-Bazar have likewise been recalled. Measures have been taken as regards certain presidents of Civil Tribunals, and steps have been adopted to ensure the regular working of justice in all these tribunals.

A new regulation has been promulgated in order to put an end to the trade in stolen horses in the districts of Prichtina, Tachlidja, Sénidje, Ipek and Prizrend.

The high roads from Ipek to Ferizovik, from Scutari to Prizrend and from Mitrovitsa to Ipek will be constructed in the course of 1912 by the Ministry of War.

These roads were included among those to be constructed by the Ministry of Public Works, but they have been entrusted to the Ministry of War in order to hasten their construction. The authorities at Kossovo have received the order to construct in part, during the present year, ten main roads and to repair an equal number during the same period.

It has been decided to create agricultural schools and to establish an experimental farm, a dépôt of agricultural machinery and a model institute for the improvement of cattle breeding in the districts of Prichtina, Ipek and Prizrend.

The establishment of these schools, dépôts, etc., and the constructions of the three highways in the above-named districts, will largely contribute towards the improvement of the economic situation and public security in these regions. It has been decided, moreover, to improve the tanning industry, which is as important in Ipek and Prizrend.

An enquiry has been opened in order to determine the number of prisons necessary in the different districts of the Vilayet. As soon as this inquiry has been concluded orders will be given for the construction of these prisons, for which a credit of £120,000 has been opened.

The construction of State konaks at Mitrovitsa and Voultchetin has been begun as well as that of other konaks in the seven nahids of the Ipek district. These constructions will be finished in the course of the present year.

It has been decided to establish primary boarding-schools in all the nahids. Among these schools will be some for Serbs and Catholics. The mosques, mosques and village schools will be repaired and a large medresse will be constructed at Ferizovik. In order to meet these expenses, a sum of £13,000 has been allocated by the Department of Pious Foundations.

In order to improve the lycéums at Uskub, Prizrend, Prichtina, Ipek and Tachlidja, the Commission has decided to raise the grants of these institutions to P100,000, likewise, with a view to modify and reform the preparatory schools at Prichovo, Galon, Sénidje, Kalkandelen, Pépëzi, Berekeli, Bouzna, etc., it has been decided to bring their grants up to P57,600; and, finally, with a view to opening 22 primary schools in the different districts of the Vilayet of Kossovo, the total has been made up to £469,800. Other sums having been likewise devoted to expenses under this heading, the budget for education in Kossovo has been drawn up as follows:—

Salaries	...	...	P469,800
Permanent expenditure	...	...	239,000
Constructions and repairs	...	...	268,000
Total	...		P966,800

A sum of P23,200 has also been set aside from the extraordinary Budget of this year for the construction and repairs of one school at Mitrovitsa, eight primary boarding-schools in the district of Ipek (of which 2 are for Serbs and Catholics), one at Louma, and one at Prizrend.

A study of the reforms of the collection of tithes and other taxes according to local requirements is being made by Mr. Graves, a member of the Commission, who has already drawn up a Bill, sub-

mited to Parliament, and relating to the modifications to be introduced in the existing system of the collection of tithes.—The *Near East*

The Italians in Tripoli.

To THE EDITOR OF THE "NEAR EAST."

SIR,—Since the Turkish Government have taken the statesman-like and commendable step of reopening the Dardanelles to navigation the Italian Press appears to have been roused to the highest pitch of indignation. The neutrals are abused and England, as one of them most severely hit as a result of the unhappy Tripoli venture, has come in for a good deal of adverse comment. Frankness is always praiseworthy, and we should rejoice to see that the Italians are showing themselves in their true colours. The pen is mightier than the sword, and it is with leaflets printed in Arabic and Berber that the Italians fight for the land promised to their starving population of the south. In those leaflets also, dropped over the Arab camps from aeroplanes, we see the true state of their feeling towards this country. They were mentioned in the *Times* of March 27th, but for some unknown reason the matter was never again alluded to. Strictly speaking, we expected at least a leading article from the *Times* on such an important matter. In those pamphlets the Italian general told the Arabs that he came to Tripoli as an agent of the great, glorious and rich Italy in order to save them from the threatened invasion of thousands of Englishmen and Frenchmen who wanted to take their land and their work because they were starving at home! I trust the Arabs know better, but their friends here hoped the statements would meet with more publicity. There is also another class of pamphlets circulated by the Italians. A copy of one is to be seen at the Foreign Office, but they are reluctant to send them to this country. I understand, however, that they are spread broadcast in Italy and in Russia. In them can be seen photographs, obviously faked, of "Arab atrocities" on live Italian soldiers, and I am not surprised that when asked for a copy the Italian Embassy refers one to Rome.—I am, Sir, yours obediently,

GEORGE RAYVALOVICH.

Junior Conservative Club,
May 18, 1912

Agonies Caused by the Camel's Roll.

By ALAN OSTLER.

The big Soudan bred male camel of the Zoological Gardens has assisted at an interesting experiment, or, rather, he furnished the site of the operation, submitting with an air of supercilious meekness to the trying on of a newly devised stretcher which is to be used by the British Red Crescent Mission in Tripoli for the benefit of Arab and Turkish sick and wounded.

It is a weary journey from the fighting line to the little British hospital at Gharien. The nearest Turkish camp is at least a full day's camel journey from the hospital, and many of the outposts are as far away again.

Half of the journey lies over scorching desert sands, half up the face of almost inaccessible mountains. For a sick or wounded man, unable to sit a horse, there is no means of transit possible save the pack camel, and of the miseries of such a journey I am able to speak from firsthand experience.

The walking gait of a camel is peculiar. Unlike a horse, or dog, or any other quadruped, so far as I know, he does not move his near forefoot and off hindfoot simultaneously, but strides first with both off limbs and then with both near ones. This primitive method of progression, as though his mechanism consisted of two parallel sections, gives him his peculiar rolling gait, and makes him an uncomfortable beast to ride upon, even for a man in perfect health. To a sick man, camel-riding is a racking torture.

The trains of Turkish sick and wounded on their way to hospital are a most pitiful sight. By way of mitigating the discomfort, the Arabs spread sacks, and, when possible, mattresses, on the broad pack-saddles. But many of the sick men are too feeble to hold themselves in place even thus, and so a "rank" (companion rider) sits behind them, holding them in place with arms clasped about their middles.

Thus, again and again I have seen men arrive in a state of collapse, their heads rolling on their shoulders, their lips parched, their eyes set in their heads; half dead from wounds or sickness and almost wholly so from exposure to the burning sun or bitter wind and from the ceaseless motion.

It was these considerations which made Captain Dixon Johnson, manager of the British Red Crescent expedition to Tripoli, decide to obtain, if possible, some kind of stretcher in which men could be carried or camel-back without suffering from jolting or from

15th June.

from exposure. After considerable investigation and experiment, he has succeeded in getting what promises to be the very thing ; and this was tested on one of the Zoo camels.

It is a wooden pack-saddle, to which are fixed folding metal arms or brackets. These brackets support two stretchers, one at each side, to which, head, foot and outer side rails are fixed, giving it the appearance of a baby's cot. A green rot-proof canvas awning goes over the top, shielding the patient from the glare of the sun or from rain.

From the experiments carried out in the Zoological Gardens—the camel, by-the-by, behaved beautifully—I am sure that this device will answer splendidly. There was at first some difficulty, because the Zoo camel, being well fed and little worked, has acquired an enormous hump.

Then the camel refused to kneel. He replied to all entreaties that it has pleased Allah to place him in a country full of luscious buns, where loads (such as babies) are lifted to the backs of camels in a reverent manner.

It was written that he should no more kneel in the dust ; and kneel he didn't.

However, the saddle was fitted on his huge back, and it was found to carry the stretcher splendidly. There was hardly any jolting as the beast minced slowly up and down.

I only hope that plenty of these stretchers will be sent to the relief of the Turkish sick and wounded, who need them so. That, of course, depends on the money sent to Coutts' Bank by sympathisers with the Red Crescent Mission.—*The Daily Express.*

The Economic Condition of Italy.

It appears to be beyond doubt that Italy is suffering severely in an economic sense from the effects of the war with Turkey. The military results which she has so far achieved in Tripoli are moreover of small value, and Italian prestige has been lowered by the events of the past eight months. In the early days of the struggle it was assumed that the conquest of the Turkish colony would be accomplished with rapidity and comparative ease, but the problem of subduing the Arab tribesmen yet remains unsolved while Italy's proceedings in the Aegean Sea may lead to intervention on the part of the Powers, and to the humiliation of the apostles of Italian Imperialism. In the meantime, the internal condition of the country is far from satisfactory. An Italian correspondent of the *Economist* depicts the situation in very sombre hues. Great depression, he affirms, prevails in Italian trade. The hours have been suffering from panic, and Italian Three and a Half per cents, which stood at 103 before the commencement of the war, have fallen to 93. The issue of 350 million lire of Treasury Bills at 4 per cent. has naturally had an adverse effect on Government stocks, and the authority cited expresses the belief that but for the drain on the Treasury surpluses due to the war it would not have been necessary to raise such a large sum at a moment so unfavourable to the public credit. That the year 1911 resulted in heavy losses to the staple industries of Italy is evidenced by the reports presented at the meetings of various industrial companies. The cotton trade suffered severely. The closing of the Levantine markets, according to the correspondent, was grievously felt both by spinners and weavers, and many important mills were compelled to discharge a large number of their hands. Wheat, meanwhile has reached famine prices, and the fact is recalled that in 1898 when the quotation had scarcely reached the present level, the Government under the pressure of popular troubles were constrained to suspend the onerous import duty on this necessity of life. The writer is convinced that new and burdensome taxes are in store for the already over taxed Italian people, and he expresses the hope that as the outcome of their sufferings they will learn the lesson of the folly of war. What the conflict has cost no one except the Government appears to know. It is estimated by the correspondent of the *Economist*, however, that the first seven months involved an expenditure of £80,000,000, although the Ministry professed to have expended no more than the £8,600,000 voted by Parliament. But a Government cannot conceal its financial operations indefinitely, and the truth must be disclosed in the near future. The Italian people, who were led to believe that Tripoli was a new Eldorado, have been sadly deceived, and it is to be feared that their disillusionment is not yet complete. Instead of increasing the importance of Italy among the European Powers, her latest African adventure is likely to involve her in further political and economic difficulties at home and loss of prestige abroad.—*The Statesman.*

Turkey and the Dardanelles.

With the landing of Italian forces at Rhodes the war has taken another turn, which, for the present at any rate, is less serious than that which it succeeds. There is still but little ground for congratulation in the general position of affairs, but we have at least the satisfaction of knowing that the immediate difficulty as to the

Dardanelles is at an end. Weather has, unfortunately, delayed the clearing of a passage through the Straits, but we may be confident that the wise and courageous resolution taken by the Turkish Government will be carried out with all the promptness possible. Turkey has shown a consideration for neutral interests which deserves full acknowledgment from the Powers involved—most of all from Great Britain, which is pre-eminently concerned in the maintenance of unchecked ingress and egress for the trade of the Black Sea. The loss to English trade by a temporary closure must at all times be great ; and circumstances are conceivable—for example, the failure of crops in other countries than Russia from which we draw food supplies—in which such a measure would be a national calamity. So much, moreover, are all parts of the world to-day bound together that there is no saying what may be the repercussions of such a measure as the closing of the Dardanelles. A shot fired at a belligerent may do him little harm ; it ricochets, and seriously injures several neutrals. So long as the Black Sea was entirely enclosed within Turkish territory the situation was fairly clear. It was a *mare clausum*, much the same as is the Dead Sea. The situation changed when Russia acquired territory along the northern shores. It was still further changed by the new position of Bulgaria and Rumania. There was another modification by reason of the improvements in the navigation of the Danube, giving access to the Black Sea on the part of vessels coming from or going to inland ports. These changes have been recognized in a series of well-known international agreements. By the Treaty of Adrianople, signed by Turkey in one of her hours of humiliation, she admitted the right of merchant vessels to navigate the Black Sea and the Dardanelles. The Treaty of Paris, while declaring the Black Sea "neutralized," added that its ports and waters were to be open to the mercantile marine of all nations. The stipulation as to merchant vessels was reiterated in the Treaty of London of 1871 ; and this arrangement was recognized by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. Treaties apart, the Black Sea may to-day be said to be a continuation of the Mediterranean ; and, if it be so viewed, the right of all nations to trade therein admits of no question. Taking existing treaties into account, the general right to make use of the only passage into a portion of the open sea is also unquestioned, subject to Turkey's conventional rights in regard to the passage of ships of war. But when the matter is looked at from the point of view of Turkey as a belligerent the question proves to be somewhat more complex and to have more sides to it than diplomacy in 1856, 1871 and 1878 contemplated.

Every nation, certainly every sea Power, has made large claims of sovereignty over parts of the sea adjacent to the shores of its territory. Venice, Genoa, Denmark, Norway, Russia, and, not least, England, have put forward pretensions as to territorial seas, "narrow seas," "King's chambers," which other States have declined to recognize. The course of things has been, on the whole, adverse to such claims. It has been just the contrary of what has taken place on land. There the movement has been for centuries all in favour of creating individual ownership or, where that does not exist, national ownership, and there are now few parts of the earth which are no man's land. There is scarcely a rock, the home only of sea birds and crustaceans, upon which some flag, the symbol of national possession, has not been hoisted. On the ocean an opposite policy has prevailed and is likely to continue. In the contest which was waged some three hundred years ago between Grotius and Selden, victory has been, on the whole, with the former. Everywhere the tendency is in favour of the policy of the open sea, and even as to territorial waters there is a disposition to admit certain rights in other nations than the littoral States. Modern jurists have devised familiar formulæ to express and define this tendency, and it has been laid down by eminent authorities that straits serving as passages from one free sea to another free sea may never be closed.

But the present situation reminds one that any general rules on this subject may have to be read in the light of special circumstances, such circumstances for example, as Turkey may fairly urge exist in her case. The independence of a nation is worth little if it must forego some of its most effective belligerent rights and may not protect by all means at its disposal its vital parts. If it may not effectually defend its capital and the seat of the administration, it is at the mercy of any adversary. Lord Morley's remarks upon this point are unanswerable. Without a fleet able to cope with the navies of other nations, Turkey must put her trust in forts and mines. The latter are necessarily dangerous to neutral shipping; modern mines, it has been proved, may destroy any vessel ; if they are to be a real deterrent to a hostile fleet, they must bar the passage of merchant vessels. They are the natural weapons of States devoid of maritime strength. In any future arrangement likely to be lasting these facts must be recognized ; for it cannot be expected that Turkey will refrain from using the readiest and cheapest means of defence if her enemies are free to attack or threaten her at her most vulnerable point. Such problems as these grow more important every day, as international law gathers strength and form, and we shall await with interest the publication of the correspondence which has, no doubt, passed in the last two or three weeks.

—*The Times*

بافت ماہ جون سنه ۱۹۱۲



موسم بہار کا درجہ ترسیل میں ایک
میں ۴۰ موٹا ہے۔ لیکن صارعہ
ماہواری جدید ضمیم سال بہر میں
بارہ مرتبہ ہائیٹ مرکر اپنا گھست لکھے
میں۔ چنانچہ حسب معمول تازہ
بنازہ ضمیم باہس ماہ جون سنه
۱۹۱۲ بعرض ضیافت طبع شائین
گراموفون پیش کیا جاتا ہے۔ اور
راضی رہ کے یہ سال حال کی آخری
خشامی کے اعلیٰ ترین رکارڈوں کا
نجوز میں جذبیں ذیل کے مشہور اور
مقبول کا لے والوں نے عجیب و غریب
الہاز کیسا تھہ تیار کیا ہے۔ یعنی دو طرفہ
رکارہ ۱۰۔ انجام والہ جن میں چھٹے
چھٹے اور منتخب کا لے میں ۶۔
گروئیوں کے کام میں۔ لیست فی
رکارہ تین روپیہ۔ اس کے علاوہ اور
کالے بھی استاک میں موجود میں۔
(۱) (محمد حسین مامٹر اف
ہار مونیم) کوں ہے جو اس سے والب
لہیں! یہ اپنے طرز کا ایک میں کا لے
والا ہے جیسا کہ لاہوراب ۲۵ ہے ویسا میں
ہار مولیم بھی بھاٹا ہے۔ اس کے
کارکوں کی بیس ماںک ہے۔
(۲) (مرج العہد) یہ دھی پروفیسر
مرج العہد مدن جن گرفت موسیقی میں
کمال حاصل ہے اس کے کام کی اسی
داد نہیں دے سکتا۔
(۳) (پہاڑا صاحب) اس کا کام تمام
اطراف مندورستان میں مقبول ہے۔
(۴) (سہراپ جی) الفرد کمہنی
کے سہراپ جی ایک نا سور ایکور میں۔
جن سے بچہ بچہ را فہ ہے اس کے کام
میں غصب کی لے داری اور بڑی
غیر بخی موتی ہے۔ اور صرب مزاں
تو ان بہر قول مار گیا ہے۔
(۵) (سہراپ جی دہکو) یہ رکارہ
اچھوئی الہاز سے سہراپ جی دہکو
لے بنا یا ہے۔ مزاں یہ حاضر جو اس
اور موزون پہنچیاں سننے میں کے قابل میں۔
(۶) (تعلیم حسین لکنیوی) شیخانی
الذیا بہر میں اس سے بہتر کوئی نہیں بہا
سکتا اور کمال ہے۔ کہ بختی والیں اس اعلیٰ
موتی کی کوئی خوشی الحان کوئی کا رہا۔

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Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 25. Anna 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, June 22, 1912.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1.

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dealt in detail with the immense expenditure involved, which would hang like a millstone round the neck of the Indian taxpayer for years to come. The least that the Government of India could have done was to economise. Why not have stayed in Calcutta for the next few years while New Delhi was being built instead of spending money on a temporary capital? The system of fancy surpluses with which it was proposed to meet the cost, involving diversion of funds required for irrigation and railways, was thoroughly bad and injurious to India. Lord Curzon said he was glad to learn that the opinion of the experts favoured the site to the southward of Delhi but that too meant further expenditure on defence, and who would benefit apart from the members of Government and administrative personnel?

Lord Minto fully endorsed Lord Curzon's remarks. He was still in the closest touch with Indian opinion, both European and native, and doubts as to the wisdom of the changes were daily increasing. All that could be done now, however, was loyally to support them.

Lord MacDonnell's only criticism of the Bill was the way in which it withdrew from the House opportunity of discussing whether an Executive Council for Behar should be created.

Lord Crewe replying insisted that the Government's policy as a whole continued to find favour in India. Answering an enquiry by Lord Curzon, he said that Barrackpore would remain the extra residence of the Governor of Bengal. He had heard nothing of its becoming a prey to the cheap tripper and hoped it would not. As regards the contents of Government House, the most friendly arrangements for their disposal had been concluded between the Viceroy and Lord Carmichael.

Government House would not be altogether emptied and turned into barracks.

The final selection of the Delhi site had been deferred to enable the experts to see Delhi immediately after the rains, but it would doubtless be to the southward of Durbar Camp. The financial methods proposed, said his Lordship, were the most sensible and the most feasible of any.

Lord Lansdowne asked, "Was it wise to ask Their Majesties to lay the foundation till they knew whether the site was suitable?" In calling attention to the financial and other points which had been raised they had fulfilled their duty, and they would be glad if their misgivings proved to be exaggerated and the changes conducted to the wellbeing of the people.

Lord Crewe in closing the debate said it was quite clear to everyone including the King that it was uncertain and even improbable that the place where the stone was laid would be the actual site of Government building, but there was little reason to doubt that it would form part of the New Capital.

The Bill was then read a second time.

Triple Entente.

SPEAKING in the French Chamber on the foreign estimates, M. Poincaré said relations with Germany were loyal, courteous and correct. Relations with Russia and Britain had never been better. The alliance with Russia and the entente with Britain had found their application throughout the globe and had everywhere

The Week.

The India Bill.

LORD CURZON in moving the second reading of the Government of India Bill in the House of Lords said that after the exhaustive debates of the 21st and 22nd of February, further discussion was unnecessary. Though doubtless the English in Calcutta and Muhammadans in Dacca still objected, there were no signs of wavering in the general acceptance of the Bill in India. There were even gratifying signs of a tendency on the part of some of the original opponents towards acceptance, as indicated by the desire to make the best of it and obtain such concessions as they believed could be granted.

Lord Curzon complained that the House had been led to believe that their assent would be asked not merely to the technical details embraced in the Bill but to the whole policy of Government. He believed that such was the Government's original intention, and he had heard that the Bill as originally drafted was a much larger concern. Government's procedure would stand out in history as one of the most unconstitutional ever followed in regard to the Government of India. He ridiculed Lord Crewe's statement as to the degree of acceptance which Government's policy had obtained in India. The mass of the people knew nothing and of the rest the vast majority were absolutely indifferent. As regards those who realised its significance, he believed that the state of affairs was entirely different from Lord Crewe's description. Lord Curzon

contributed to the maintenance of peace. Referring to the recent newspaper discussion of the suggestion of an alliance with Britain, M. Poincaré said that the ~~savoirs~~, though unwritten, had the support of the majority of both peoples. The triple ~~entente~~ had similarly contributed to the maintenance of peace in Europe, without interfering with anyone. The speech was punctuated with cheers.

Home Rule.

The House of Commons has resumed the discussion of Mr. Agar-Robartes' amendment to the Home Rule Bill for returning four Ulster counties to the United Kingdom.

Sir E. Carson said that even if the amendment were carried, Ulster would persist in opposition to Home Rule. Mr. Redmond said that the amendment was purely a wrecking one. Mr. Lloyd-George said that if Ulster appealed for separate treatment, the Government would seriously consider the appeal, but such a demand had not even been made during the debate. The discussion was adjourned.

Mr. Balfour made his first public speech since his retirement from the leadership of the party. Addressing five thousand people at an anti-Home Rule demonstration at Preston, he said, the Home Rule Bill seemed the worst of the three. It was a compilation of all the worst features of every free constitution in the world and defied all the teachings of history. The moonstruck legislators were robbing even federalism of its blessings.

Mr. Long and Lord Curzon were the chief speakers at a great anti-Home Rule demonstration in the Albert Hall which was attended by delegates from the whole Kingdom, including strong contingents of Ulstermen and Protestants from the south of Ireland. The most fervent enthusiasm was displayed.

Sir E. Carson was the chief speaker at the Anti-Home Rule demonstration. He said Ulster was determined that Home Rule even if passed, should become dead as an Act of Parliament. She accepted the Government's declaration of war "We are not altogether unprepared," he added, "and now is the time to take a step forward in the campaign."

Afghanistan.

New from Khost is to the effect that Brigadier-General Abdul Aziz has reached Chakmanni with two regular regiments and has summoned the Mangal Jirgah in order to discuss the terms of settlement.

The Safi Mullah is said now to be in Khost together with other mullahs, and they are preaching from texts that the common people should be able to understand, it seems the object being to bring the rebellious tribesmen into a proper frame of mind. It is stated as doubtful whether any permanent effect will be produced.

Jahangir Khan (Jandad) Khan Ghulzai, the chief from Khost who recently took refuge in India, is now on a visit to Simla, presumably to endeavour to persuade the Government of India to intervene on behalf of his two sons who have been arrested in Kabul by the Amir.

Jandad Khan is a man of strong character and independent views and consequently wields considerable influence on the border. He has at least one son still in the Khost country. The part he has taken in the recent rising is not very clear, and it is not yet known whether he will be included in the terms which General Abdul Aziz is arranging on behalf of the Afghan Government with the tribesmen upon the spot.

The *Pioneer* says it is reported that the Amir has had notice conveyed to Jahangir Khan that he must return to Afghanistan within a month or that his sons in Kabul will be kept under arrest and his property will be confiscated. Jahangir Khan saw a fortnight ago that the resistance of tribesmen to the Afghan regular forces was a half-hearted one and he wisely betook himself to the shelter of British territory. Whether he will elect to return to Afghanistan is a matter for his own consideration. He would probably be safe in the Ghulzai country, but he is a man of means and he may choose to stay in India and resume his old trade connections, for he has long been intimately concerned with the "Powindah caravan traffic."

China.

REUTER'S AGENCY learns that nothing is known confirmatory of the statement that Russia and Japan are not likely to participate in the sixty million loan. Many difficulties are confronting the bankers. Further conference, which, it was hoped, would be the last, was to be held in Paris on the 15th. The Russo-Japanese proposals which were left unsettled at the London conference are not calculated to render future negotiations very difficult. They laid reference to technical trading details and there has since been constant interchange of communications between London, Tokyo and St. Petersburg. Further meetings were held in London on the 7th and the

8th instant at which further approach to the agreement was made. The parties are now so close together that it is expected that details would be arranged at the conference of the 15th.

The *Times* says that the Chinese Loan Conference which was arranged to be held in Paris on Saturday has been postponed. The *Daily Telegraph* says that a hitch has occurred.

Reuter wires from Peking.—Tang Sha Oyi, the Prime Minister, has fled to Tientsin. Yuan-Shi-Kai has twice sent his Secretary to him, but Tang Sha Oyi refuses to return. He says he wants to resign.

The Cabinet has appealed to the international financial group and has obtained an advance of three million taels to satisfy clamorous troops.

Gun-running.

THE French Press, commenting on the notification issued by the Sultan of Muscat ordering the establishment of a storage warehouse for all arms, points out that France is directly interested in the arms trade and that Jibuti is largely dependent thereon. It is considered certain that the Government will only obtain the approval of the Chambers to the surrender of French treaty rights if they are able to point to compensation.

Behar High Court.

With reference to the question of establishing a High Court at Patna for the new province of Behar and Orissa, the Government of India have addressed the Local Government asking them to look into the matter with a view to ascertaining matured opinion on the subject.

The *Pioneer* says the statement in the Ranchi telegram that the Government of India has informed the Government of Behar and Orissa that they consider a High Court should be established at Patna is not exactly correct. The reference draws attention to the suggestion that such a Court should be formed and asks the Local Government for its matured opinion on the subject.

At an extraordinary meeting of the Patna Bar Association, held recently, a resolution was passed thanking Government for the steps taken for the establishment of a High Court at Patna.

New Allahabad Judge.

A PRESS COMMUNIQUE in the Home Department states that His Majesty the King-Emperor has approved the appointment of Mr Muhammad Rafiq to be a Puisne Judge of the High Court at Allahabad.

Indian Public Services.

THE Times states that the Government has decided to appoint a Royal Commission to enquire with regard to the public services in India generally, but no statement can yet be made as to its composition or the terms of reference.

The Royal Commission on India Services will, it is presumed, enquire among other things into the present block in the Civil Service, which is particularly marked in the United Provinces and the Punjab.

New Delhi.

ARRANGEMENTS for the new capital are proceeding steadily, and now that the site has been finally selected, the necessary engineering staff will be collected for employment on the permanent capital. The experts have sketched out the general outline of the new city, and possibly the Engineering Staff will be secured to commence the works by the middle of the rains. Major H. C. Readon, Deputy Commissioner, Delhi, is making a visit to Simla in connection with the arrangements for the new capital. The Punjab Government have asked the Delhi Municipality to secure the services of an expert Sanitary Officer belonging to the Indian Medical Service so that measures for sanitary improvements may be taken up in hand before the Government of India assemble there in the beginning of the winter and the rush of the cold weather visitors.

Oriental Studies.

THE Government of India have awarded the two State scholarships available in 1912 for the scientific study of Arabic and Sanskrit in Europe to Mr. Abdus-Sattar Siddiqui of the Aligarh College, and Pandit Tarachand of the Punjab, respectively.

Arabic College.

HIS HIGHNESS THE AGA KHAN always laid stress upon the importance of the study of the Arabic language, so that hidden treasures of ancient literature may be laid bare. At present there is no Arabic School worthy of the name in Bombay Presidency where old literature can be studied in the true spirit. Sir Abubekr Khan has now promised Rs. 75,000 to found an Arabic College in Bombay in honour of the visit of this Pit Saheb of Bengal.

TETE À TETE



The very cordial and enthusiastic reception accorded to the Maharaja of Durbhangha on the occasion of his recent visit to Aligarh will, we hope, lead to the growth of cordiality and fellowship in Hindu Moslem relations. So much is being said, and to so little purpose, about racial

identity or cleavage in this country that one is almost afraid of touching the question at all lest one should find one self in the atmosphere of cant and bombast. The way of looking at the matters that are supposed to be keeping the Hindus and the Mussalmans apart has grown conventional. It must, we are perfectly sure, have sometimes occurred even to the most thoroughgoing advocate of separatism in either camp that Providence did not create the Hindus and the Mussalmans with the sole purpose of thwarting each other in their desire to live. The nature of the political antagonism with which we are face to face to-day is only half understood, though its consequences cannot be mistaken. Public life in this country is but another name for tactics. When entire communities have been organised, not with a view to securing the greatest good for all, but to keep the rivals out of their legitimate share, it may not be easy to deny that the standard of public life in this country is not of the highest. Misunderstandings have swung the whole purpose of Indian politics out of focus. Mutual recriminations can hardly restore sanity and balance to the stock conceptions of public duty. Though the two communities exist side by side, their ignorance of each other is growing to be phenomenal. Mutual knowledge, and sympathy that springs from knowledge, should precede political co-operation. Social rapprochement is, therefore, the master key to the Hindu-Moslem situation. The great educational movements for the Moslem and the Hindu Universities that embody the highest intellectual and moral aspirations of the two communities, have evoked a spirit of mutual goodwill which is full of happy augury for the future. The speeches recently delivered at Aligarh in welcoming the Maharaja of Durbhangha clearly indicate the significance that had been attached to his visit. The sentiments to which the Maharaja gave expression were quite worthy of the occasion. He must have carried away memories of a hearty welcome, accorded to him with equal warmth by the students, the staff, and the trustees, which will prove of abiding value. It is pleasant to record in this connection that Mr. Mohindra Pratap Singh, an Old Boy of the Aligarh College, has sent Rs 500 as his donation to the Moslem University Fund, expressing gratification at the reception given to the Maharaja and hoping that it would lead to the growth of union and goodwill between the two communities. The value of these acts of sympathy can hardly be over-estimated. They draw the ties of fellowship closer and with greater sureness than any formal conference of communal delegates charged with the mission of negotiating a treaty of peace—on paper.

The announcement that the Hon. Mr. Mohamed Rafiq, Additional Judicial Commissioner of Oudh, will succeed the Hon. Mr. Justice Syed Karamat Husain as Judge of the Allahabad High Court has been received with unalloyed satisfaction throughout the country. The entire Press of the United

Provinces, in particular has hailed the appointment in terms of deep appreciation; and we cannot but congratulate the Government on having made a choice which has been acclaimed with striking unanimity by the people. The Hon. Mr. Rafiq has already made his mark as a distinguished judicial officer in his province. He enjoys a well-deserved reputation for ability, independence and strength of character. We are sure his career on the bench of the Allahabad High Court will be one of distinction. Now that the Hon. Mr. Rafiq has reached the summit of his judicial career, he will recall

with particular pleasure a prophecy associated with its commencement. Just after his appointment as Judge of the Small Cause Court, Lucknow, the late Sir Auckland Colvin, then Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, visited Aligarh, and, while speaking of the good work the "Aligarh Boys" were doing as public servants, referred to Mr. Mohamed Rafiq, a distinguished Old Boy of the College, and confidently predicted his future appointment as Judge of the High Court. Sir Auckland Colvin had perceived in the young barrister the promise of a future Judge. We are glad the promise of early manhood has in this case ripened into fact. While his elevation to the High Court bench will be peculiarly welcome to the Old Boys and Trustees of the Aligarh College, we are sure their greatest pleasure will be to hear of his success as an independent, conscientious and upright Judge who strove to do even-handed Justice between man and man. We are abundantly justified in the belief that success of this kind will be his in ample measure.

Now that Mr Montagu has expressed regret about his unfortunate remarks concerning the homogeneity of the Muhammadans of India and the absence of any relations between the Muhammadans

of Bengal and the rest of their co-religionists, we shall spare him a homily on the dangers of rash generalisations about men and things in the East. We must not forget that Mr. Montagu had on a previous occasion himself borne testimony to the extra-territorial patriotism of the Mussalmans which laughed at distance and material separation, and his present statement in reply to Mr. MacCullum Scott, that "he recognized that Muhammadans were animated by a religious feeling which produces unity, making them independent of geographical or racial separation," is quite consistent with his earlier remarks.

We shall, therefore, forget—and, if need be, forgive—the wholly inconsistent remarks about the position of Mussalmans in Bengal and the relationship in which they stand to those of the rest of India which intervened. The Statesman writes that, "naturally these extraordinary statements excited much irritation among the Muhammadans, and for some time past they have been busy in passing resolutions in every district, challenging Mr. Montagu's assertions. At length the Under-Secretary has bowed before the storm." With reference to Mr. Montagu's reply cabled by Reuter on the 20th instant, the Statesman comments that "such a recantation may well gratify Indian Muhammadans and it will possibly help to modify Mr. Montagu's astonishing self-confidence." No doubt the Mussalmans would also think that to have induced an Under-Secretary of State to admit an error "is a triumph upon which they can fairly congratulate themselves." But we hope there will be no vainglorious jubilation at this, for, although Mr. Montagu's overconfidence and recent rash assertions have considerably irritated the Mussalmans, they must recognize that he is a liberal-minded Minister, and they have more to gain by persuading him to acknowledge realities than by humiliating him with excessive and loudly proclaimed jubilation. Now that Mr. Montagu has once more taken the right view of Moslem feelings and Moslem solidarity, the question arises, what will happen in the case of those of our Indian contemporaries that crowed loudly and triumphantly at his rash generalisation and, denying solidarity to the Mussalmans, considered the Muhammadans of Bengal as a limb entirely torn off from the body of Islam. Would they now begin to denounce the erstwhile Daniel come to judgment, or would they follow his latest move and recant their heresies? We must wait and see.

It is somewhat amusing to discover in some of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries just those failings which they had often condemned in Indian journals and on for Behar.

which they had read long sermons to sable humanity. These failings generally used to be intemperate expression and the inclination to be agin' the Government. We have seen often and often enough instances of intemperate expressions in Anglo-Indian papers of great position and weight, yet somehow the beam in their own eyes was left undetected by these discoverers of the mote in the Indian optic. The inclination to write agin' the Government was naturally less evident. But since the Government of India has removed the capital from Calcutta some of our local contemporaries find nothing good in the Supreme Government and hold it up to ridicule on every conceivable occasion. The latest instance has been the letter of the Government of India addressed to the Local Government of the new Province of Behar and Orissa. Before waiting to see what it contained, some of our local Anglo-Indian contemporaries ran away with the idea that this was another instance of the autocratic behaviour of the Supreme Government, and announced to the world at large the fact that the Government of Ind'a had already made up their mind to give Behar a separate High Court and had asked the Local Government of the new Province to consult the Calcutta High Court only in the matter of the number of Judges that would be required. On this peg they hung many a sermon on the evils of despotic rule, and a careful researchist

may perhaps find in these sermons many a virtue ascribed to provincial autonomy which has been severely condemned whenever desired by Indian politicians and publicists. However, the truth is now out, and the letters of the Government of India have been published for all to see. There is no tinge of autocracy therein and, what is more, none is alleged to exist even by our contemporaries that had condemned the Government for these very letters only a little while ago. The Government of India have asked the Local Government to favour them with the matured opinion on the question, and if they consider a separate High Court necessary for Behar, they are requested to consult the High Court of Calcutta as regards the size of the new High Court. With a view to assist the Local Government in arriving at a correct conclusion, the amplest statistics have been asked for from the Calcutta High Court. We do not see what there is to condemn in all this, and although we have never hesitated to express disagreement with the views of the Government of India whenever we had occasion to differ, we cannot say we like the idea of any stick being good enough for the Supreme Government. The Viceroy and his colleagues should not be the only people against whom every allegation should be published or credited. If they do not deserve more consideration than less eminent persons, surely they deserve at least as much. If we have any criticism to offer on the subject of the High Court of Behar it is this, that when the Government of India were making Behar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur a separate province, they should have arranged to give it a separate High Court and a separate University. To have swallowed up the whale and to object to swallow two small minnows is neither logic nor statesmanship. It is true that when Lord Curzon separated Eastern Bengal even he did not venture to go so far as to give the new province a High Court. But he knew that while he would be offending the Hindus of Western Bengal he would not be enlisting the sympathy of the Hindus of the other provinces either by making a province in which the Muhammadans predominated a self-contained area. Hence his hesitation. In the present case the announcement of the partition has pleased the Hindus of Bengal and the rest of India as well, and there was no likelihood of any agitation against making Behar a self-contained area. By not doing so in December last the Government of India have given the cue to agitation needlessly. Every large province should normally be self-contained, and the burden of proof lies on those who wish to deny it a High Court and a University. Hitherto we have not come across any argument against these in the case of Behar, and Bengalee agitation against them shows little beyond the greed of a section of the Bengalee lawyers and the love of power of some other sections of Bengalees. Now, however, agitation cannot be helped and while we must wait for the opinion of the Local Government, Behar must put up with the Bengalee agitation as part of the bargain. But when the organs of Bengalee opinion next talk of the identity of interests in India, Moslem as well as Hindu, we trust our Behar friends will remember that there is such a thing as a difference of immediate interests, such as is only too apparent now in the case of the immediate interests of Behar and Bengal. The Mussalmans have too long been preached to in the name of Indian Nationality, and Beharees have vied with Bengalees in the length and solemnity of these homilies. It is their turn now to smile a little, if not laugh outright, at the Indian Nationalism exhibited by the Bengalee co-adjudicators of Modern Behar.

ABOUT two months ago Mr Abdul Wali Khan, who served in the Quetta Staff College for some time some years ago, and is of a highly enterprising turn of mind, wrote to us that he was leaving for Tripoli after arranging for his journey at Constantinople, and very kindly promised, if he succeeded in getting through, to work as our honorary War Correspondent. We heard from him from Aden, and this week's Mail brings us a letter from him from Alexandria. He gives an interesting account of his landing at Suez and his stay in Alexandria, and in future we hope to publish equally interesting accounts sent by him of the Islamic forces in Libya and their encounters with the Italians. He saw at Suez a neat little ship painted white which at first sight appeared to be a P. and O. Mail Steamer, but which turned out to be a Turkish Hospital Ship. A fellow passenger, a venerable Persian gentleman, Syed Amin of Meshed, told him he had seen her at Jeddah a few months ago, and that she was there to pick up the Turkish sick and wounded returning home from Yemen. He very much felt inclined to visit the Hospital Ship, but as he had to catch a steamer for the onward journey, he had to give up the idea for want of time. But luckily for him, just as the train was leaving Suez, a Turkish sailor got in, and as he was passing through the corridor of the train, Mr. Abdul Wali Khan requested his Persian fellow-passenger, who, by the way, turned out to be a polyglot, to ask the Turkish Jack Tar to travel with them. That he did, and on the way supplied all the necessary information. On learning that about fifty of the sick and wounded were on board the Hospital Ship, Mr Abdul Wali Khan offered

a sovereign and desired the Turkish sailor to write a letter in Turkish to her Commander on his behalf. The Turkish Jack Tar thankfully declined, saying that it was contrary to the Ottoman Marine Law to solicit or accept anything, specially money, without the previous consent of the Turkish Sea Lord. This is the present condition of ordinary sailors under a Government which was believed to be synonymous with *bakkish*-rule before the advent of the Young Turk. The sailor assured Mr. Abdul Wali Khan that they had every comfort on board, and that the Suez people supplied them daily with plenty of fruit. The man carried himself like a well-drilled soldier and but for the fez would have passed for a British bluejacket. On arriving at Alexandria, Mr. Abdul Wali Khan went out news-gleaning and in the "Mashia Mohamed Ali Pasha," the square named after the founder of the Khedival dynasty, he saw copies of *Al-Alam*, *Al-Laws* and *Al-Moayyed* being sold by the hundred among the crowds of café-loungers sipping their coffee. On reading the news of the severe chastisement inflicted on the Italians by Mulazim Mohamed Effendi Abdul Zuhab, the Turkish Commander at Tobruk, the men got up and sang a rollicking chorus in Turkish. They seemed highly delighted with the news and one after another went over to a group of "Westerners," i.e., the Arabs of Tripoli, who are living in Alexandria since the massacres of October last, and congratulated them. These Tripolitans, writes our Correspondent, are a fine lot, and have a martial bearing. They wear a rather thick-brimmed Turkish fez, and their long black silk robes indicate their nationality and make them respected everywhere in the town. They are the guests of the Egyptians as long as the war lasts. Mr. Abdul Wali Khan had a chat with one of these and was convinced that nothing would now ever induce them to part with the Ottomans. Our Correspondent read in the English journal, the *Egyptian Gazette*, which is the organ of the Occupation, that Enver Bey had paid a flying visit to Alexandria and had gone back. This may be true for all we know, as we learn from Egyptian papers that his mother had come to Egypt in order to visit him after the Italian *canard* about his death. Mr. Abdul Wali Khan was to have left in the last week of May by the Russian Steamer *Olga* to Constantinople, and we await his next letter from the seat of the Caliphate with great eagerness, and even impatience, and we are sure our readers share our feelings and our gratefulness to this enterprising Moslem.

We would earnestly invite the attention of our readers to our advertisement columns where an appeal of Maulvi Bashiruddin the editor of *Al-Basir*, who is the Honorary Manager of the Islamia High School of Etawah, is published. This school is an example of a tiny seed, unselfishly planted and constantly and carefully looked after, growing into a flourishing tree. Its success is not less remarkable than that of the Aligarh College itself, and considering the respective ranks of their founders and their personal influence in official and Moslem circles, the smaller and less ambitious institution can well challenge comparison with the greater. We have seen its small beginnings when the courage and hope of its indefatigable Founder Manager, Maulvi Bashiruddin, was the only asset of the school, and now that it is located in a fine building of its own, and has no less than 200 boarders and 150 day scholars, when its library has about 5,000 books and a thousand manuscripts and historical documents, when its teaching staff is paid more than Rs 15,000 a year, and about Rs 2,000 are paid to poor students as "debts of honour", we must confess we stand amazed at the success of one whose poverty puts to shame the riches of so many other Mussalmans and whose friendlessness—if we may strain the term a little—has proved far more useful than the so-called "influence" of so many Moslem leaders. Well may he say, "Alone I did it!" It is indeed a hopeful sign that the boarding-house is now full to overflowing and more accommodation is required both for the school and the hostel. We appeal to all Mussalmans, rich and poor—and specially to the poor for whose needs the school has been founded—to come to the assistance of Maulvi Bashiruddin. Surely there are few Mussalmans who cannot do what he has done if they will only persist and work unselfishly. If all cannot be Syed Ahmed Khan, we feel sure most people can be Bashiruddin. In this way his life is even a better lesson of something attempted, something done.

We publish in our advertisement columns the notice of a new weekly journal in Urdu which is to be launched by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, of this town, who has a close acquaintance with Islamic literature and is well known as a public speaker in Urdu and as a writer in Urdu periodicals. It is a hopeful sign of the times that the energies of such men are being attracted towards Urdu journalism which had too long been a monopoly of those who had come to it after having failed elsewhere else. Journalists need the best men of a country and community and not the leavings of other trades and occupations, and we hope *Al-Hilal* would make its way to the front rank of Urdu journalism.

Turkish Relief Fund.
WE HAVE received by the last mail a letter from the Imperial Ottoman Bank, Constantinople, dated 23rd May, informing us that the Bank of Bengal, Calcutta, have handed them under our instructions a cheque for £600 sterling and that

the equivalent of that amount has been placed to the credit of the Red Crescent Society for the relief of the sufferers at Tripoli. Our readers would perhaps remember, that we sent the Imperial Ottoman Bank a draft for £600 sterling on the 1st May, as we published in the issue of the 4th of May. The formal receipt from the Inspector-General of the Red Crescent Society is expected by the next mail. It is our ardent wish to send within a few weeks another instalment to Turkey, but, unless our readers come to our assistance more generously, we fear the amount of the instalment would not be as large as we have hitherto been able to send. We hope our readers will respond to the call of sufferers in Tripoli even more generously than they have hitherto done, and enable us to send in a few weeks another instalment of at least £500 sterling. As a reference to a statement printed below giving details of the collection for the Turkish Relief Fund will show, we have collected hitherto Rs 19,076-15-6, out of which we have forwarded to Turkey Rs 15,000 in two instalments. The balance at present in hand is, therefore, Rs. 4,076-15-6.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND

		Rs	A	P
Abdul Rahaman, Esq., Adhami, Nanital	.	2	0	0
M. Karim Beg Sahib	...	2	0	0
Bashir Hasan Sahib	...	1	0	0
Risaldar Ismail Khan Sahib	...	1	0	0
Minor Subscriptions	...	1	0	0
M. Fazl Huq, Esq., Chhatarpur State	..	5	0	0
Through Siraj-ud-din Ahmed Sahib, the Muhammadans of Chhatarpur State, C. I ...	..	5	0	0
Ali Mohammed Sahib, Yas, Bareilly	..	10	0	0
Dr. Said Kaza	..	5	0	0
A Mussalman, Aurangabad, Deccan	...	1	0	0
Azizur Rahman, Esq., Miangunj Unao	...	10	0	0
Abdul Qadir Sahib, Jhelum	..	4	0	0
Through Mushir Husain, Esq., Qidwai, Srinagar	..	20	0	0
Kazim Husain Esq., and five others	...	25	0	0
A few Ladies	..	40	0	0
Abdul Karim Sahib, Barisal ..	..	23	7	0
Through Mhd. Ibrahim Sahib, Lucknow --	..	2	0	0
Muhammadan Staff of the I.D.T., Lucknow ...	..	10	0	0
S. Miraj-ud-din, Moga	..	10	0	0
Habibul Islam Sahib, Allahabad	..	5	0	0
Abdul Majeed Khan Sahib, Meerut	..	3	0	0
M. Saidduddin Alum, Esq., Kheri	..	4	0	0
Dost Mohamed Esq., Behar ...	..	179	7	6
Amount Received during the week	..	0	3	6
Less announced by Mistake on the 25th May	..	179	10	6
Amount previously acknowledged	..	18,897	5	0
TOTAL RS.	..	19,076	15	6

MISCELLANEOUS TURKISH RELIEF FUND COLLECTIONS.

Name of place.	Name of person in charge of the Fund.	THE WEEK'S PROGRESS.				PROGRESS UP TO DATE.				REMARKS.
		Amount collected.	Amount forwarded.	To whom for warranted and through what Agency.	Amount collected	Amount forwarded				
Karachi (Sind).	Sohib Haji Al- Qadri Haroon.	Rs. 212	A. 8	Rs. 3 + 0 = 3	Rs. 10,634 + 3 = 10,637	A.P. 3	Rs. 10,513 + 10 = 10,513	A.P. 10		M. O. Charges.

The Comrade.

Some War Publications*

II.

IN another chapter of his book Sir Thomas Barclay deals with Italy's treaty obligations, in which he, of course, refers to the Treaty of Paris of 1856, the Treaty of London of 1871 and the Treaty of Berlin of 1878, and then distinguishes between the usurpation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary and the Tripolitan raid of Italy. "There has been," he says, "no *de facto* annexation to Italy, no *de facto* severance of the Province from the Ottoman Empire. The Treaty of 1856 in the case of Tripolitana and Cyrenaica has its full force and effect, undiminished by precedents of any kind." Russia is a bad model for any State in the domain of international morality, but, as Sir Thomas points out, when Russia proposed in 1871, that circumstances having changed since 1856, a modification in certain of the provisions of the Treaty of Paris was necessary, even she submitted her proposals to a fresh Conference of the Powers. The protocol, which forms part of the public law of Europe, runs as follows:

It is an essential principle of the law of nations that no Power can liberate itself from the engagements of a treaty, nor modify the stipulations thereof, unless with the consent of the contracting Powers, by means of an amicable arrangement.

But Italy's breaches of faith go further than such ignoring of a well-known general principle. Article 8. of the Treaty of Paris has a special application to the case of Turkey and provides that

If any difference arise between the Sublime Porte and one or more signatories threatening the maintenance of their good relations, the Sublime Porte and any or each of these Powers, before resorting to force, will place the other contracting parties in a position to prevent recourse to such an extremity by their mediating influence.

In this connection Sir Thomas Barclay refers to the reply of Sir Edward Grey on 3rd November to a question of Mr. Gwynn in which he said that "the first communication of any intention to seize Tripoli which His Majesty's Government received was the notification of the declaration of war on 30th September." If we are to believe this statement—as we must—then Italy gave no opportunity to at least one of the contracting parties of 1856, before proceeding to extremities, to exercise any "mediating influence." Says Sir Thomas, "Yet the terms of this provision are absolute; there is no loophole clause in it reducing its character to that merely of a pious injunction. It was deliberately framed to prevent the creation of *sauve accoups* by just such an action as Italy has taken." The curious who have faith in the binding force of the Hague Conventions may refer to another chapter of this book in which Sir Thomas brings out their application to the various aspects of the present war, particularly the position of neutrals in respect to mediation, and some of the methods of carrying on war, such as the Declaration adopted in the Hague Conference of 1899 prohibiting "the launching of projectiles and explosives from balloons or by other similar new methods," which both Turkey and Italy ratified, although Turkey ratified *in extremis* in 1907.

Before dealing with other chapters of Sir Thomas's book, it would be better to deal with the other publications under review so as to give some glimpses of the war before discussing the conclusions at which Sir Thomas arrived before the close of the last year. Mr. Francis McCullagh is now too well known to need an introduction, and the brochure dealing with the war which Messrs. W. Speaight and Sons have brought out is mostly a *résumé* of his articles. In an introduction of about twenty-five pages he deals among other things with the genesis of the war. He states that almost unobserved a new Chauvinist party had been growing up during the last few decades in Italy, consisting of literary men like Gabriele d'Annunzio, "who seems to be blossoming into a sort of Italian Kipling." He is the author of a book called "The Ship" of which the burden is "imperialism, expansion, acquisition of colonies, a taking up of the White Man's burden." Associated with him in the Chauvinist campaign were a large number of journalists, newspaper proprietors and professional men, most of whom are in Tripoli, taking the most intense interest in the war and writing an enormous amount about it. But Mr. McCullagh, says this conflict "is not the work of a clique." He, however, explains that "it is the work of one clique which has 'roped in' a great number of other cliques." He even goes so far as to say that "it may even be called a national war." There was, he states, a general disposition amongst civilians to make the Government employ the fleet and the army in some brilliant exploit, and there was a keen desire in military circles as has been amply proved, to wipe off the stain of Adowa. Moreover, the great economic and financial prosperity

* The first part of this article appeared in the issue of the 1st instant.

22nd June.

of Northern Italy during the last decade had supplied what are commonly, but in this case, as events have shown, inaptly, called "the sinews of war." Then, again, high finance, which generally supplies the key to every grave political situation, was represented by the Banco di Roma, which had been pacifically penetrating Tripoli for many years. Mr. McCullagh writes:—

It acquired enormous tracts of land, it established or financed corn mills and other industrial undertakings; it prospected for phosphates and minerals. The director of the Bank was a very able business man, a sort of little Cecil Rhodes in his way—Signor Pacelli. Signor Pacelli is a friend of Baron Sonnino, the well-known Conservative leader and proprietor of an ultra Catholic and ultra-jingoistic newspaper, the *Giornale d'Italia*. Signor Pacelli has friends in every camp. He has friends even in the Government, for some members of the present Cabinet are financially interested in the Bank. The Italians bitterly complained of the obstacles thrown in their way by the Turks, but personally I cannot sympathise very much with the Italians in this matter, since the object of the Bank was undoubtedly to sap Turkish rule in the Tripolitaine and pave the way for the entry of the Italians.

Mr. McCullagh also seems to think that it was jealousy of the Germans that precipitated the Italian raid "the Agadir coup led directly to the Tripoli coup." He gives some particulars of German industrial success in the Tripolitaine. Then there was the fear that if the present opportunity was missed another would not occur at all. "She (Italy) had evidently expected that the revolution would end in the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, but soon she saw that under the new régime Turkey was likely to get stronger rather than weaker from a military point of view." Europe had already been disconcerted by the re-organisation of the army under Mahmoud Shevket Pasha, and what particularly alarmed Italy was a Turkish proposal to form a sort of great territorial army among the Arab tribes in the Tripolitaine. In this connection it must also be noted that in the course of a famous conversation the War Minister of Turkey had asked Haqqi Pasha if he could guarantee the absence of any hostile designs against Tripoli on the part of Italy, and that the latter, fresh from his Italian bridge-parties and with his personal ties with Italy, declared that Shevket Pasha might safely withdraw the bulk of the Tripoli garrison for service in Arabia. This was accordingly done, and further detachments were sent to fill up certain *cadres* in the European garrisons. Thus not only was Italy ripe for an adventure, but in Tripoli, as Mr. McCullagh says, "the conditions for a successful and not too dangerous adventure seemed ideal." Luckily for Turkey, even when her Tripolitan garrison was depleted, the stock of ammunition provided for the full garrison was left in Tripoli, and with the help of that and the stores of rifles and cartridges brought in by the *Dorna* a few days before the ultimatum, and, in addition to these, the rifles and ammunition captured from the Italians themselves, the territorial army of the Arab tribes which Mahmoud Shevket Pasha intended to organise has already been formed through the action of Italy, and, what is more, it has seen a good deal of warfare and tasted blood.

As regards the campaign itself, the *Times* military correspondent has done more than justice to the Italian case during the first three weeks of October. But it is unfortunate that nothing has yet been published from the Turkish side throwing light on the other side of the picture. However, in an article of Mr. McCullagh's which we reproduced at the time, we had a fleeting glimpse of the Turks retiring from Tripoli practically without firing a shot, not because of their inefficiency, but because of their humanity. Mr. McCullagh refers to the local consuls as "a weakminded crew of diplomatic derelicts who were originally sent to Tripoli as to a quiet backwater out of harm's way." It was two of these consuls who tried, at first without success, to persuade the Ottoman general to leave the town of Tripoli, and, finally, when he showed his determination to contest every inch of the ground, it was they who roundly accused him of sheltering behind the women and children in a poorly fortified town, relying in this way on the humanity of the Italians which would have prevented their bombarding such a place. Subsequent events have shown what reliance can be placed on the humanity of the Italians and even on their leaving unfortified towns, as they should be according to international law, immune from a bombardment. But the tactics of the consuls succeeded, and an opportunity was given to the Italians to impute the Turkish retreat from Tripoli to cowardice. "This," wrote Mr. McCullagh quite early in the campaign, "was an ungenerous remark for any soldier to make of a brave opponent, and it was an untrue remark." How ridiculously untrue the remark was the sequel has shown. But the Turks gave the Italians something more than the opportunity of an untrue and ungenerous gibe, inasmuch as they allowed the Italian troops to disembark in peace when they could have held them at bay. In one of his articles Mr. McCullagh writes:—

What endless damage the Turks could have inflicted on them! Hidden behind clumps of earth, concealed in ravines and narrow lanes, they could have waited for the Italian sailors to land and could have

picked off great numbers of them as they did so. There are only one thousand bluejackets in all against ten thousand Turks and Arabs and once the bluejackets had entered the town, the fleet could not well continue to bombard it.

In another article he writes:—

Had the Turks remained and escaped being crushed under the ruins of the town, they could easily have cut the water-supply before they left. Until the Italian army arrived, they could easily have rushed the town, where the position of the bluejackets was in the last degree critical. There were still only about a thousand bluejackets in the city, and on the first night they actually confined themselves to occupying the old town wall built by Charles V. and mounting their cannon on it. Next day they occupied the positions which the soldiers now hold on the edge of the desert, but only a small number were there, and the connection between them was so bad that even Hottentots could have slipped between them and the town. The sailors had no time for sleep, and the night attacks of the Turks wearied them beyond endurance. They were all very close to the breaking-point, and had the Turks conducted their attacks with any system the sailors (or such of them as survived) would have had to go back to their ships. For three nights on end none of them had any sleep, and they were hardly able to walk through fatigue. The Italian Commanders became extremely alarmed and desperately afraid that any tidings regarding their condition should reach the Turks through Press cables from Tripoli . . . An order consequently went forth to the effect that all telegrams, Press or private, must go to Rome for a second dose of censorship . . . At the same time a war ship was sent under full steam to Italy in order to hurry up any transports which it might meet with on the way.

Both Mr. McCullagh, and Mr. E. N. Bennet—the theology tutor of Hertford College, Oxford, who, although a "Pro-Boer" in his politics, had commanded the Oxford Contingent in the Boer War—agree in regarding the Italian army as "very young and inexperienced." They consider them also very excitable and "panicky." Mr. McCullagh writes:—

But this "panicky" feeling was principally due to temperament, the greater proportion of the troops being drawn from the excitable population of Sicily and Southern Italy . . . To give you an idea of how "jumpy" the Italian soldiers are, I need only mention that there is an alarm every night along the fringe of the desert. Sentinels fire at dogs, at bats, and at wholly imaginary objects, until they rouse the whole camp and firing goes on for hours. Once when a number of Italian officers went out into the desert towards nightfall, their men bashed away at them under the impression that they were Arabs, and the officers had to remain out in the desert all night, lying flat on the sand. In order to prevent this incessant waste of ammunition and this deprivation of sleep for the soldiers, the Italians have now placed powerful naval searchlights along the edge of the desert. Each light is kept swinging backwards and forwards, and if it is kept too long at any one point, the sentinels at some other point which is left in darkness are sure to begin firing at some bogey or other. Then the light is swung round to the threatened point, and the sentinels there are as happy as a nervous child, frightened of the dark, when, in order to still its shrieking, mother brings a lighted candle to the room.

Naturally the Italian descriptions of the fighting of such soldiers appears most ridiculous to war correspondents who have themselves been under fire like Mr. Bennet. The following would no doubt be read with much amusement by our readers:—

It was in front of Don-Melik on October 10th that the rival forces first met face to face. It was a trifling affair, a night reconnaissance in front of the Italian position made by about 300 Turks; but the Italian journals went into raptures over it, and wrote of this petty skirmish as if it had been a Jena or an Austerlitz. One emotional gentleman on this occasion eclipsed all his colleagues. He wrote that on the approach of the Turks in the moonlight—he puts the number at 300—he climbed a palm tree; but owing to the "terrible" and deadly fire opened by the enemy—not a single Italian was even grazed—he speedily descended from his perch. This correspondent actually went on to say that "at least half" of the Turks must have been "killed" or "seriously wounded" by the Italian fire, and apparently believes—inasmuch as only one Turk was found next day—that the 150 unwounded men each carried off a dead or wounded comrade! It really is an insult to the readers of our news-papers that ignorant and inexperienced persons of this type should masquerade as war correspondents . . . Let me give one further example. During the first week of November the Italians made an attempt with an absolutely overwhelming force to regain some of the posts they had abandoned on October 27th. An Italian correspondent writes the most inflated nonsense about this. "Magnificent advance, carried out with order, rapidity, and daring. The ground was black with soldiers . . . like a vast ant-hill. As the battle (sic) advanced . . . it was marvellous to watch the soldiers who fought like veterans. The scene was like one of those classical attacks made by the Japanese. The men worked in twos, one man digging up the soil with his bayonet, while the other opened fire. When a sufficiently large hole had been made, both men crept into

it and continued shooting . . . At twilight the firing ceased . . . and away towards the town . . . rose a large and loud shouting of "Viva Italia!" The above is a specimen of the effeminate twaddle which forms the war *padding* of the Italian newspapers. If the modern journalist employs such language to describe a trifling skirmish, one wonders what he could write about serious warfare. How the Japanese must laugh at these Italian analogies! The wonderful assaults which carried the defences of Port Arthur and worsted the troops of a first-class military Power at Mukden are compared to the timid skirmishing of an enormous force faced by a handful of undisciplined Arabs! Fancy the idea of Japanese troops under such circumstances stopping to dig holes and creep into them!

Islam in Russia.

THE Russian empire, comprising one-sixth of the land surface of the globe, is a continuous stretch of territory from the Baltic to the Pacific. It has within its limits a striking uniformity of physical feature and equally striking variety of racial type. According to the first general census taken in 1897 the population of the whole empire was 129,200,000, comprising Slavs, Finns, Poles, Serbs, Bulgars, Jews, Armenians, Tartars, Persians and several aboriginal tribes of Central Asia. Since then no organised and systematic enumeration of the peoples has been undertaken by the State, though various departmental estimates are available based more or less on reliable data. The Central Statistical Committee in Russia prepared a detailed estimate in 1906 which placed the population of the empire at 149,299,300. The Committee had taken every precaution to achieve as close an accuracy of results as could reasonably be hoped for in a task of such magnitude. The conditions of life in Russia do not at present lend themselves to the methods of the statistician, however elaborate they may be. Apart from the colossal extent of the area of operations, no ingenuity of method can successfully cope with the elusive modes of living and habits of the tribes, some of whom are little known even to ethnology—the half-naked nomads of the plains, the dwellers of the caves and of the regions of perpetual snow. Still, however, it may be presumed that the Committee had arrived at a rough approximation of the relative strength of the races and creeds within the Russian empire.

The Slavs are, it need hardly be said, the dominant race in Russia and belong to the Orthodox Greek Church. There is, also, a considerable number of Christians belonging to other denominations, notable amongst them being Roman Catholics, Dissenters, Armenian Catholics and Lutherans. Next in importance, however, to the Orthodox Greek Church, which claims its devotees to the number of about 95 millions, is the religion of Islam. According to the census of 1897 the number of the Mussalmans in the Russian empire, with the exception of those in the Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara, was about 14,000,000. As, however, the total population of the empire has been calculated to have increased by 22 per cent since then, the figure for the Mussalmans must be placed much beyond the original estimate. Mrs. S. Bobrovnikoff in her very interesting and comprehensive survey of the "Moslems in Russia," which appeared in the *Moslem World* in January 1911, gives 20 millions as the approximate figure for the Mussalmans, including those of Khiva and Bokhara. This estimate allows for the general increase of 22 per cent though the figures for Khiva and Bokhara are, in the nature of the case, merely conjectural. The number of the new converts has also been altogether left out of account. Yet it is a matter of common knowledge that conversion to Islam, especially amongst the aboriginal tribes of south-east Russia and Central Asia, is going on at a rapid pace. In fact, as the writer herself is not slow to admit, sometimes it happens that whole villages of pagan tribes embrace Islam within the first year they come under the influence of Islamic teaching. And it should also be borne in mind that this process of peaceful penetration is only of recent growth. As long as the Mussalmans enjoyed political ascendancy in Russia, they observed a degree of toleration that has not yet been surpassed in the religious history of the world. They built and endowed churches and maintained priests at the expense of the State, and the privileges they allowed to the Christian races rendered the task of the Moslem missionaries well nigh impossible. With the break-up of the Khanate of Kazan the tide of Slav conquest swept over Central Asia and Siberia; and since then a systematic effort has been going on under the direct inspiration of the State to impose Christianity on the pagan tribes and stop all voluntary conversion to Islam. It was only in 1905 that a manifesto was issued granting full religious liberty to the subjects of the Tsar. It is, however, a remarkable fact that the greatest expansion of Islam in Russia coincides with the most drastic regime of despotism, persecution and intolerance. Tribe after tribe was being won over to Islam just when the State Church was carrying on a ruthless campaign against heresy. Immediately after the freedom of conscience was recognised as the birthright of man, thousands of aborigines openly declared themselves as Moslems, although they had hitherto been offi-

cially returned as Christians. Forty thousand such declarations have been recorded in the case of a single tribe. In view of these considerations it is difficult to believe that the figure of 20 millions accurately represents the strength of Islam in Russia. However, in the absence of an up-to-date and comprehensive estimate this figure may be taken as the nearest approximation to truth. Thus, it would be seen that the Russian Moslems constitute one-seventh part of the total population of the empire. And, in spite of the various political disabilities to which they are subject, their number continues to grow steadily every year, and by virtue of their position, strength and solidarity they are destined to play an important part in the future history of the land they live in.

The early history of the spread of Islam in Russia yet awaits the historian who would work up the scattered mass of materials into a coherent narrative. At present we have isolated details buried away in a literature of bewildering variety and complexity. Mr. T. W. Arnold in "The Preaching of Islam" has constructed a chapter on the subject with tremendous labour and skill which shows the early struggles of Islam in the heart of Asia and south-east Russia in the right perspective of history. He could not, however, do full justice to the subject because he was hampered by the limitations of the particular thesis on which he was engaged. The story of the growth of Islam in Russia yet remains to be told on an simpler scale. We can do no more than make a hurried reference to the history of the expansion of Islam in the region under notice. After the death of Changiz Khan, the founder of the Tartar dynasty, the colossal empire that he had reared by fire sword was divided by his sons into three separate and independent kingdoms. The dominions of Central Asia and the numerous principalities of Russia became a distinct empire under one of his sons who was at the head of the famous "Golden Horde." The chief camping ground of this section of the Mongols was the extensive plain watered by the Volga. Sarai, their capital city, was founded on its bank. It was here that the Khan received the homage and the tributes of the Russian princes. Borka Khan was the first Mongol ruling prince who embraced Islam. He was the chief of the Golden Horde from 1256 A.D. to 1265 A.D. His conversion raised a storm of opposition amongst the tribes and his efforts to win new converts were not very successful. With the advent of Uzbeg Khan to power, the preaching of Islam amongst the Golden Horde itself was undertaken with energy and zeal. It was owing to his devotion and efforts that a considerable portion of the Mongol tribes was won over to the Divine faith. He matured a plan for the conversion of the whole of Russia, but he could not put it to execution on account of his singularly tolerant views in matters of religion. Indeed, his reign was noted for the great liberty that his Christian subjects enjoyed and his name will remain illustrious in the history of Islam for the most remarkable charter of religious freedom that he granted to the Metropolitan Peter in 1313. Before Uzbeg Khan came to power and, indeed, even before the Golden Horde had established political domination over Russia, the Moslem Bulgarians, who had migrated to the banks of the Volga in the tenth century, had tried to win the Russians to Islam but had failed. A very curious yet authentic episode is associated with the story of their efforts. According to the Russian chronicler himself, the Bulgarians attempted to convert Vladimir, the then sovereign of Russia, who was dissatisfied with his pagan creed and wanted to adopt some more satisfying religion. He was almost persuaded to accept Islam, but at the last moment he held back because he could not reconcile himself to the rite of circumcision and the prohibition of wine. He was finally won to the faith of the Greek Church by the glowing accounts his messengers brought to him from Constantinople about the pomp and circumstance of the Greek cathedrals and their priests. The entire population was ordered to adopt the new faith and, thus, Christianity became the national religion of Russia. Voluntary conversion to Islam, however, went on even in the face of immense opposition and the Finns of the Volga and the Tchuvash of the south became Mussalmans in overwhelming numbers. The whole of the Finnish population of this part of the country would have been converted to Islam if the Russian Government had not imposed severe penalties on such conversions.

The Kirghiz form one of the most important tribes of Central Asia and Eastern Russia. Their conversion to Islam is due to a curious blunder on the part of the Russian government. They came under the political sway of Russia about the middle of the eighteenth century. The government thought that they were all Mussalmans and ethnographically the same as the Tartars of the Volga. They were, therefore, treated as such, in spite of their protests and expostulations. The Government even went to the length of building mosques for them and sending Mullahs to instruct the young in the tenets of the Moslem faith. After a short time almost the whole tribe became Musselman in reality. When the Government woke up to its blunder it sought

to undo the work it had unconsciously done, by attempting to force Christianity on them as, indeed, on all its Moslem subjects in Europe "The labours of the clergy were actively seconded by the police and the civil authorities, but though a certain number of Tartars were baptized it had to be admitted that the new converts 'shamelessly retain many horrid Tartar customs, and neither hold nor know the Christian faith'". It was even ordered 'to pacify, imprison, put in iron, and thereby unteach and frighten from the Tartar faith those who, though baptized, do not obey the admonitions of the Metropolitan'. These and even more brutal methods proved equally ineffectual. The so-called 'Baptized Tartars are Christian only in name and would gladly return to Islam if the terrors of the inquisition were taken away. Even as it is, more than 10,000 fall back every year into the fold of Islam again, and the remaining number of 110,000 'baptized Tartars' may soon be expected to openly profess the religion which they have never ceased to believe in their heart of hearts.'

The steady progress of Islam in Russia against tremendous odds may well furnish a student of comparative religions, with food for reflection. Among the provinces of Asiatic Russia, Islam is the predominant religion in Transaspin and Akmolinsk. In the provinces of Ufa, Kars, Terek, Elisavetpol, Uralsk, Daghestan and Baku in European Russia the Mussalmans are found in great majority, while in the extensive provinces of Kazan, Orenburg, Astrakhan and Erivan they are in the proportion of between 20 to 50 per cent. In fact, they are to be met with in every part of the Russian empire, though their number is insignificant in the north and the west of European Russia. From the shores of the Black Sea to the confines of Central Asia they live in one compact mass. They are expanding into central Russia and Siberia by slow degrees. Their progress would have been much more rapid if the laws of Russia had allowed perfect religious tolerance. Even as it is, the expansion of Islam amongst the pagan tribes and, to a lesser degree, amongst the Christians of Central and south-east Russia is a phenomenon well worth pondering. Of course, the usual explanation may very well serve in this case, that Islam appeals with an irresistible force to the primitive mind. It is, however, conveniently forgotten that a positive, intense individual belief is the only criterion of the vitality of a religious doctrine, and, as regards the civilised mind, the highly complex mental apparatus of European humanity has almost ceased to be actively responsive to any religious appeal at all. The primitive mind cannot live without some definite philosophy of life. The higher mind rejects all philosophies as so many dogmas and conventions. Christianity fails to appeal to the uncivilised races because it is too delicate and complex for their crude mentality. It fails to satisfy the most civilised types of Western humanity on account of its crude and impulsive doctrines. The dilemma is clearly not very inspiring to the Christian missionaries in their unselfish efforts at evangelisation in foreign lands and amongst the non Christian races of mankind.

After all the only test of the utility of a religious belief is that it not only satisfies the hearts of those who accept it, but also furnishes them with practical standards of conduct in social life. In Russia Islam has won its way into the hearts of millions and has inspired them with a set of ideals for their secular development. In the clash of rival cultures, Islam is triumphantly holding its own and seems to have endowed the true believers with the qualities that have so far stood them in good stead for the severe struggle they have to wage for their existence. All repressive weapons with which the State equipped the Church in its fight against Islam have failed. The spiritual weapons have also been tried with little success. Ilminsky, a professor of the Ecclesiastical Academy of the University of Kazan, organised an elaborate system of training missionaries for proselytising work amongst the pagans and the Tartars, opened schools in which instruction was given in the languages of the people, translated hundreds of works on Christianity into those languages and sought to convert the tribes through the village schools he established throughout the provinces of Eastern Russia. The only result of his gigantic labours has so far been that a few thousand pagans have been enrolled as Christians, while the "System of Ilminsky" has made absolutely no impression on the life and religion of the Tartars. As a matter of fact, it has accelerated the process of peaceful penetration with which Islam is winning its way among the pagan tribes.

We have in this short survey, dealt with the salient features of Islam in Russia, the number of the Mussalmans and their territorial distribution. We have yet to deal with the much more important matters concerning their present political status, social conditions, and intellectual and moral atmosphere. We have also to consider their future prospects in the Russian empire and the value of the contribution they may make to the general intellectual and moral renaissance throughout the Islamic world. We shall deal with these weighty aspects of "Islam in Russia" in our next.

Persia.

News of the Week.

In reply to a detailed question by Colonel Yates asking for assurance that the Indian railway system gauge would be allowed to enter Isfahan and Yezd and that the Russian system gauge would not advance southward of those places and that the Russian proposal to run a railway to the Gulf would not be admitted, Mr Montagu said - "The Government reserved the fullest freedom of action on the question of gauge and other details. Regarding the gauge nothing irrevocable had occurred, and nothing would till they had consulted the Government of India on this most important point."

An article in the *Economist* condemns the Trans-Persian Railway as a most alarming design. The writer does not believe that it will go beyond the academic stage of preliminary survey.

The Military Correspondent of the *Times* says that soldiers are watching the project with increasing misgiving. He is of opinion that the scheme, if carried out, will cause a grave difference in the conditions of the defence of India. He complains that neither the Defence Committee, the General Staffs in India and England nor the military authorities at the India Office were consulted about the Railway.

The Alahabad Muhammadans have held a mass meeting to protest against the desecration of the shrines at Meshed by Russian soldiers.

The latest news received at the Persian Consulate at Simla is to the effect that the movements of Salar ud-Dowlah after his recent defeat by the Imperial troops are unknown. Daud Khan, Chief of the Kalohor tribes, who was Salar-ud-Dowlah's right hand man, was killed in the fight. His death has deprived his chief of any chance of raising another revolt in those regions. Prince Firman Farma, who has been appointed Governor-General of Kermanshah, has restored order, and is now engaged in establishing effective administrative control. Since the escape of Sular-ud-Dowlah from Hashgai, Paighamud Doulah has been appointed Chief of the Kashgai tribe.

Major Peterson, Chief of the Swedish Gendarmerie, has now reported upon the recent encounter he had with a strong detachment of irregular troops, about which incorrect reports have appeared in this country. Major Peterson states that while returning from Shiraz he encountered a number of irregular horsemen at Murchalikhart near Isfahan. These men held up a caravan on the pretext of collecting toll, and in default were threatening to seize their merchandise. Major Peterson, finding that these men were not duly accredited by the Persian Government to collect revenues, captured them. News of this incident reached Hyder Ali Khan, Chief of these horsemen, and some of his relations immediately approached Major Peterson and demanded their release. Major Peterson having refused was attacked by the tribesmen. In the encounter there were several casualties. A relative of Hyder Khan was killed and one of his sons seriously wounded. Major Peterson, who had no casualties on his side, proceeded to Teheran and reported the matter to the Minister of the Interior.

Bunder Abbas is now comparatively quiet and no further news has been received of Hossain Haleh Khan, who was responsible for the recent disturbance in that region. The Governor-General of the Persian Gulf is taking steps to restore order in the Gulf littoral.

The Helplessness of Persia.

In a mailed message dated 4th May the Teheran correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* paints the situation in Persia in very sombre colours. "Persia," he says, "has been left with out money. The small sum of £100,000 which England and Russia advanced to the Persian Government has been absorbed by payments to Mohammed Ali and by the campaign against Salar ed-Dowlah. The rest has been spent on the gendarmerie, which, however, is still far from being organised. There is no money for the further organisation of the force, and the Swedish officers, I hear, are already compelled to sell their barley (?) in order to meet their most urgent wants. The Persian Government has no money left for other needs. At the same time, there is again a deadlock in the negotiations for the big loan which was promised, and the only thing one hears in this connection is a report that the two Powers are contemplating the appointment of a mixed Commission to inquire into the loan question thoroughly. Yet the financial condition of Persia ought to be perfectly clear to the Powers—only there is no anxiety on either side to assist her. The lack of money has also an effect on trade, and the bazaar especially is quite as never before. The integrity of the roads is also of great importance, as nothing can be sent from Teheran to the provinces. Some industries, formerly of considerable importance have been totally ruined."

The correspondent goes on to describe the political situation—the constant fears of the Regent, the continuing arrest of Democrats, the Russophile policy of Sardar Assad and the Sipahdar, and the impossibility, even if the wish were there, to hold elections to the Majlis that would reflect the state of public opinion adequately. "Who," he asks, "among men of more or less independent opinions, would risk coming forward as candidate in face of the deportation which has befallen all those who in the previous Majlis had spoken against Russia?"

In conclusion the correspondent touches upon the bombardment of the Meshhed mosque, denying that there were any revolutionaries in the sanctuary, and stating that the Russians have plundered the mosque and introduced their horses into the sacred building. "The Persian Government," he says, "is trying its best to conceal from the people the fact of the desecration of the sanctuary by the Russians. It fears that the news may raise a storm of indignation throughout the country, which will place Persia still more in the hands of the Russians, but at the same time certainly drive the present rulers from their places."

—*The Manchester Guardian.*

The Railway to India.

The Near East—an excellent weekly review and compendium of Turkish and Persian news—prints in its first anniversary number an article by Mr George Lloyd on the proposed railway from Russia through Persia to India. It is almost the first discussion that we have seen (outside our own columns) of this revolution in our Indian frontier policy. When Mr Morell asked a question about it of Sir E. Grey in Parliament this week, most papers (including the *Times*) thought fit to ignore both question and answer. Yet it was one of the most important questions asked in this Parliament. Mr. Morell was anxious that the House of Commons should have an early opportunity of discussing the project, and Sir E. Grey replied that though there was no urgency at the present stage the question could be raised on any ordinary opportunity. He added that the project was not sufficiently far advanced as yet to enable the Government to put a proposal before the Persian Government or anyone. The answer, it seems to us, showed insufficient sense of the importance of the question or of the rights of Parliament. For the Government is not indifferent to the project, but has already discussed it in some detail with the Indian Government and possibly also with the promoters. It has given it sufficient encouragement to obtain for it the support of English capital, and Sir E. Grey as long ago as last February said that the Government was favourable in principle to the railway, provided certain conditions are observed. On the strength of these assurances a group of English, French, and Russian capitalists have subscribed £90,000 towards the expenses of a preliminary survey. We have no doubt that their report will be favourable to the construction of the line, and unless Parliament expresses a hostile opinion to the project before the survey is made and the report issued it will be told that the time is past for making objections in principle. Two more years of acquiescence and this country will be committed to a reversal of the established principles of Indian frontier defence, and to all that that momentous decision involves. A great revolution in our foreign and Indian policy will have been effected behind the back of Parliament at a series of private conferences between groups of civil servants and of international financiers. And Parliament will be even more to blame than the Foreign Office. It is in the nature of a bureaucracy always to be claiming its powers, but the chief safeguard of popular liberties against its usurpation has hitherto been the jealousy of Parliament. That honourable jealousy would seem to be somewhat somnolent. If it allows this railway project to go through without insisting on its rights to challenge the policy of it, Parliament has resigned its control alike of foreign and of Indian policy.

We say control, for the right of debate is useless if it is only exercised after the matter is settled beyond recall. For the consent of Parliament is not as a rule necessary to the validity of foreign conventions; all that it can do if a treaty is concluded which it dislikes is to throw out the Government and support a Government pledged to denounce it. In practice that is impossible, and the very magnitude of its executive powers in foreign affairs therefore puts Governments under constitutional obligation to take no revolutionary step in foreign policy, without satisfying itself of the opinion in Parliament. Parliamentary control means opportunities of debate before not after a policy is finally determined upon. No one would wish Parliament to interfere frequently in the Executive's exercise of its prerogative, but it is a condition of its forbearance that the prerogative should not be unreasonably strained. The project is misleadingly described—and the misdescription is perhaps not undesigned—as one for building a railway across Persia. But Persia is only the route. The primary object of the scheme is to establish railway communication between Russian and Indian territory. We have fought four

wars in order to maintain strong independent States and impenetrable mountain passes and deserts between the Indian and Russian frontiers. No one ever suspected until a few months ago that this policy was in any sort of danger of being reversed, and it is surely by the strangest irony of fortune that a policy which all the military power and astute diplomacy of Russia has failed to break down should have been attacked with apparent success by a few international financiers meeting in Paris. The Government has been severely criticised for the failure of its Persian policy. Its answer to the criticism is to enlarge immeasurably the opportunities of Russian aggression. The Agreement is being worked so as to destroy Persian independence in the north. But lest the destruction should stop there, we are to take up the work and continue it in the south; and not content with jeopardising Persian liberties, we are to prolong the railway to India, and expose the frontier of India to a danger incomparably greater than any by which it has ever hitherto been threatened.

Why? No one can take the railway very seriously as a commercial venture. At any rate, whatever a land Power like Russia may have to gain by diverting the path of trade to the land, a maritime Power like England has to lose. Sir E. Grey holds that railways must be made sooner or later in Persia, and that we stand to gain by joining a movement which we cannot hope to defeat. But by what manner of right could Russia hope to continue her railway beyond Kerman, where it would enter the British sphere in Persia? Its further progress beyond that point would depend entirely on our consent. It would probably be in our commercial interest that the trans-Persian line should be connected with the sea, and so be available for the transit of goods imported by the Gulf, but here the commercial arguments for its continuation disappear. Our obvious policy if there are markets in the British sphere of Persia which are worth opening up would be to construct railways into the interior from the most suitable port. But this proposed railway, after striking the sea, is to run alongside the coast towards India; it cannot therefore open up our own sphere in Persia, it can only provide trunk communication between Russia and India. Sir E. Grey seems to us to confuse two very distinct questions. The first is one of Indian frontier defence, to which, in our opinion, the proposed trunk railway will bring, not gain, but injury. The second is railway development in Persia, and this is wholly independent of through communication with India. The natural Power for us to work with in the construction of these railways is not Russia at all but Germany. If we have to gain anything at all from railways in Persia, the Bagdad railway and some short lines from the coast would give us everything that our commerce could wish, and that without in any way compromising Indian defence. But the project to which the Government is apparently sympathetic is Russian in its origin and Russian in the interests that it will serve. What is this strange necessity that seems to be upon us of always serving Russian interests even when they are in violent conflict with our own? —*The Manchester Guardian.*



Anecdote.

SUPERLATIVE SHE

An after dinner speaker at a banquet in New York condemned the American snob.

"America is a Republic," he said. "We all began—even the mightiest of us—humbly and simply. When I hear one person snubbing another on grounds of birth the thing strikes me as ludicrous and unreal. It reminds me of a *Mayflower* girl."

"A girl of *Mayflower* descent yielded to the pinch of poverty sufficiently to marry a Grand Rapids millionaire. But her husband was a plebeian, and she would never forgive him for it. She would never cease from insulting him on account of his low origin."

"She was shopping one day, and a salesman said to her:—

"And to whom shall I send the parcel, madam?"

"With her nose in the air, she turned to her maid and said:—

"Marie, tell this man your master's name. I never can remember it myself."

MR. HEMMERDE, the well-known K. C., was once cross-examining a rather prominent man in a case that is memorable only for a brilliant retort made by counsel. Mr Hemmerde pressed the witness so hard that at last he asked, rather plaintively:—

"Why should I be placed under the lash like this because my name is fairly well known?"

Instantly came Mr. Hemmerde's retort:—

"A man who is in the public eye must always be under the lash."

Morocco.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" CORRESPONDENT)

Mogador, May 20

We have barely mastered the story of the Fez massacre and the occupation of that city by a French army corps, when a surprise comes from the south. It now seems certain that the rumours current a few days since are in substance correct. A son of the late redoubtable Sahara chieftain, Ma-ul-Ainin, has taken possession of Tiznit, and proclaimed himself Sultan of the vast region extending from the slopes of the Great Atlas range to the Western Soudan. He appears to have captured the sympathies of a large number of the tribes by voicing the universal opposition to the Protectorate, and by declaring himself to be the Heaven-sent organiser of Holy War. His followers assure us that he and those under his command are invulnerable to the artillery of the infidel, and that he is to found a new dynasty, the one object of which will be to restore the ancient principles and glories of Islam.

The advent of this latest claimant to sovereign power is a serious matter. He has chosen the psychological moment for his enterprise. To say that Moulai Hafid, by his submission to France, has lost the loyalty of his people is to state the case much too moderately. His projected visit to Paris must inevitably sever the last link between him and his subjects. The government of the Sus provinces, the richest in all Morocco, has already slipped from the hands of the Maghzen, and no effort has hitherto been made by the Sultan or by France to recover control. It is now too late, except at the cost of a serious campaign, or of several campaigns. The territory ruled by the new Sultan covers an area, roughly speaking, of some 10,000 square miles—not much, perhaps, from an "imperial" point of view, but quite large enough to afford lively occupation for a European army corps for several months.

(FROM REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT ;

MOGADOR AND TANGIER

The newly proclaimed Sultan, Ma-ul-Ainin, has sent an army to Tarudant under the leadership of his brother and another to Marrakesh. He is himself going to Agadir. The Tanavart and Haha tribes, having secretly adhered to Ma-ul-Ainin, are awaiting his arrival. The Sus country is tranquil under the new regime.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, May 24

The new French Resident-General in Morocco, General Lyautey, has provisionally expressed the opinion that additional reinforcements will be needed, and the Government has decided to despatch them as soon as he is able to form an estimate of the requirements on the spot. It is believed that this fresh contingent will number about 4,000 men. Including the troops of General Lyautey's escort, the strength of the Fez garrison now amounts to five battalions, in addition to artillery and cavalry. The *Temps* learns that the rebel tribes, which are attempting to encircle the capital in much the same way as last year, appear to have succeeded on the east and in the south, and are now extending their movement to the west and north.

In a fresh interview with a representative of the *Matin* at Fez, Moulai Hafid has repeated his determination to abdicate. The *Temps* this evening expresses the hope that General Lyautey will be able to bring him to a better frame of mind.

In the Chamber of Deputies to-day the Prime Minister announced that the Protectorate Treaty with Morocco had been submitted to the Foreign Affairs Committee for a report, and proposed that it should be taken together with a number of fresh interpellations on French policy of which notice has been given.

Fez, May 25

General Lyautey arrived here this afternoon. El Mokri, the Sultan's representative, went to meet him two miles outside the city and gave a luncheon in his honour on behalf of the Sultan.

M Regnault, the French Special Envoy, arrived at 3 o'clock and had a long private interview with General Lyautey. Then a procession was formed and started to enter the Capital. French troops lined the route. Many natives were present and the strong force of soldiers visibly impressed them. The French colours waved over the gates of Fez. The Sultan will receive General Lyautey to-morrow.

An attack on Fez was attempted last night by some hundreds of Moors, but was easily repulsed—*Reuter*.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Berlin, May 24.

Prominence is given to-night in a section of the Berlin Press to a story telegraphed from Tangier to the *Echo de Paris* and forwarded here to the effect that two of the well-known brothers

Mannesmann have been imprisoned at Tarudant by the adherents of the pretender Hiba. The only thing alleged to be known here in responsible quarters is that "two Germans" have been captured at Tarudant and that the German Government has already made an application to the French Government and to the German Minister at Tangier for their protection. Two of the brothers Mannesmann are said to be at present at Casablanca, and the firm in Westphalia has received nothing to-day to confirm the story of the capture of the other two.

[* Tarudant is one of the principal towns in the province of Sus, and is situated about 50 miles due east of Agadir. The Mannesmann brothers have mining concessions in that region.]

Tangier, May 26

At dawn this morning Fez was attacked simultaneously on all sides by tribesmen who succeeded in one quarter of the town in penetrating within the walls. Fighting took place all the morning, but by midday the enemy had been repulsed and the French troops were pursuing them in the open country outside the city, inflicting heavy losses. The last news states that all is tranquil and that the tribesmen have dispersed.

Paris, May 26

The new French Resident-General in Morocco, General Lyautey, had his first official audience of the Sultan at Fez yesterday. In the course of the interview both M. Regnault and General Lyautey addressed Moulai Hafid and assured him of the French Government's desire to carry out the mission of France in Morocco with due respect for existing institutions and traditions. The Sultan replied by expressing confidence in the ability of France to accomplish the task and by assuring General Lyautey of his personal goodwill.

While the military situation around Fez remains unchanged, General Girardot's Algerian column has crossed over on to the left bank of the Muluya river at Merada ford. Considerable importance is attached to this advance.

Tangier, May 27.

The attack of the tribesmen on Fez began shortly before midnight on 25th May, and by dawn they had succeeded in entering the eastern portion of the town, where the walls and fortifications are half ruined. The situation was described as being at that moment very serious, and the French Artillery were obliged to bombard the quarter of the city in which the rebels had gained a footing. It was not till near midday on the 26th that the French troops succeeded in driving off the hordes of tribesmen, who were pursued for some distance outside the walls.

Paris, May 27.

In view of the attack by Berbers on Fez yesterday morning, the Minister of War has decided to despatch without further delay additional reinforcements consisting of three battalions of Infantry, two squadrons of Cavalry, and one mountain battery—in all about 4,000 men. This force will be ready to sail in a few days. The number of casualties on the French side in yesterday's attack has not yet been ascertained, but so far it is believed that only a few men have been wounded.

Circumstantial reports current to-day to the effect that General Girardot's camp on the Muluya had been rushed by 10,000 tribesmen are denied. It is stated that General Girardot's column, after crossing on to the left bank of the river and occupying Guerif, is advancing towards the heights of Bu Yakubat, whence the French troops, when they have dislodged the hostile tribes, will command the route to Taza.

The *Temps* learns from Fez that General Lyautey's arguments have so far failed to shake Moulai Hafid's determination to abdicate and that the Sultan is anxious to leave Fez for Rabat, together with M. Regnault, as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made.

L'Afrique.

It seems that there was some truth in the reports circulated in Paris to-day with regard to the attack on General Girardot's column. The estimate of the French losses, however, was grossly exaggerated, since in the engagement which did take place, between the tribesmen and the French column, it is officially stated that the French losses only amounted to two killed and ten wounded. In spite of the repulse of the Berbers in their attack on Fez, it seems probable that they may rally and make another assault on the town.

Paris, May 28.

At a Ministerial Council to-day, under the presidency of M. Fallières, M. Poincaré communicated the latest despatches from the French Resident-General in Morocco, who reports that the rebel attack on Fez has been repulsed and that the enemy has been driven off with heavy loss. The War Minister stated that the fresh reinforcements would consist of two battalions of colonial infantry, one battalion of tirailleurs, two squadrons of spahis, and two mountain batteries. The total strength of the French forces in Morocco will thus be raised to 47,000 men.

In the Parliamentary preamble to the Protectorate Treaty, which has now been submitted to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the

The Comrade.

Chamber the French Government declares that this instrument has been drawn up on lines similar to those of the Franco-Tunisian Conventions of 1881 and 1883, and that every effort has been made to secure the complete elasticity of the new régime with due regard for existing institutions and international obligations. It is explained that "we had to take account of the obligations which are imposed upon us by our international agreements as well as of the rights which these agreements formally confer upon us. We have endeavoured clearly to assert our determination to respect the former and to exercise the latter."

Tangier, May 28.

A telegram from Fez of to-day's date states that the tribes in considerable force are again attacking the town.

Berlin, May 28

A telegram to the *Cologne Gazette* from Tangier, dated 27th May, states that nothing is known either at the Ministry at Tangier or by the representatives there of the Mannesmann firm regarding the reported capture of two of the brothers Mannesmann at Tarudant.

Tangier, May 29

The rebels, reinforced by large tribal contingents, including inhabitants of the districts immediately surrounding the town, renewed their attack upon Fez yesterday and fighting continued nearly the whole day. It is now believed that the rebel forces besieging the capital number at least 20,000. Although the garrison of Fez consists of only some 6,000 French troops, these are considered sufficient to hold the town, but, of course, no offensive operations can be undertaken before the reinforcements arrive. The situation is undoubtedly grave.

Paris, May 29.

The extracts from the latest despatches from Fez which are published this evening suggest that the town is once more on the point of being invested by the rebel tribes. No direct news has been received from General Lyautey since his message, transmitted at 7.30 p.m. yesterday, in which the Resident-General stated that in view of the agitation among the tribes a fresh attack on Fez was, perhaps, to be feared.

There has been no official confirmation of the reports to the effect that the rebels had already returned to the charge, but it is significant of the apprehensions which are entertained that rumours of the wildest character should be current in Paris and in other capitals. In Madrid, for example, people are being asked to believe that General Lyautey and M. Regnault have been killed and that there has been a wholesale massacre of French troops.

The French garrison, which has just been reinforced by a mixed battalion from Mekinez, is now 4,500 strong, and is considered to be capable of keeping the enemy at bay without much difficulty. On the other hand the Berbers during the recent fighting appear to have forced their way into the town at various points. Fortunately the native population has hitherto remained quiet. According to a French Agency telegram from Fez, dated yesterday and retransmitted from Tangier at noon to-day, the fusillade is incessant, but there had until then been no fresh attack in force. The spirit of the troops is described as excellent.

The rising may gradually flicker out, but in his latest despatch General Lyautey is said to have made it plain that for the moment the French are waging war in an enemy's country. General Lyautey has lost no time in assembling the Kaidas, Ulema, and other notabilities at Fez, in order to explain the working of the new Protectorate régime with regard to which there appears to have been a serious misunderstanding in the native mind.

The despatch of the reinforcements from Lorient, Lyons, Nîmes, Toulon, Algeria and Tunis is being expedited.

Berlin, May 29

The report of the imprisonment at Tarudant of the brothers Mannesmann by adherents of the pretender Hiba appears to have no foundation. The *Cologne Gazette* publishes to-day a telegram from Remscheid, where there is a branch office of the Mannesmann Mining Syndicate, to the effect that in response to inquiries the Mannesmann brothers have telegraphed there to say that none of them is in captivity.

Paris, May 30

A long despatch from General Lyautey which was sent from Fez at 6 p.m. yesterday and which was received at the Foreign Office early this morning makes it clear that the French are faced with a serious situation both at Fez and throughout the country. Sunday's attack on the town, in the course of which, according to unofficial reports, the French are said to have lost 38 killed and some 60 officers and men wounded, is described as one of the severest engagements that they have had to fight in Morocco. A fresh attack, during which the French casualties were five killed and eight wounded, was made on Tuesday, and after a lull during the night fighting was resumed yesterday.

The rebels are said to have been repulsed on each occasion with heavy loss, but there appears to have been some desperate street-fighting on Tuesday night in the eastern quarter of the town, where several hundred Berbers had succeeded in forcing an entrance. As reported in my telegram yesterday, the calculations of the rebels were defeated by the fact that the native population remained quiet. The influence of the Ulema, whom General Lyautey had previously interviewed, seems to have been decisive in this sense. At dawn yesterday Colonel Gouraud's mobile column, eight companies strong, which has been employed in keeping the rebels as far as possible on the move, was sent out to reconnoitre the region north of Fez and sighted detachments of rebels assembled about six miles away. A fresh battalion and an ammunition convoy were expected to arrive from Mekinez last night.

General Lyautey, who praises the splendid spirit of the troops during this trying week, considers that the local situation is for the moment easier, but that the general situation demands serious attention in view of the deep-rooted causes of unrest and the continued presence of the rebels in the field.

The Sultan, who was much alarmed while the attack was in progress on Tuesday evening, became calmer as reassuring news was brought in. General Lyautey, who had been invited to luncheon at the Palace yesterday, informs the French Government that he proposes to adopt in concert with the Sultan, various political measures which, in his opinion, are opportune. The object of these measures is to manifest to the loyal and influential section of the native population the satisfaction of the French authorities at their friendly attitude. General Lyautey will likewise endeavour to break up the understanding among the tribes. Apart from these special measures General Lyautey is taking steps to restore, at any rate in its externals, the authority of the Maghzen and of the Grand Vizier.

At a meeting of the Cabinet to-day the Prime Minister communicated this morning's despatch from General Lyautey, which, as is stated this evening, has been published in full in order to preclude any misunderstanding and to prevent the dissemination of false news. It is further announced that the Minister of Justice will institute an inquiry "with regard to the false news which has been published concerning Morocco and with regard to Bourse speculations to which these reports have given rise."

Fez, May 30, 6.5 p.m.

Tribesmen attacked Sefri to-day, the attack lasting from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. They were eventually repulsed by heavy rifle followed by bayonet charges. Six French soldiers were wounded. The rebels suffered considerable losses.

Tangier, May 30

Letters received to-day from Fez state that the Europeans passed a most anxious time during the attack of the Berber tribes upon the capital on the night of 25th and 26th May. The attack began shortly after 10 o'clock, and the firing was continuous all night, while so near were the tribesmen that their shouting and warlike cries were clearly audible. It was known that they had forced an entry into the town at various points, but nothing else could be learned, and the Europeans sat waiting in their Consulates, listening to the terrible noise and not knowing what would occur next. It is believed that a certain number of tribesmen remain in Fez, but the Europeans are confined to their respective Consulates and are unable to leave the Consulate quarter, where French troops are on guard. It was most fortunate that after the massacre of the French officers the population was disarmed, as otherwise doubtless the more turbulent portion would have joined the rebels, with terrible consequences.

The whole rising is anti-French and Europeans of all other nationalities have been assured by messenger from the tribesmen that neither they nor their property will be touched. But whatever may be the intentions of the tribesmen, the risk to all Europeans would be enormous if they forced an entry into the town. Fighting is reported to be continuing daily in the region of Fez and another attack upon the town is expected at any moment.

The Revolt in Morocco.

(FROM A "MORNING POST" PARIS CORRESPONDENT.)

The opposition of the French Socialists and others to the Moroccan adventure is already justified by the events. The rising in Fez, accompanied by the murder of foreigners and the mutiny of some of the native troops under French command, is a symptom of the feeling in the country. It is stated that the rising was organised by several prominent Moroccans, including Ould ben Mohamed, an uncle of the Sultan, the inhabitants of Morocco are clearly not prepared tamely to accept a "protectorate" to which Europe has agreed without consulting them. Official optimism, which disregarded the warning of the coming rising, may continue to

minimise the difficulties of the task which awaits France in Morocco; but it is plain to every unbiased person that Morocco will have to be conquered by force of arms if the French protectorate is to be made effective. The Sultan has submitted, and it is said that he is loyal to France, but there is every sign that the people will not follow him. The popular movement is taking the form of a movement against foreigners in general, resistance to the invasion of the infidels has already assumed a religious character.

That the French Government has abandoned the pretence of "peaceful penetration" is shown by the appointment of General Lyautey to be Resident General in Morocco in place of M. Regnault, who is to be given a diplomatic post in Europe. If a general had to be chosen for the position, the choice of General Lyautey is as good a one as could be made, but the criticism of the appointment in that portion of the press which still retains some regard for Republican principles is as natural as the acclamation with which it has been received by the Nationalists and all the advocates of a "spirited policy." Nothing pleases the Nationalists more than the appointment of military men to civil functions, and this is not the first time that they have had occasion to be pleased with the present Government. M. Millerand, since he became Minister of War, has devoted all his energies to the revival of militarism and chauvinism, of the spirit which led to the Dreyfus affair.

It must, however, be admitted that the appointment of General Lyautey is justified by the logic of facts. France has embarked on a war of conquest, and wars must be conducted by generals, not by diplomats. Many of those who protest against the appointment are responsible for the situation which has made it necessary. Had they joined the Socialists in making a strong stand against the enterprise into which France has been dragged by the speculations of financiers, they might have succeeded in stopping it. When Radical Ministers, with the acquiescence of the Radical party, sanctioned the expedition to Fez, they made themselves responsible for its inevitable consequences. It is idle now to protest against those consequences. On the whole it is better that the real nature of the Moroccan adventure should be made plain to the country at large. It remains to be seen how deeply the political reaction has penetrated and whether M. Millerand's new Boulangism has really taken hold on the country. If, as I believe, the heart of France is still sound we may expect sooner or later a popular movement against the present policy.

This is the more likely to be the case since the effect of this policy is already being felt outside Morocco. There is serious unrest in Tunis, which will not be appeased by the recent arbitrary expulsion of several members of the "Young Tunisian" party, against which even the *Temps* has protested. The only reason alleged for their expulsion was that they had raised a fund for assisting Turkey in the war with Italy. From this fact it was deduced that they were plotting to transfer Tunis from France to Turkey. The absurdity of such a charge would be evident even if the "Young Tunisians" were not, as they are, men who have received a French education and are strong partisans of the spread of the French language and culture among their fellow-countrymen. One of the chief reforms that they advocate is the teaching of the French language in all Tunisian schools, the opposition to this reform comes from French colonists and officials, who wish to keep the Tunisians in ignorance in order to maintain them in subserviency. The "Young Tunisians," who are not in the least anti-French, might be most useful as a link between their fellow-countrymen and the French authorities. They are the intellectuals among the Tunisians, many of them have taken degrees in the French University and have been called to the Bar or entered other professions. Their proposals are most moderate and a reasonable Government would give them favourable attention.

Events in Tunis are inevitably beginning to have an effect on public feeling in Algeria. Indeed, unless a different policy is soon adopted France is likely to have difficulties with all its Muhammadan populations. A great Muhammadan Power like England cannot be indifferent to the unrest which has been caused by the action of France and Italy in Africa.

The Situation in Morocco.

It will surprise no one who has read our recent despatches on Morocco that General Lyautey has already expressed a desire for further reinforcements. It is believed, our Paris Correspondent tells us, that two men will be despatched; but the strength of the contingent will no doubt depend upon the tenor of letter advices from General Lyautey, who only entered Fez yesterday. Mulai Hafid's reported determination to abdicate is a disquieting feature of the situation, especially when the appearance of a new Pretender in the south is testifying to the existence of widespread unrest; and the outlook is not improved by the report that this Pretender has captured two Gerrans, who may or may not be the Mannesmann

brothers, but who, at any rate, have been found in the district covered by the Mannesmann claims. Whatever may prove to be the truth regarding this episode, there can be no doubt that the activities of Sid Muhammad Hiba, the claimant in question, requires to be dealt with at once. His father, the late Mel Amin, magician and religious leader in the Sahara, wielded considerable influence, but his sanctity was attained in regions too remote to become dangerous to Europeans.

Descent from so holy a personage is doubtless the source and the mainstay of his son's ambitions. There can be no mistake about their extent. He has assumed the Imperial seal and all the customary titles of a Sultan, and by so doing, he proclaims war to the death against the lawful occupant of the throne, his aids and abettors. His immediate prospects depend upon the attitude of the great Kauds of the south, who exercise immense authority and influence over their tribesmen. According to our Tangier Correspondent's information, Haj Thami Glawi, the greatest of them all and the head of the powerful Glawi faction, remains true to the cause of Mulai Hafid, notwithstanding the serious personal grievances which he and his family cherish against that potentate and the Maghzen. This is the more remarkable to observers of Moslem politics because he was dismissed last year from the post of Basha of Marakesh to make way for a worthless and incapable stranger. All the other important Kauds, our correspondent says, seem to be either openly or secretly in relations with the Pretender; and, if this be the case, Haj Thami's loyalty can hardly prove an effectual bulwark against the insurrection, unless the French are able to give him the immediate support for which he is looking. Doubtless, they will strain every effort to cut short the career of the holy man in its first stage, mindful of the decisive result of initial events in the history of such personages. If the champion of the Faith is promptly beaten, the tribesmen who are now flocking to his standard will be satisfied that the hand of Heaven is not with him, and they will hasten back to their harvest operations, which are now, fortunately, due. But should he gain anything which can be represented as a victory over the unbelievers and their supporters, he may speedily become the spiritual and the temporal head of all the discontented in Morocco.

There are, it cannot be doubted, plenty of discontented there. Were this not the case, the vocation to the Throne would hardly have come upon the Pretender just now, and the tribes would not be taking up arms in so many regions at a wide distance from each other. Their dissatisfaction is, of course, the outcome of no single cause. National feeling and religious feeling contribute to it and give it a decent cloak, but we imagine that it would not have become so serious as it is without more material grounds. Our Tangier Correspondent has repeatedly stated that grounds of the kind exist, at all events, in certain parts of the country. Abuses, he affirms, have grown up in regard to the ownership of lands. Native chiefs, and, what is worse, French citizens, have been suffered to repay themselves for their services to the French cause by extortion and by seizing and holding the lands of natives. So long ago as March our correspondent warned us that hostility to French influence would continue to grow until these abuses were suppressed and reparation made for the wrongs already done. The prediction was easy for anybody who knows our own experience in all our African possessions and in India. Machiavelli exhorted his Prince rather to make away with subjects who were his enemies than to confiscate their estates, for, he sententiously remarks, men will rather forget the murder of a father than the loss of their inheritance. The doctrine certainly applies to-day to most half-civilized peoples who live by agriculture, whether it was or was not, true of the society of which it was written. There is nothing peoples of the kind resent so intensely as tampering with their agrarian rights and customs and nothing which so surely fills them all with suspicion. They feel that if one man's lands are unsafe, all men's lands are unsafe, and, as their land is literally their living, they will go almost any lengths to defend it. The abuses were admittedly committed in the absence of M. Regnault, whose rectitude is as incontestable as is his ability, and they may have been relatively few. But even a single instance of the disregard of the accepted title to land is enough to disturb the minds of a neighbourhood, and half a dozen will demoralize a region. Precise and solemn pledges from the highest and the best-known authorities are probably the only immediate step which can be taken to mitigate the ill results of past mistakes, but full faith will hardly be given them until the lands which have been misappropriated are restored to their owners, or full compensation has been paid. Military measures, on an inconveniently large scale, are indispensable, we fear, against the insurgents, but their magnitude will largely depend upon the judgment formed by the tribesmen of the relations between their secular and their spiritual interests. We trust that the movement may not be so grave as in some quarters it is represented to be. It is, however, manifestly serious, and it is not yet fully developed. It may collapse with the advent of the harvest, or it may have to be "smashed" by long and costly operations. The end, of course, is certain, but in the interests of Europe, as well as of Morocco, we must all desire that it be not deferred.—*The Times.*

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Reuter wired from Rome on the 13th June.—The Turks and Arabs yesterday surprised the Italians at Homs whereupon the Italians made counterattacks on their flanks and rear with all available force cutting the Turks into two bodies, routing one and surrounding and annihilating the other at the oasis. 421 bodies were found and there were many other Turkish dead on the line of flight. Italian losses were two officers and 29 men killed and two officers and 57 men wounded.

Sir Edward Grey in reply to Sir E. Coates said: "The question of pilgrim traffic in the Red Sea had already occupied the serious attention of the Government. Earlier in the year the Government expressed to the Italian Government the hope that every consideration consistent with the necessities of war would be shown to pilgrim ships and that any measures Italy might take in those waters would not in any way hamper pilgrim traffic. Italy replied that she would keep carefully in view the requirements of the traffic and that she was fully conscious of the necessity of not impeding it."

The British Red Crescent Society's supplemental mission of three doctors and five male nurses with equipment and stores left for Tripoli on the 12th instant.

The Italians have landed a fresh expedition at Husheifa, 60 miles to the east of Tripoli.

Rumours appear to have been going about India that a certain number of Arabs or other Mahammadans have left Bombay for the purpose of taking part on the Turkish side in the Tripoli war. As a matter of fact, so far as can be ascertained, not a single Muhammadan has done so.

The Rangoon branch of the Indian Red Crescent Society on the 19th inst. forwarded a remittance of Rs 500 by cable to London.

The Italian Government has now ordered all Italians, including sisters of charity, doctors, and orphans, to leave Turkey. These instructions are interpreted as portending more vigorous action against Turkey.

A thousand Italians left on the 18th June. No demonstration occurred. The total now expelled from Constantinople is ten thousand.

The following resolutions were unanimously passed at a general meeting of the Muhammadans of Calcutta under the auspices of the Anjuman Moin-ul-Islam on the 14th June 1912.—

I. That the Muhammadans of Bengal are deeply touched and distressed to hear of the repeated aggression against the Muslim countries by foreign Powers; and consider it their duty to most earnestly beg of the Government of India to permit them to go there as volunteers and thus justify the strong bond which unites the Muhammadans all over the world.

II. That a complete list of the Russian and Italian goods imported into India be prepared and published broadcast all over India, and the Muhammadans should solemnly take an oath to boycott these goods and thus in a small measure express their protest and indignation at the unrighteous and brutal aggression of these Powers against Muslim countries.

News by the English Mail.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, May 27.

ACCORDING to a report received at the Ministry of War, the fortifications of Barka, west of Ben Ghazi, have been captured by the Turkish forces, who hope to secure the town.

A letter from Kalymnos says that the Italians, after landing, handed over the administration of the island to the Municipal Council, which is composed almost entirely of Greeks. The Turkish officials are being deported as prisoners of war. When the Italians withdrew they left no garrison. The Italians are apparently endeavouring to stimulate the Greek national spirit among the inhabitants of the various islands.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Chios May 25.

ITALIAN destroyers have visited the two ports, Lithis and Karmathia, on the west and north side of the island respectively, on the last two mornings and taken soundings. Both places have a good harbour and fresh water supply.

The captain of a Greek ship coming from the Dardanelles reports having sighted a Turkish fleet of 12 vessels between Lemnos and Chios. The Turkish troops on the island, numbering

1,300, are well supplied with ammunition and food, the monasteries being used as storehouses. Several Christian soldiers have already deserted. Many young Greek and Ottoman subjects have left the island to evade service with the Turkish colours.

The suspense of the present position and uncertainty as to the ultimate fate of the island has brought business to a standstill.

Athens, May 26.

THE following semi-official statement is published here—

"In reply to an inquiry from the Communal Council of Kalymnos Admiral Presbytero states that, in accordance with instructions from the Italian Government, vessels of the islands are to fly the Italian flag. Italian stamps are to be used for correspondence for abroad and local stamps for correspondence between the islands. All Turkish goods will be subjected to a duty of 11 per cent. Greek goods will enter duty free."—Reuter.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Athens, May 30.

The prolonged delay in the Italian occupation of Chios gives rise to much speculation. It is stated that fresh troops from Tobruk will be employed, and that the arrangements for their transport require some time, while a portion of the troops employed in the operations at Rhodes will remain to garrison that island. The explanation, however, seems insufficient, and I have reason to believe that the postponement is due to difficulties of a diplomatic character. Obstacles to the prosecution of the Italian programme have latterly presented themselves, originating, it would seem, in the bosom of the Triple Alliance. Whether Italy will consent to successive limitations of her field of action involving the protraction of a costly war in order to suit the convenience of her friends remains to be seen. It is certain at least that her operations in the Aegean have received a temporary check.

The fate of the islands already occupied by Italy excites much concern here. It is anticipated that should the islands be handed back to Turkey at the end of the war the inhabitants may be subjected to reprisals owing to the enthusiasm with which they have welcomed the Italians. Twelve of the smaller islands adjacent to Rhodes, known as the Dodecanessa, received complete autonomy under various firman dating from 1645 and ratified at subsequent periods, but all their privileges have been suppressed in recent years. It is urged that those privileges should at least be restored under a guarantee of the Powers.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Athens, May 24.

ACCORDING to a statement semi officially published here, Shevket Pasha, the Turkish Minister of War, has announced his intention of again closing the Dardanelles if the Italians occupy Chios (Sic) or Mytilene, from which a raid might easily be made upon the straits. The statement goes on to say that he will do this irrespective of the opinion of the other Ministers, on the ground that he alone is responsible for the national defence.

Berlin, May 24.

WITH reference to reports from Rome that Russia is about to take further steps to secure the intervention of the Powers to bring about the close of hostilities in the Mediterranean, it is pointed out in a well-informed quarter here that the reclosing of the Dardanelles as a result of Italian activity in the Aegean is a possibility of the situation.

In the representations to the Porte which caused the reopening of the Strait, Russia took the standpoint that it was unnecessary that they should be closed to neutral shipping so long as the Italians were at Rhodes, 36 hours' steaming away, as there would always be time to close them and sow mines in the passage before they could be attacked. If the Italians proceed to occupy more northern islands—for instance, Mytilene, which is only a few hours distant—this argument loses validity. It is believed in that case that the Turks intend to close the Dardanelles, and keep them closed so long as the Italians are within striking distance.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

ONE of the *Times*' correspondents is in a position to divulge the nature of the agreement arrived at in 1909 at Bacconigi between the Russian and Italian Governments. No special treaty was concluded, but the following understanding was arrived at:—The two Governments declare that their interest in the Balkans are not antagonistic to each other, but are in either case antagonistic to those of Austria-Hungary, and consequently of Germany, as shown by the Bosnian crisis of 1908. In face of these facts the two Governments, as represented by their respective Sovereigns and Ministers,

concluded an *entente cordiale* having for its object the mutual safeguarding of their interests in the Near East and common opposition to the encroachments of the two mid-European Powers.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, May 24.

Two causes of Nail Bey's resignation are becoming somewhat clear. It appears that while the extremist elements in the Committee reproached him with "undue deference" to the demands of the French financiers, with whom he has long been in negotiation, the influences behind the Minister of War were steadily opposed to his efforts on behalf both of economy and of a more thorough control of military expenditure by the Accountant-General department. Faced by the increasing hostility of a section of his own party and of the soldiers, and hampered by ill-health, the Minister had no alternative but to resign. His successor, who has not yet been appointed, is likely to find his path beset with the same difficulties.

Constantinople May 28.

ALTHOUGH reports are current of the imminence of further Ministerial changes, politicians here appear too doubtful about the precise state of the feeling of the Committee of Union and Progress outside the capital to hazard a prophecy. The final decision in any such changes is likely to be taken by the Central Committee whose headquarters remain at Salonika.

News From Turkish Sources.

(Specially translated for the "Comrade.")

(FROM THE "JEUNE TURC" OF THE 15TH MAY 1912.)

The day before yesterday the Grand Vizier received a visit from the ex-Grand Vizier, Hakkı Pasha, with whom he conversed for a long time.

A commission met yesterday at the Ministry of War under the presidency of Mahmoud Chevket Pasha. The members of the Commission of the Hedjaz Railway and Adil Bey, Councillor to the Grand Vizier also assisted at the deliberations. The Commission met to study the project of the construction of a metalled road to the Hedjaz. A definite decision is expected to be reached at the next sitting.

We are informed that the new Admiral of the Ottoman fleet has prepared a project for the complete reorganisation of the fleet on the British model. The project in question is under consideration at the Ministry of Marine and will very shortly be submitted to the Council of Ministers.

An Italian Officer writes to the *Ragione* that the reconnaissances made by the Italian aviators have revealed the presence of important Arab contingents in Cyrenaica. These reinforcements have come from the south of Egypt.

We are informed from an authoritative source that the military preparations of Russia which have been talked of so much lately are measures taken by the Russian Government to reinforce the Caucasian garrison from fear of an insurrection of Persian revolutionaries. That these measures indicate no offensive attitude towards Turkey was the object of the assurances given the other day by M. Sasanoff to our Ambassador, Turkhan Pasha.

(FROM THE SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT "JEUNE TURC")

Cairo, May 16.

In spite of its declaration of neutrality, Egypt does not escape vexatious treatment at the hands of the Italians. Their men-of-war lying in the offing at Alexandria and Port Said stop the Egyptian boats and, though the papers of the latter prove their nationality, they are yet searched and often watched as if they had been captured in war. The Italians argue that all this is due to the boats flying the Turkish flag. They demand that the Egyptian boats should fly the Khedivial flag of three crescents and stars which is hoisted on the yachts and palaces of the Khedive when His Highness is in residence. The Egyptian Government favours this idea and has advised the owners of the Egyptian vessels, which are plying their trade in spite of the Italian surveillance, to fly the new flag—of which, however, there is no mention in the *Rivista*. The public opinion interprets this advice in another sense, for it is understood to indicate the desire of our Government to find means of emphasising its separate, political existence.

Al-Alam has raised the cry of alarm and puts the ship-owners on guard against their falling into the trap that has been laid for them. The newspaper in question advises them to abstain from navigation so long as the war lasts rather than hoist a flag other than that of the Ottoman Empire. Lately, one of the coast-guarding vessels was seen entering the roadsteads of Alexandria under a new flag which was a mixture of the Ottoman ensign and the Union Jack. The ostensible pretext was that the vessel wanted to shield herself against attacks from the Italians. I know not whether our Government is bent upon following this new political line, but this much is certain that the public opinion is emphatic in expressions of loyalty to the Ottoman Empire.

His Highness the Khedive leaves Alexandria on the 16th instant on his annual visit to the shores of the Bosphorus and to Europe. The Khedive's consort, the Heir-Apparent, and other princes will not accompany His Highness. They will pass the summer at Moutazah near Alexandria. His Highness will be accompanied by his second wife, Gavidane Khanem (ex-Countess of Teurec), who will go with him to Europe also. His Highness's mother has already left Egypt for the Bosphorus and has probably already taken up residence at her palace at Bebek. The remaining behind of the Khedivial and the princesses is unusual and is much commented upon.

The Council of Ministers met at the Vizierat yesterday and discussed the following questions.—

(1) *The opening of the Dardanelles.*—The Council was put *au courant* with telegrams from the Commandant of Dardanelles regarding the work of clearing the mines. According to these telegrams the straits will be opened on Friday or on Saturday at the latest.

(2) *The military preparations of Russia.*—The Council also discussed the military preparations of Russia in the Caucasus. Aassim Bey, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, submitted to the Council the telegrams received from our Ambassador, Turkhan Pasha. In the course of its deliberations the Council demanded by telegraph some more explanations from our Ambassador at St. Petersburg. We have already said that assurances given by M. Sasanoff to Turkhan Pasha were considered satisfactory, but in consequence of the information received that the new mobilisation at Moscow is intended to augment the effective strength of Russia in the Caucasus, we have reason to believe that fresh explanations will be demanded by our Ambassador.

(3) *The situation in Albania.*—Talaat Bey, Officiating Minister of the Interior, read the telegrams received from the Valis of Cossovo and Scutari in Albania. The telegrams were very reassuring.

(4) *Foreign Politics.*—Aassim Bey laid on the table the despatches received from our Ambassadors, regarding the attitude of Powers on the question of the Italo-Turkish war. These despatches refer to many indications of the sympathy of the great Powers for Turkey.

(5) *Administrative questions.*—The Council also discussed the current affairs of the Empire, and certain other projects which will shortly be submitted for the approval of the Lower House.

(6) *The concession for the new lines of the tramways in the capital.*—The decision of the Council of the State regarding the concession of the new lines was approved and sent up for Imperial sanction. The Military preparations of Russia, in spite of the declarations of the official Russian press, pre-occupy the foreign and Ottoman political circles. According to a rumour which is going the round with persistence, General Alexandrowitch, the Commandant of the Cossacks at Moscow, has received orders to leave for the Caucasus. Till a late hour yesterday we had no information to confirm this rumour.

(FROM THE "JEUNE TURC" OF THE 17TH MAY 1912.)

The Agence Ottomane has received from the Minister of War a copy of telegram from Enver Bey, Commandant of Bengazi, who wires as follows.—

"The day before yesterday one of our detachments which had been placed in ambush opened fire on a detachment of the enemy on the latter's coming out of the forts to take part in the work of the construction of the fortifications at Tobruk. Vexed by our fire, the Italians responded badly, all their shots going over our heads. They had 20 killed and 35 wounded, while our detachment suffered no loss. In the morning an aeroplane dropped several bombs on our camp at Derna and fortunately did not injure any one. At Bengazi a detachment of the enemy guided by an Arab scout advanced in our direction; it suddenly collided with our patrols, and took to flight immediately, abandoning the scout. The latter has been shot. I am happy to announce to you that in all our small engagements lately we have not lost a single man."

We learn from an authorised source that the new explanations given by the Russian Government to our Ambassador, Turkhan Pasha, on the subject of the recent movements of Russian troops to the Caucasus have been considered satisfactory by the Ottoman Government.

(FROM THE "JEUNE TURC" OF THE 18TH MAY.)

The Selamlik of yesterday was held in the Mosque Techviki at Nichantsche. The Sheikbul Islam, the Minister of War and Evkaf and many other high dignitaries assisted at the ceremony. The Duke of Orleans and Braganza and Mr. Pear, the English author, were amongst the spectators. His Imperial Majesty charged his first Chamberlain, Louifi, Bey with transmitting his salutations to the distinguished visitors. After the Selamlik the Ministers of War and Marine and Damad Salih Bey were received in audience by the Sultan.

Our Sinope correspondent wires to us that five Russian torpedo boats were seen the other day very near the coast with all their lights out. The boats in question seemed to be engaged in night manœuvres and have left for Kerich.

A ministerial reunion was held yesterday at the Konak of the Grand Vizier, His Highness presiding. The Ministers were principally engaged with some events which have no connection with the war. All the telegrams received yesterday from our Embassies abroad and from the Tripolitaine, the Archipelago and from the Valis of Kossovo and Scutari were the subject of ministerial deliberations.

(FROM THE "JEUNE TURC" OF THE 19TH MAY 1912.)

News came to hand very late yesterday of the accident to the Minister of War, Mahmoud Chevket Pasha. His Excellency, who was carrying on an inspection at Scutari, was thrown by his horse and has injured his leg. The injury is very slight and the Minister returned to the War Office and is engaged in his ordinary duties.

Our St Petersburg correspondent telegraphs that news has been received there almost simultaneously from London and Constantinople regarding the new Ottoman Loan and the Anglo-Turkish *pourparlers* that are being carried on the question of Kuwait and the terminus of the Baghdad Railway. These questions, it is said, will shortly be settled to the satisfaction of both parties. This news has produced a great sensation in political circles and in the Press and is supposed to indicate a difference of opinion on the Near Eastern politics between England and France grouped on one side and Russia on the other. One hears it remarked that these three Powers are neutral in the Turco-Italian war, but while the neutrality of England and France is benevolent towards Turkey, that of Russia is quite hostile. In liberal circles M. Sassoan is being severely criticised—and what benefit, people ask, has he derived from the almost provoking attitude of Russia?

The correspondent of the Paris *Temps* telegraphs from Azizia that Emir Ali Pasha, the son of Amir Abdul Kader, has arrived there by way of Tobruk, Derna and Benghazi. He has been received with great honour by the Arabs. On the 1st of May a dirigible balloon dropped twelve bombs on the Turkish Camp at Azizia and though thousands of Arabs were present with more than a hundred camels, only one man was killed.

(FROM THE "JEUNE TURC" OF 20TH MAY 1912.)

A Council of Ministers was held yesterday, His Highness the Grand Vizier presiding. The following questions were considered.—
(1) *The Naval Action of Italy*.—Talaat Bey, the Officiating Minister of the Interior, communicated to the Council the latest telegrams received in his office regarding the naval action of Italy. The Council decided to issue certain instructions to the authorities of the islands which have not yet been occupied by the Italians.

(2) *The Situation in Albania*.—Talaat Bey showed to the Council that the telegrams received from the Valis of Kossovo and Scutari in Albania indicated a situation of no gravity at all. This is contrary to the assertions of certain foreign newspapers. The entire population of Albania, with the exception of a few misguided individuals, has manifested devotion to the Government.

(3) *Despatches from our Foreign Ambassadors*.—We are informed that according to the explanations given to our Ambassador, Turkhan Pasha, the movement of Russian troops into the Caucasus is due to purely internal causes and has nothing whatever to do with the political situation of Russia vis-à-vis Turkey.

(4) *Current Affairs and the Commission of Reforms in Anatolia*.—We understand that this Commission will leave for Anatolia in two or three weeks in order to undertake the work of introducing the required reform in those provinces.

(FROM THE "JEUNE TURC" OF 21ST MAY 1912.)

Hajji Zia Bey, the first Secretary of the Palace, called on the Minister of War yesterday on behalf of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, to enquire after the health of Mahmoud Chevket Pasha.

The Grand Vizier informed the Ministers yesterday morning that a re-union would be held at the War Office. The deliberations commenced at 11 and following questions were discussed.—

(1) *The Action of the Italian Fleet in the Aegean Sea*.—The Minister of Marine and officiating Minister of the Interior gave the latest information regarding the movements of the Italian fleet in the waters of the Archipelago. The telegrams indicate that the fleet is biding time for bombarding and occupying the remaining islands. The islands of Chio and Mytilene are constantly being visited. Italy has made the Archipelago the base of her future operations and has abandoned all action in the Tripolitaine. The Council considered the eventuality of the bombardment and occupation of the other islands, and certain other important measures of national defence were discussed.

(2) *The Expulsion of Italians*.—After a long deliberation the Council decided to expel all Italians residing in the Ottoman Empire. An interval of 15 days will be allowed to them for their making neces-

sary preparations for departure. This measure will not be applied to widows, religious orders and to workmen engaged on the construction of railway lines, etc.

The situation in Albania, the opening of Dardanelles and despatches from our Ambassador were the other things discussed.

(FROM THE "JEUNE TURC" OF 22ND MAY 1912.)

The British Ambassador and M. Sarafoff, the Bulgarian Minister, called on Mahmoud Shevket Pasha yesterday to inquire after His Excellency's health

(FROM THE "JEUNE TURC" OF 23RD MAY 1912.)

Under the heading "The Last Act" the well-known newspaper *Budapesti Hírlap* publishes a very remarkable article from which we reproduce a passage below —

"Whilst taking into consideration the situation of Turkey and Italy on one hand, and the attitude of the Great Powers on the other, one is forced to the conclusion that the war cannot last much longer.

By occupying the islands of the Aegean sea Italy has played her last cards. After this she possesses no means of exercising any pressure on Turkey, and the question is, will Italy be able with the assistance of her fleet to force the Sublime Porte to give up all existence? Contrary to the calculation of the Consulta, we can declare positively that the occupation of the islands will not change the attitude of Turkey in the least. It matters very little if Italy has hoisted her flag on a few islands. The Sultan, the Government, the Parliament and the Nation adhere to their resolve and will not part with their African possessions at any price. This is exactly what the Giolitti Government does not see or does not want to see. The cabinets of Europe, however, are aware of it that the Sultan and the Turks are determined rather to perish and give up the whole Empire than cede their African possessions, and that they are fighting not merely for retaining a territory inhabited by thousands of Sultan's subjects, but also for safeguarding the supreme interests of the Ottoman Empire and the prestige of the Sultan-Khalifa. Turkey would rather give up her provinces in the Balkan Peninsula where the Christians are in a majority, but Tripolitaine and Benghazi are Musselman provinces and it would be a treason to Islam to cede these to a European Power. The Cabinets of Vienna, Berlin, Paris and London understand the point of view of Turkey and are not at all disposed to exercise any pressure upon her. As for their attitude towards Italy, the Powers are of opinion that if the Consulta still adheres to "annexation," she should make it an accomplished fact. But efforts have their limits. Italy has not only to look after her troops in Africa, but also after those that she has landed in the Archipelago. The maintenance of the fleet alone demands enormous sums of money every day. The Turks will not budge from the attitude they have taken up. Why undergo all this expense then and ruin the fleet? On the African battlefields the situation of the Italians is still more deplorable. The Turks and Arabs are natural allies against Italy—aliens made invincible by the guns that are already on the way, by the African heat, by dysentery and by cholera. If the Italian people can restrain the national and personal *amour propre* and replace it by a cool and sane judgment, they should conclude peace with Turkey on some other basis and endeavour to serve the interests of Italy by this peace. The first step however, towards the solution of the difficulty is the resignation of the present Cabinet."

The following telegram has been received from Vienna.—

"Advices from London announce the submission of a memorial to the English Government by a union of Indian Mussulmans demanding that England should intervene actively in favour of Turkey in the Italo-Turkish war."

"This memorial makes some impression, because it is couched in energetic terms and demands that Turkish possessions should remain intact, the Turks being of the same blood as Indian Mussulmans."

The Paris journal learns from Rome that the little effect produced in Constantinople by the occupation of islands in the Aegean sea has caused great surprise and irritation in Italy, where it was believed that the extension of hostilities would reduce the Turks to beg for mercy.

The Expulsion of Italians.

(FROM A "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" CORRESPONDENT.)

Smyrna, May 20

THE Italian exodus began in real earnest on Monday last, when four steamers loaded with Italian exiles left Smyrna Harbour. There are several other boats advertised to sail, and it is believed that the Italian Government will send two large German liners to take those Italians left in the city on 24th May, the date of expiry of the expulsion order.

Though the German Consul and his Italian Committee give the poorer exiles passage money and 5 francs, the exodus is attended with heart-rending scenes. Hundreds of families who have sold off

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their goods hurriedly are extremely depressed at having to seek their fortunes in, as they believe, "climes unkind and new." They have been born and bred in Smyrna, and, never having travelled before, are fearful of the lot that awaits them in Greece and Italy. Many widows, whom the expulsion order allows to remain, break down on the quayside, and, refusing to be left behind, go, off hand-in hand weeping with their homeless children. The entire Christian population is moved with pity for these unfortunate sufferers through a war they never wanted and have always condemned.

As the Turks were remarkably considerate until the Italians seized Rhodes, no blame, it is felt, can now be laid on them for expelling those who owe allegiance to their enemies. In fact, there are so many Cretan Moslem exiles in Smyrna, who clamour to have the Italians driven out of Smyrna, as they themselves, they say, were driven out of Crete, that many Europeans fear that the bad passions of these unruly Cretans may be roused at the sight of Italians and find vent in a general massacre of Christians. The Young Turks are by no means cheerful to see several thousand persons leaving the city, and they are well aware that the expulsion order looks like cutting off their nose to spite their face. Little business is being done except by furniture brokers and shipping agents. Most of the available cash in the city is in some way or other being used for the Italian exodus. It is generally believed that Italy will either attack or blockade Smyrna so soon as the Italian colony is expelled, and this fear paralyses all business.

(FROM A "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" CORRESPONDENT.)

The expulsion of Italians at Smyrna has begun. Ship after ship has steamed across the Aegean to Naples, Brindisi, or Athens, crowded with miserable exiles, some denouncing the war and its authors, others dumb and stupefied. On the morning of the 19th, a French and an Austrian steamer, the vanguard of the hapless procession, dropped anchor off the Piraeus. But according to accounts in the Italian press, not a single representative of the Italian Government went on board to meet its unhappy subjects. The Italian Embassy, the Consulate, give no sign of life. To add to the misery of the expelled, half of them were unable to express themselves in Italian, for Italy had been so blind to its interests that for lack of Italian schools, education at Smyrna could only be obtained in French schools, and Italian citizens were now bemoaning in a foreign tongue that they were drifting in a fatherland whose speech was unknown to them.

Meanwhile unemployment is spreading in Italy. Hundreds of hungry labourers at Comacchio have broken out into serious disorders, and at a recent meeting of the Town Council of Milan a proposal to spend public money as a contribution to the national aeroplane fund, while 40,000 unemployed were in the city, was only carried amid the greatest confusion and persistent cries of "Down with the war!" In the columns of the *Avanti!* (Signor de Felice, the eloquent and popular Sicilian democratic leader and one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the African adventure, confesses, after eight months passed in Tripoli, that he has returned disillusioned and full of indignation at the methods by which the war was worked up. He roundly accuses various financial interests of having debauched public opinion, and promises to raise the question in Parliament.

(FROM REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonika, May 27

An order of expulsion affecting three thousand Italians has been finally issued. A fortnight's grace is allowed them.

Constantinople, May 28.

Preparations for the departure of Italians from Constantinople are being actively pursued, and the German Consulate-General is daily thronged with Italians applying for passports.

Owing to the doubts which have arisen regarding the categories of persons exempted from the decree of expulsion, the German Embassy has issued a detailed list of the classes which are not affected by the measure—namely (1) Foremen and labourers employed in the building of railways, (2) all workmen using their hand, such as masons, painters, carpenters, locksmiths, etc., and also all labourers paid daily; musicians are, however, excepted, even if they are in receipt of daily pay; (3) aged people; (4) single women dependent on themselves; (5) persons entrusted with the care of the sick or aged; (6) hospital doctors and surgeons; (7) widows; (8) monks and nuns.

The Italian employees of the Public Debt Administration have been granted leave, and are receiving travelling expenses and an indemnity.

Rome, Wednesday.

It is semi-officially announced to-day that the Government have decided to invite to Italy the Italian contract labourers, superintendents, foremen, and contractors living in Turkey whom the Porte has exempted from the decree of expulsion. They will be informed that steps are being taken to secure work for them in Italy.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, May 26.

The captain of the French steamer *Caucase*, who arrived at Naples this morning bringing 60 Italians who had been expelled from Smyrna, has lodged a complaint with the French Consul that his ship while flying the French flag was twice fired upon by the Turkish forts while clearing that port.

(FROM THE LONDON CORRESPONDENT OF THE "PIONEER.")

The Italo-Turkish war seems to have returned to one of its many periods of quiescence. The Porte's twenty-fourth threat to expel the Italians from the Ottoman dominions is being carried out. Numerous exceptions, however, are made and Italy is countering the Porte's blow by commanding those Italians who are permitted to remain to quit the country. The object of this move is not clear, because the embarrassment caused to Turkey will be infinitesimal compared with the suffering and loss inflicted upon individual Italians. But there is a great deal in connection with Italy's conduct of the war which puzzles the plain man. In an interesting article in the *Daily Telegraph* Dr. Dillon tells us that the clue to much that is mysterious in Italy's conduct is to be found in the exigencies of domestic politics. Signor Giolitti is not a foreign politician and he does not shine in geography. He once told the Bulgarian representative in Rome that Italy and Bulgaria were washed by the same sea. But he is a past master in all the artifices of political manipulation; and Dr. Dillon says that the war is being carried on, not so much for the glory of Italy or for the laurels of victory, as to keep the Premier in office. On reading Dr. Dillon's article one is reminded of what Mr. Trevelyan says in *Garisbaldi and the making of Italy*. Mr. Trevelyan reluctantly admits that Cavour bequeathed to the statesmanship of new Italy the old traditions of duplicity, which have sometimes become low cunning in the hands of his successors with neither his virtues, his abilities, nor his dire necessities for their excuse.

The Situation in Albania.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonika, May 22

THOUGH definite action in Albania during the last few days has been limited to slight skirmishes between the troops and bands the situation has not failed to increase in gravity in the eyes of the Turkish authorities on the spot. The Albanians in Prishtina and Vuchitran are said to be greatly excited, and there are ominous rumours of preparations for a general revolt. For the second time the Ulamas have returned from an unsuccessful mission, and the local officials, having lost hope in the efficacy of argument and encouraged by the arrival of Constantinople troops at Ferizovitch, are anxious to ascertain the effects of gunpowder on the rebels.

The presence of the Reform Commission at Salonika, however, enables me to state that the bellicose ideas of the officials in Albania are not shared by the Minister of the Interior. Hadji Adil Bey is convinced that the present position is only an aggravation of the unsettled conditions prevailing during his tour, as illustrated by the three attacks on the Commission. He regards it as merely the chronic Albanian lawlessness in a slightly exaggerated form—possibly further increased by the instigation of disappointed ex-Deputies who failed to secure re-election owing to the opposition of the Committee. He is therefore averse from the employment of troops for any other purpose than to secure the building of roads, the construction of blockhouses, and other works to which the Government is committed. It is, doubtless, with the idea of driving home his point of view that the Minister departed suddenly *incognito* for Uskub this morning. It may, in any case, be assumed that there is no likelihood of a repetition of the thoughtless blunders which marked the campaigns of Djavid and Torgut Shevket Pashas. Alarmist news from Austrian sources should be discredited. Abdulla Pasha is in command of the troops now mobilizing at Ferizovitch.

I understand that Mufit Bey, ex-Deputy for Angyrollastro, is endeavouring to excite the Southern Albanians. Little importance is attached to his efforts in official circles.

Constantinople, May 24.

The publication by the *Tanis* and the *Sabek* of articles advocating the appointment of European officials to administrative posts in the European provinces of the Empire has given rise to circumstantial reports of the appointment of a European Inspector-General for Albanian and Macedonian villages which are both inaccurate and premature. It is true that a scheme has been proposed by certain members of the Government for the creation of a special department of the Ministry of the Interior, for the introduction of reforms as recommended by Hadji Adil Bey's Commission in the above-mentioned provinces, and the appointment of at least one European official to a highly responsible position in connection with the said department. There is no reason, however, to believe that the scheme has been adopted by the

Cabinet as a whole, or that it could be adopted without risk of serious opposition from the strong Chauvinist elements of the Committee, whose mouthpieces the *Hakk* and the *Judeo-Turkish Jeune Turc* unsparingly condemn any such proposal.

Little definite news has been received from Albania to day. The local Press announces the arrival of 25 wounded soldiers at Vuchitra, and the massing of Turkish troops at Ferizovitch, but information of the exact situation in the disturbed areas is wanting. The Salonika and Constantinople newspapers aver that four ex-Deputies, Ismail Kemal, Hassan Bey, of Prishtina, Nedjib Draga, and Basri Bey, are among the insurgent leaders but it is as yet uncertain whether the statements are not made with the object of discrediting the Albanian Nationalists, who have always supported the Parliamentary Opposition against the Committee.

Salonica, May 24.

In a memorandum presented to the Consuls of the Great Powers and to the Turkish authorities at Uskub, Ismail Kemal Bey, Deputy for Berat, states the Albanian demands as follows:

First, the delimitation of the boundaries of Albania; second, the recognition of an Albanian flag; third, the appointment of a Governor-General from among the members of the ancient reigning family of Albania; fourth, the substitution of Albanians for the Turkish-speaking officials; fifth, the adoption of Albanian as the official language; sixth, a guarantee of the above reforms by the Great Powers.

The memorandum adds that the Albanians will henceforth refuse to pay taxes and to furnish recruits for the Ottoman army.

The Turkish journal *Yen. Asr* publishes a striking impeachment of the Young Turkish policy in Albania under *nom de guerre* which but thinly veils the personality of Hussein Kazim Bey, Vali of Salomika. The writer sees the cause of the troubles which have beset the Ottoman Empire since the proclamation of the Constitution in the haste with which the Government has attempted to enforce the payment of taxes and the fulfilment of military service upon people who have been exempt from both claims from time immemorial. Further, in view of the fact that the Albanians have been accustomed for centuries to carry arms for private and national protection, the writer maintains that disarmament was a grave mistake. He goes on to prove that the consequence of the Government errors was discontent and disturbances among the Albanian tribes, who see in the Constitution only an enemy of their traditional customs. The Government must therefore recognize that its policy has been erroneous, renounce temporarily its pretensions, and endeavour to introduce a tranquil, harmonious life in Albania in order that with the progress of civilization, the natives may gradually become accustomed to law and taxation and accept the flag of Young Turkey. This programme the writer designates peaceful penetration.

May 25.

The Minister of the Interior has been so far successful in pouring oil on troubled waters that Hussein Kazim Bey has withdrawn his resignation as Vali. The question is not yet finally adjusted since the Vali continues to make a point of the impeachment of the Cabinet of Hakkı Pasha. It is doubtful whether a definite decision will be reached before the return of Hadji Adil to the capital. The Minister of the Interior will certainly carry back a lively appreciation of the necessity of maintaining Hussein Kazim at Salomica.

One of the most courageous acts of this unique Turkish official has been to insist on the punishment of officials and the displacement of *gendarmes* officers concerned in the series of public floggings which have accompanied the pursuit of Bulgarian *Komitadjis*. In doing so he not only demonstrates his impartiality, but puts his finger on the chief cause of the increase of the bands. Though the Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee organizes the bands, they are nourished and kept alive by the floggings administered to peasants, often innocent, by the *gendarmes*. When the history of the Vali's action in this matter becomes generally known the effect produced will be more valuable than a decade of these so-called reforms to which we have become accustomed. It is a real attempt to strike at the heart of Macedonian unrest.

Constantinople, May 26.

An official *communiqué* to the Press denies the report that the ex-Deputy, Nedjib Draga, has joined the Albanian insurgents. According to letters from Salomica, dated 23rd May, the situation in Northern Albania is improving, no fresh skirmishes having occurred since the 18th instant. There is reason to believe that Hadji Adil Bey, who is expected at Constantinople on Wednesday, undertook his recent visit to Uskub merely in order to restrain the ardour of the military authorities and to oblige them to confine themselves as far as possible to protective measures and to "prompt legitimate suppression of any illegitimate movement that may take place," and to abstain from unnecessary and expensive punitive expeditions.

Constantinople, May 29.

The Minister of the Interior and the other members of the Reform Commission arrived in Constantinople this morning looking none the worse for the arduous and dangerous experiences of the last three and a half months. Hadji Adil Bey is now engaged in drawing up a series of recommendations as to reform administration in Albania and Macedonia, which will be laid before the Cabinet within a fortnight's time.

The Minister of Marine left to-day on board a destroyer to inspect the Dardanelles defences.

Izmit, May 29.

The Turkish Government is stated to have granted, at the request of a commission of Albanian Beys and Notables, a short period of grace for further negotiation with the insurgent Albanians before resuming military operations against them. The chance of a peaceful settlement is, however, believed to be slight.

A telegram from Rome to the *Zeitung* reports that Prince Radu Cantacuzino, who claims descent from Skanderbeg and aspires to the "Albanian throne," left Brindisi yesterday for the Albanian coast.

A deputation of Kosovo notables has been sent with a view to gaining over the Albanian rebels to peaceful counsels. Ismail Fadil Pasha is taking over the command of the division concentrated at Ferizovitch.

Salonica, May 29.

The situation in Albania remains unchanged, the action of the Government being limited to continuous *pouparties* with the rebels through the mission comprised of Ulama and Beys. The negotiations are proving only partially successful, since a number of *Batraktais* are apparently determined to pursue an attitude of hostility towards the authorities. The present position, therefore, is that the Albanians are massed in the mountains round Trutza and the expeditionary corps is at Ferizovitch, neither side apparently wishing to commence hostilities. How long these conditions can continue remains to be seen. On their part the Albanians cannot remain inactive in the mountains indefinitely, and the local Turkish officials are again pressing for a military demonstration. The Minister of the Interior persists in his opposition to this idea, and it is a favourable sign that the departure of Abdulla Pasha, who has been designated to command the forces at Ferizovitch, has been delayed.

The Government, however, is rapidly strengthening the army in Albania. A machine-gun company stationed at Strumica has been ordered north to Uchack, Reservist have already left Smyrna, and the Reservists divisions at Ishub and Elbassan are being mobilized for service in Kosovo.

The only serious incident of the last few days occurred in the district of Vaspai, where a body of rebels attacked a *gendarmerie* station. The *gendarmes* defended the position for four hours until reinforcements arrived, when, deserting the blockhouse, they retired to Lyuma. The Kaimakam fears a general outbreak and demands the urgent despatch of reinforcement.

The Rumoured Conference.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

A WELL-KNOWN Berlin paper publishes the following outspoken utterance by Asim Bey, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the course of a conversation with its Constantinople representative.—"It is obvious that since the change in the Russian Embassy Russia has been trying to arrange an international conference. Such a gathering, however, is unnecessary. Turkey can settle the quarrel with Italy by her own efforts, and a conference would mean the virtual extinction of the Ottoman Empire. We have no domestic disturbances, and so long as we can rely on our brave army we shall be in a position to suppress in its beginning every conflict engineered by foreign agitators. The foreign Powers know this as well as we do. But is not Nicholas (of Montenegro), father-in-law of the King of Italy? and, besides, he recently visited Russia. As for the aspirations of Bulgaria, I know them only too well, having been at one time Minister at Sofia. We do not want and need no international conference—we do not want any dismemberment."

The idea of a European conference to settle the Italo-Turkish war seems to have been buried before it even attained the age of walking. The last handful of earth is thrown on its grave by the *National Zeitung*, which speaks semi-officially thus. "The idea of a conference was accepted with eagerness in those quarters where people expected to gain something by it—in Paris, London, and St. Petersburg. It would scarcely be betraying a secret to say that Vienna and Berlin did not share this enthusiasm. Their disinterested policy certainly justifies this attitude, which, of course, is not opposed to a pacific mediation. Russia may count on the benevolence of Berlin and Vienna in case the question of the Dardanelles should be brought

up for discussion, but for the regulation of these Mediterranean questions such a considerable political engine as a conference is not wanted, and may, indeed, only serve as a screen to conceal selfish interests. The experience which Germany gained at Algeciras is not calculated to dispose her favourably towards the idea of an international conference."

As the *Vossische Zeitung* is informed from Vienna, the idea of a conference has now indeed been officially given up, and the Chancelleries are now preoccupied with a novel idea—namely, that of an armistice.

(FROM THE "TIME" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Vienna, May 24

In a semi-official article the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* observes that those who launch the idea of an international conference as a means of settling the Turco-Italian conflict seem to have no notion of the distance that separates the idea from the possibility of its realization, which depends in the first place upon a complete agreement between the Powers as to the expediency of a conference, and in the second place upon the exact formulation of a strictly limited programme. Otherwise a conference could only cause confusion and render the situation worse, not better.

Vienna, May 26

No European conference, no prospect of peace, no Russo-Italian Entente, no likelihood of Balkan disturbances, no lack of harmony between Austria-Hungary and Germany, are the slightly negative tidings that reach Vienna as the upshot of Count Berchtold's visit to Berlin. The war it appears, was the chief subject of conversation, but, however interesting the exchange of Austro-Hungarian and German views may have been, the world will not be much the wiser for the echo that has been allowed to reach it.

Interest here turns rather towards the Mediterranean and the discussion of an Anglo-French alliance than towards the Berlin conversations. Minor Press organs of the kind which l'eutonic diplomacy delights to use for the irresponsible dissemination of salutary ideas represent, indeed, the Anglo-French understanding as tottering to its fall at the approach of Baron Von Marschall, and the Anglo-Russian understanding as in the last stage of decrepitude; but in serious quarters the possible effects of the war upon the strategic arrangements of France and England and the counter-effects of their decisions upon the position of Italy appear to be under consideration. It is perceived quite as clearly in Vienna as in London or Paris that the occupation of the Aegean Islands by Italy is likely to complicate the international situation both before and after the conclusion of peace, and the equanimity with which the Italian operations were originally regarded on the assumption that they would be particularly unwelcome to England seems now to be mitigated by reflection that the measures which England and France may conceivably be moved to adopt might guarantee Mediterranean equilibrium in a manner not entirely foreseen. It may safely be assumed that, though not mentioned in the reports from Berlin, Mediterranean issues and their bearing on the renewal of the Triple Alliance, with or without a "Mediterranean clause," will have figured prominently in the Berlin conversations, but it would probably be erroneous to conclude that the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister will have committed himself to any hard and fast policy in regard to the immediate or more remote future. As far as can be judged from external indications, the present policy of Austria-Hungary is one of observant expectancy inspired by a determination not to suffer Austro-Hungarian interests to be compromised, and, within that limit, by a wish to act as an element of international stability.

Much attention has been attracted here by the protest of the Veli of Salonica, Hussein Kiazim Bey, in a local Turkish journal, against the adoption of a violently repressive policy in dealing with the Albanians. It is considered a notable and encouraging sign that so influential and competent an official as Hussein Kiazim should have the courage publicly to denounce the fatal policy hitherto adopted by the various Committee Cabinets.

Vienna, May 28

The Marquis Pallavicini, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at Constantinople, scarcely seems to share the optimism that is alleged to have characterized Count Berchtold's intercourse with the German Government. "I consider the situation arising from the occupation of Aegean islands by the Italians to be graver than it was when the war was confined to Africa," the Ambassador is reported to have said to a representative of the *Neue Freie Presse* to-day. "In any case, there now exists the possibility that the Italians may operate against points nearer the Dardanelles than the Island of Rhodes, and it would naturally not be desirable that the question of closing the Straits should again arise. As long as the war lasts, the situation must continue to inspire concern from the standpoint of general European interests." The Marquis Pallavicini added that though no means of promoting peace had yet been found, hope must not be abandoned. In expelling the Italians, Turkey had taken a very deplorable step, though it is to be expected that the decree of expulsion will not be carried out in all its rigour.

The *Neue Freie Presse*, for its part, deals with the question of the Dardanelles and the Mediterranean in the light of the trip undertaken by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill, and of the discussion by various French and English journals of the expediency of converting the Anglo-French Entente into a formal defensive alliance. The idea of such a conversion appears to perturb the Prusso-Viennese organ and to inspire it with solicitude for the position of Russia "Russia," it writes, "desires the opening of the Dardanelles for her warships. Hence the idea may have arisen in England of obtaining by an alliance with France—who is to build 28 Dreadnoughts—an auxiliary fleet that, without costing a penny, will relieve the English Fleet of the burden of ruling the Mediterranean. But an Anglo-French alliance is a problem not easily to be solved. Will Russia agree to let herself be pushed into the second rank, and more or less to make over her position in Paris to the English? Will the English people bring itself to prove of a policy of hereditary enmity towards Germany, and to support with English blood another conquest of Alsace by the French? Will the French Government be disposed to let itself be drawn into the abyss of Anglo-German rivalry?"

The *Neue Freie Presse* rightly thinks that "the future of peace" may depend upon the answer given to these questions, but it omits, some by strange lack of perspicacity, to point out that neither England nor France is likely to be less considerate of Russian susceptibilities and interests in the Mediterranean and elsewhere than the improvised friends of Russia who control its utterances.

Vienna, May 29.

A semi-official note observes this evening that the idea of a European conference as a means of settling the Turco-Italian conflict has extraordinarily little prospect of being realized. There is a general agreement, it adds, that an indispensable condition of the convocation of a conference would be the strict limitation of the programme to the Tripolitan issue. But if either belligerent were prepared to moderate its uncompromising standpoint in regard to Tripoli, peace could be promoted by simple mediation, whereas if Turkey insists on the maintenance of Ottoman suzerainty and Italy on upholding her decree of annexation, a conference would be not only futile but dangerous, inasmuch as its inevitable failure would aggravate the situation.

There is reason to believe this note to reflect the Austro-Hungarian official view, which after Count Berchtold's Berlin visit must be taken to correspond to the German view. Inasmuch as both belligerents are understood to oppose the idea of a conference, it may therefore be regarded as devoid of present importance.

Some surprise is felt by serious diplomatists here that the conference idea should ever have been seriously mooted. There is no precedent for the meeting of a conference before the conclusion of at least an armistice, and the case of the Congress of Berlin shows that before the Powers approach the Eastern question in solemn conclave some of them are likely to require a guarantee that they will not go away empty-handed. Austria-Hungary attended the Berlin Congress in the certainty that the price of her neutrality in the Russo-Turkish War would be paid by European assent to her occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and other Powers may well have had a notion that Cyprus and Tunis would eventually come under their control. In view of the Italian occupation of the Aegean islands the programme of a new conference could not be restricted to the question of Tripoli alone. And, however sincere may be the attachment of the Powers to the *status quo* in Turkey, and, however profound their faith in the vitality of the Ottoman Empire, it may be doubted whether all of them would be prepared to tie their hands in regard to the future by subscribing formally to a self-denying ordinance of unlimited duration.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

The other day M. Jean Herbette, writing in the *Sidcle*, drew attention to the possibility of Italy retaining the possession of the islands she is now seizing in the Aegean, and thus changing the balance of power in the Eastern Mediterranean. In his view, however, no great harm is likely to accrue from it to any Power except Russia, whose exit from the Dardanelles—should the straits be one day opened to her warships—would thus be blocked by a chain of Italian naval forts and stations. In these circumstances M. Herbette ventured to express surprise at the Russian policy of diplomatic co-operation with Italy—in fact, his main object was to criticise that policy now that Russia seems to be fretting at the lukewarm attitude of the French Government towards her efforts in the Balkans and at Constantinople.

The *Temps* enlarges upon the dangers of the Italian occupation of the Aegean Islands with a much wider sweep than M. Herbette. It prints a long article from one of its London correspondents on the forthcoming meeting of Mr. Asquith, Mr. Churchill, and Lord Kitchener at Malta, in the course of which the writer, after describing how even the position of Tripoli will affect the Mediterranean position of France, says: "The situation is indeed changing rapidly. Italy occupies to-day a much more formidable but at the same time more vulnerable position

than at the beginning of the war. What she could do in the past with her respectable forces on the frontier of South Tyrol and in Venetia, and with her navy concentrated at Spezzia or Maddalena, she will no longer be able to do with 100,000 men fixed, no doubt for several years, in Tripoli, and with garrisons stationed in the Archipelago. It will therefore no longer be possible for her to manoeuvre dexterously between the Triple Alliance and the Western Powers—she will have to choose." And the writer is of the opinion that it will not be towards the latter group that she will turn, since "she will no doubt consider that of all possible dangers that of seeing the Austrian masses descending into Venetia is the gravest."

The correspondent of the *Temps* comes to the conclusion that one of the possible consequences of the present war will be the strengthening of the position of the Triple Alliance in the Mediterranean, and that "there are more chances than ever of seeing the Austrian and Italian navies, originally built against one another, sailing henceforth side by side in the Mediterranean."

The well-known writer of the *Bulletin d'Etranger* in the same journal completely shares, or pretends to share, this view. "The occupation of the Turkish islands in the Aegean is completely changing the balance of power in one of the world's sea routes. Italian public opinion is visibly hardening to the view that what is good to take is also good to keep, and that the occupation of the islands, while an inadequate weapon to compel Turkey to accept peace, is a much better means than the conquest of Tripoli for the development of those vital interests of Italy in the Mediterranean which Bismarck so resolutely ignored at the time of the conclusion of the Triple Alliance." The writer of the *Bulletin* foresees the possibility of the Eastern Mediterranean thus turning into a "fief of the Triple Alliance," to the great detriment of the Triple Entente and above all of Russia, and invites the "interested Powers, loyal friends of Italy, but also mindful of their own interests," to examine the new situation.

Writing on the visit of Count Berchtold, the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Berlin, the Vienna correspondent of the *Temps* quotes the *Deutsches Volksblatt*, an organ connected with the Court of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian Crown, as declaring that there is absolute unanimity between Count Berchtold and German Government quarters, "in consequence of which the two Governments will act in common in all that concerns the Russian idea of a European Conference. "Germany and Austria-Hungary," explains the Vienna journal, "will not refuse to take part in a conference, but they will avoid all steps calculated to create fresh difficulties for the Turkish Government. They are anxious that an understanding should come about between Rome and Constantinople, but they will not lend their hands to such acts as may wound the national pride of one or the other of the parties or threaten the integrity of Turkey."

These are very important words, but in addition they have a special application as explained by the Vienna correspondent of the *Temps*. "A rumour," he says, "has been current" diplomatic quarters that Italy, without desiring to retain the islands in the Archipelago, has nevertheless the intention of creating there a sort of autonomy which would afterwards permit her to gain influence among the population and to profit by the sympathies thus provoked for the establishment of a naval base. This idea, it is stated, has not at all been to the taste of the Vienna Cabinet, but it was uncertain hitherto whether this mode of viewing the situation was also shared by Germany."

The same view of complete solidarity between the Berlin and Vienna Cabinets is propounded by Count Hoyos, Count Berchtold's secretary in an interview with a representative of the *Vossische Zeitung*. Perfect unanimity, he declares, exists between the two countries on all points of their policy. That policy "is directed towards the maintenance of peace in the Balkans under all circumstances and the prevention of all complications that may arise out of the Italo-Turkish war." Count Hoyos derided as "perfect non sense" the rumour that Germany, Austria, and Russia had agreed upon the dismemberment of European Turkey. He emphatically denied the possibility of any renewal in the near future of the attempt to mediate in the present war, and spoke optimistically of the outlook in Albania and the attitude of the King of Montenegro.

The Sultan in Captivity.

There is a certain Turk in Salonika for whom the upraised Italian war-sword has no terrors. This is one Abdul Hamid, dethroned Sultan, who, in happy ignorance of the dangers which beset his country, is spending the last days of his life in captivity jealously guarded by that same army which overthrew him. The ex-Commander of the Faithful has for prison a handsome villa on the east side of the city and on the shores of the winding bay of Salonika. Abdul has for neighbours wealthy foreigners, chiefly Greeks. Having amassed riches in the ancient Macedonian capital, they have built themselves stately homes on the shores of its beautiful bay.

The Villa Latini, which the "Red Sultan" now inhabits, was bought by the Turkish Government from one of these princes of local commerce. It has spacious grounds, and is shut in by a high wall. The building is a three-storied one, and the upper floors and the terra-cotta roof are visible from the highway which skirts the northern boundary wall. On this side a broad valley dips away from the roadway. Here is rich meadow land, the intense green of which stands out in vivid contrast to the dull brown of the bare hills which form a background to the picture.

The present distinguished tenant of the Villa Latini can have no reason to complain of monotony of scenery. Southwest across the bay, and beyond the flat, low-lying land which forms one of the horns of the crescent-shaped bay, is the frontier of Greece and Turkey. Here, sentinel like, on the threshold of Greek Thessaly and Turkish Macedonia, mighty Olympus, the abode of the immortal gods, rears her snowcapped head. To-day its once sacred groves afford shelter to prowling Greek and Turkish banditti, who set equally at defiance the anger of Zeus and the decrees of man. When the south-east wind blows, and white horses racing up the gulf of Salonika dash themselves into the bay, then divine Olympus hides her face behind a veil of cloud. But more often is she in a genial mood. Then she shows herself to her devoted worshippers in the fulness of her unrivalled splendour.

A double line of sentries, who, in fine weather or foul weather, shelter in conical-topped white painted boxes, effectively cut off Abdul Hamid from any communication with the outside world. These quaint-looking sentry boxes are fitted with peephole windows, and from whatever point of the compass you attempt to approach the ex-Sultan's prison you may be sure that at least one pair of sharp questioning eyes are intently following your every movement. A guardhouse flanks the main road on the north of the villa, and there is a second and larger one, with accommodation for a half company of infantry, at the south-eastern corner of the high garden wall.

Cicero during one period of his exile lived in Salonika, and now, by some cruel irony of fate, local tradition describes his residence as having stood near to, if not actually on, the site of that of the fallen Turkish tyrant. There was recently some talk of a reactionary plot for the liberation of the imprisoned ex-Sultan, but it is difficult to see how his adherents hoped to smuggle him out of the villa grounds and through the double cordon of soldiery. The illustrious prisoner himself is little inclined to venture afloat on to that political stage where he played so eventful and sinister a rôle.

The Abdul Hamid of to-day is a lonely and unhappy man, with a troubled conscience and the haunting memories of an evil past to keep him company. He is often morose and petulant. The man who sent so many of his subjects to a violent and unmerited death now lives himself in constant dread of being done to death in secret. For this wretched captive the spectre of the assassin lurks everywhere, it is ever by his side. He fears death from the hands of those who are brought into daily contact with him, and whose duty it is to minister to his wants. At other times his feverish brain imagines that in the world beyond the walls of his prison revengeful men are plotting his end. They will assuredly, he fears, break into the prison some night or other and put him to death.

His passionate attachment to life is such as to overcome even his avarice. As a condition for the handing over to the Turkish National Exchequer of some of his hoarded wealth he, shortly after his captivity began, asked that his prison walls should be raised an additional 8 feet and that the main entrance, which was on the north side of the villa, should be bricked up. The Government acceded to his request, and the chief entrance to the house is now through a narrow gateway on the west side. He also stipulated for the placing of stout steel bolts on the inside of the doors of his suite of rooms. The keys of the doors of his rooms he is accustomed to carry with him always.

The other day, armed with a special permission from a high quarter, I went to the villa with authority to see the ex-Sultan should he be willing to receive me. The Imperial prisoner happened to be in one of his perverse moods. After cross-examining the officer who had announced me, he, as if suspecting some attempt on his life or some fresh raid on his purse, went and shut himself up in his room, declining to see any visitor.

One of his medical attendants, who was kind enough to furnish me with many particulars concerning the daily life of Abdul Hamid, assured me that on the whole he enjoys good physical health. It was quite untrue, he said, that the ex-Sultan had fallen a victim to the opium habit. He smoked heavily, not opium, but Turkish cigarettes.

Abdul has his gloomy moods and his periodic fits of intense mental depression. For over three months he has not once quitted his apartments to go down into the garden. His sedentary habits and his rooted aversion to physical exercise in any form are increasing his obesity and also his irritability. He is much stouter now than when he quitted Yildiz Kiosk.

22nd June,

The fallen autocrat is treated with the greatest deference by those who are charged with his safe keeping. He is subjected to no harsh or degrading régime. At the Villa Latini he lives in semi-regal state, and, to a very large extent, his will as expressed there is law. The Young Turks, whatever be their faults, have never forgotten that although Abdul Hamid was a merciless enough tyrant, he once ruled over the Osmanli people.

The military commandant at the Villa sees his prisoner, but at rare intervals, and then only when either summoned by the ex-Sultan himself or charged with the conveyance of some instructions by the Government or the local military authorities. Formerly, during the day armed sentries patrolled within the grounds of the vil'a, but these have now been removed lest their presence should prove irksome to the Royal captive, were he to venture forth into the garden in quest of sunshine and fresh air.

Abdul has two regular medical attendants—military doctors attached to the Salonika garrison. One or other of these goes to the Villa thrice weekly, and, sending in his card, inquires if the ex-Sultan has need of his services. It occasionally happens that the deposed ruler, suffering from some slight indisposition, sends for the doctor, and that on the latter's arrival, Abdul, being in one of his petulant moods, refuses to see him. Not very long ago he urgently summoned his medical attendant late at night, and then kept him waiting two hours before he would consent to receive him.

The post of physician to the Imperial inmate of the Villa Latini is one that calls for the exercise of great tact, forbearance, and patience. The physician must also have faith in the prophylactic qualities of his own physic, for he is often called upon to take a preliminary dose of it in the presence of his patient.

Now and again the routine is varied, and Abdul selects one of the domestics—for preference, the principal valet—on whom he bestows the thankless post of medicine-taster-in-chief. One day, not long since, the doctor in attendance prescribed for the ex-Sultan a mixture of which quinine formed part. A trial dose was duly administered to the valet. He was new to the duty, the stuff was bitter, and in swallowing it the medicine-taster made a wry face.

That grimace was enough. Abdul, with a craftiness worthy of other days, seized the bottle and poured away the contents. Frequently that day he sent to inquire if the medicine-taster was still alive. Greatly to his astonishment, the valet, hearty and well and feeling none the worse for his experience, was presented for his inspection on the following morning.

He is equally exacting regarding his food. The ordeal of tasting is exclusively reserved for the chief cook. The dethroned Padishah has a marked fondness for certain Turkish dishes prepared with rice and finely chopped meat. When a dish is brought to the ex-Sultan's table, the chief cook accompanies it, and stands at attention, like a soldier awaiting orders. Abdul, armed with a large spoon, will hover indecisively over the dish for a second or two. Then, having selected his point of attack, he will plunge the spoon into the heart of the steaming hot mass, and, withdrawing it filled, hand the spoon to the cook. If that functionary should evince any hesitation in sampling the food, the dish is at once rejected by the suspicious Abdul.

The living apartments are on the first floor, and the ex-Ruler of Turkey passes his time between his bedroom and a suite of two rooms which adjoin it. One is a study, in which are several hundred volumes, chiefly Turkish. A second serves as a combined sitting and smoking room. Here it is that the ex-Sultan passes entire days. He sits curled up on a divan smoking or else seeking mental solace from the perusal of the work of some Turkish writer. He is not allowed access to current literature, Turkish or foreign, whether in the shape of books, magazines, or newspapers, hence he is a complete stranger to contemporary events, national as well as international. Indeed, never once since his incarceration has he expressed any wish to learn what men and nations were doing and how fared that busy world from which he has now been shut off for three years.

About six months ago he devoted several hours daily to writing, presumably the preparing of his memoirs. But, repenting of his industry, he one day tore up his manuscript, and that has been the end of his literary efforts. Abdul Hamid in captivity pays but little attention to his personal appearance. When not attired in an old dressing gown he favours a much-worn frock-coat, slippers, and the orthodox fez or turboosh. Collar and tie he never wears nowadays.

Eighteen months ago, at his own request, he was supplied with a small tool chest—it was of the kind one would present to a boy of 14. With this rude equipment he has built two miniature mosques, a third is uncompleted. He has also contrived to carve roughly 10 or 12 toy soldiers. The ex-Sultan, however, lacks the power of concentration and is unable to devote himself for any length of time to any task, hobby, or distraction.

At night he omits no precaution that could possibly ensure his personal safety. On retiring to bed he locks his bedroom door so that none can enter while he is asleep. Sometimes he will insist on his

bed being removed from corner to corner of the sleeping apartment. Occasionally he will sleep on the divan in the sitting room so that it is difficult for his attendants to say beforehand with any degree of certainty where the terror-haunted man will attempt to seek repose. Once after his valet had placed his bed in an indicated part of the sleeping apartment, the prisoner himself, after the valet's departure, removed it unaided to another corner of the room.

All the servants at the villa are Turks enjoying the full confidence of the party in power. They are accustomed to the eccentricities of the old man, and gratify his whims as far as possible. So, a prey to never-ceasing apprehension, the once mighty Caliph thus passes the few remaining years of his existence. Will the thunder of Italian cannon greet his ears some morning, emphasising the peril which menaces not so much himself as Turkey and her people? One wonders!—*Daily Chronicle*.

The Emancipation of Turkish Women.

The author of an article, entitled "The Girl Graduate in Turkey," which appeared recently in the *Lady*, gives a glowing account of the work done by the American College for Girls at Constantinople, and takes a quite hopeful view of the future for the women of Turkey.

It must be said, to the credit of the new régime, that, in addition to permitting philanthropic foreigners, without hampering and harassing them, to carry the light of emancipation to the Turkish fair sex, it is trying to evolve an educational system which will provide adequate facilities for the girls to acquire knowledge. During the last few years many schools especially and exclusively designed for girls have been established, and many more are being built. An effort is being made to train teachers to staff these new academies and text-books are being compiled along modern lines.

The work of emancipation proceeds slowly. In some towns any man seen talking with a Moslem woman in public renders himself liable to a fine, while the woman must submit to be bastinadoed!

However such stringent measures are more than offset by the fact that the conscience of Islam is slowly being quickened, and that it has commenced to feel the sting of shame at the low state of Moslem women. The men followers of the Prophet are beginning to believe and declare that their women are not being treated as well as Muhammad intended them to be. They are searching the Koran for proof of this assertion, and are showing by the great Teacher's own words that he expected woman to have a much higher status than is given in Islam to-day. They quote texts to prove that Muhammad really prohibited plurality of wives, and they expatiate on the fact that their religion gave to women at its promulgation property and divorce rights that they have enjoyed through the centuries.

Turkey, more than any other Moslem country, shows the action of this Islamic revival. The Sheik-ul-Islam, whose position corresponds with that of the Primate here, has unhesitatingly spoken in favour of feminine progress. The present Sultan, too, is sympathetic towards the movement.—*The Near East*.

Aviation in Turkey.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "NEAR EAST."

SIR, The successful flight of a British pilot on the Sultan's Accession Day, when a Repp monoplane soared 1,400 metres above the highest point of Pera, must be regarded as the commencement of a new era in Ottoman annals. For under the Hamidian régime, which is not so long ago, the idea of anyone defying the laws of terrestrial gravitation was religiously tabooed and it is on record that an Armenian who suggested making an ascent in a balloon was watched by the spies of Yildiz for weeks, and was obliged by superior order to renounce his intention. So, if we except the ludicrous feat of a Frenchman who, in the time of Abdul Aziz, fell from a tree-top in an endeavour to fly a hawk-like machine, one may safely say that since the days of Daedalus of Crete, the world's first airman, the noble art of aviation was till quite recently unknown in Turkey, and Blériot's disaster on the Champ de Mars here three years ago was not calculated to inspire the stolid Turk with much confidence in the practical possibilities of the invention.

The present war, however, in which the strategical advantages of the aeroplane on the Italian side have been demonstrated, has had the effect of waking the Turkish official world to the needs of the day and public and private interest in the art has been aroused. The War Office, which is the most progressive of all the State Departments, has created a special aviation section, under the superintendence of Lieutenant-Colonel Sureya Bey, son of an ex-Minister of War, in order to promote the science in the army.

I am not at liberty to give the names of the firms whose tenders have been accepted by the Government, but it is satisfactory to note that already five machines have been ordered, including that which flew last Saturday.

Technically speaking, the Constantinople field, starting from the San Stefano base, is unsatisfactory, owing to the variable atmospheric conditions, but with the gradual extension of the experiments better sites will be chosen. A trial of the hydroplane would also be of interest on the land-locked waters of the Marmora, which are generally calm.

L. MORRON.

Constantinople, 3rd May 1913

Ottoman Finance.

We TAKE the following extract from the review of M. A. Heidborn's book, "Droit Public et Administratif De l'Empire Ottoman," which recently appeared in the *Times Literary Supplement*:—

To one who has had experience of the Ministry of Finance for over thirty years the very aspect of this Department shows the change that has come over the scene. Thirty years ago the Ministry of Finance was a crowded, noisy, and dilapidated building where soldiers, pensioners, civil functionaries, contractors, foreign claimants, Embassy and Consular dragomans, women with their children, itinerant lemonade sellers, biscuit sellers, water carriers, beggar dogs, and pigeons were all mixed up in inextricable confusion. The public struggled, shouted, hustled and fought their way through the corridors. In the Departments fifties or hundreds of unpaid clerks sat round in frowsy arm-chairs, smoking, drowsing and talking, waiting for the moment when they could with decency slink away to catch their Bosphorus steamer, and only deigning to put pen to paper when the interested party was prepared to pay. The writer has seen hundreds, nay, thousands, of women thronging the steps and corridors of the building shrieking at the top of their voices and holding out long poles with muslin bags at the end to some "gurkhet" or doorway in the hope of receiving the tenth part of payments due for the last ten or fifteen years. The writer has seen these same women abusing and hounding foreign creditors, perhaps more fortunate in their request for payment than the poor Turkish applicants, and has seen them besiege the Minister in his room, beat him and break his carriage windows, in spite of several battalions of rough Turkish soldiers, who could not be induced to take strong measures against the weaker sex. When Lord Goschen was Ambassador to Constantinople he was once the interested spectator of a scene of this kind. It must have been an entirely new experience for a Chancellor of the Exchequer fresh from Downing Street. Not a sign of all this is left. The Ministry of Finance to-day is a quiet and dignified a Department as could be found in Europe. Everything runs smoothly and regularly. All the Departments have been reorganized, the regularly paid clerks all know their duty, and the Minister is no longer only a mere paymaster appearing on pay day, but a serious and overworked official, just as capable and efficient as the Minister of any other country in Europe.

As to the framing of the Budget and the financial policy of the country, a recent report of the British Delegate on the Ottoman Debt Council may be quoted:—

Since the advent to power of the constitutional Government it is possible to know exactly how the receipts are applied. There is no attempt at concealment. . . . In former years the Minister of Finance were cyphers. They had absolutely no control, and were mere paymasters. Whenever they had any available cash it was immediately "commandeered", and with or without their knowledge and consent, applied to the most pressing creditors. Sometimes it was the officials or the troops who got a month's pay, sometimes it was a persistent contractor who had to be satisfied, sometimes a foreign Embassy on behalf of a foreign creditor, and often the Palace itself which demanded immediate payment. The whole financial situation was wrapped in the greatest obscurity, not to say secrecy, and practically none knew how the money was expended, and none cared as long as discontent could be bought off, and funds were forthcoming for the Court and its favourites. . . . In two years the financial administration has been practically reorganized from top to bottom. Budgets, which represent real and not imaginary and fictitious figures, are drafted with absolute certainty, which, as Monsieur Laurent has said, might set an example to States long accustomed to financial regularity. These are openly discussed and approved by the Chamber of Deputies, and there is no longer secrecy or obscurity. The expenditure is checked and audited in accordance with a law voted by the Chamber.

All this as since the Constitution; and, whatever faults may be attributed to the Young Turks, credit must be given to them for their attempt, in spite of overwhelming difficulties, to put things straight as regards their financial administration.

The Closing of the Dardanelles.

To THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

Sir,—Now that the pressure upon your space due to the clash of opposing views of domestic politics is likely to be for the moment relaxed, you may, perhaps, not think it inopportune that attention

should be recalled to a question of permanent international interest raised by the recent action of the Turkish Government in closing the Dardanelles to even commercial traffic.

I cordially agree, as would, I suppose, most people, with your leading article of some weeks since in deprecating any crude application to the case of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus of *dicta* with reference to freedom of passage through straits connecting two open seas. It would, indeed, be straining what may be taken to be a general principle of international law to say that Turkey is by it prohibited from protecting her threatened capital by temporarily closing the Straits.

A good deal of vague reference has, however, been made in the discussions which have taken place upon the subject to "Treaties" under which it seems to be thought that trading ships enjoy, under all circumstances, rights of free navigation through the Straits in question which they would not have possessed otherwise. I should like, therefore, with your permission, to state what seem to be the relevant Treaty provisions upon the subject, whether between the Powers constituting the European Concert collectively, or between Russia and Turkey as individual Powers.

As to what may be described as the "European" Treaties, it is necessary, once for all, to put aside as irrelevant Article 10 of the Treaty of Paris of 1856 and its annexed Convention, Article 2 of the Treaty of London of 1871, and the confirmatory Article 63 of the Treaty of Berlin of 1878. These articles have exclusive reference to the "ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire," under which, so long as the Porte is at peace, no foreign ships of war are to be admitted into the Straits. There are, however, two articles, still in force, of these "European" treaties which may seem to bear upon the present inquiry. By Article 12 of the Treaty of Paris —

Free from any impediment, the commerce in the ports and waters of the Black Sea shall be subject only to regulations of health, Customs, and police, framed in a spirit favourable to the development of commercial transactions.

And by Article 3 of the Treaty of London —

The Black Sea remains open, as heretofore, to the mercantile marine of all nations.

It is submitted that these provisions relate solely to commerce carried on by vessels already within the Black Sea, and contain no covenant for an unrestricted right of access to that sea.

As between Russia and Turkey individually, Treaties which are still in force purport, no doubt, to give to the former a stronger claim to free passage through the Straits for her mercantile marine than that which can be supposed to be enjoyed by other Powers. By Article 7, for instance, of the Treaty of Adrianople of 1829, the Porte recognizes and declares the passage of the "Canal de Constantinople," and of the Strait of Dardanelles, to be entirely free and open to Russian merchant vessels, and goes on to extend the same privilege to the merchant vessels of all Powers at peace with Turkey. Article 24 of the Treaty of San Stefano is still more explicit, providing that "the Bosphorus and Dardanelles shall remain open in time of war as in time of peace to the merchant vessels of neutral States arriving from or bound to Russian ports." The rest of the article contains a promise by the Porte never henceforth to establish a "lictitious blockade," at variance with the spirit of the Declaration of Paris, meaning thereby such a blockade of ports on the Black Sea as had been enforced by Turkish ships of war stationed at the entrance to the Bosphorus.

It may well be doubted whether these articles containing concessions extorted from Turkey at the end of wars in which she had been defeated, ought not, like so many other provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano, to have been abrogated by the Treaty of Berlin. They are of such a character that, in the struggle for existence, Turkey can hardly be blamed for disregarding them. As was said long ago, *Ius commerciorum aequum est, at hoc acquisit, tuenda salutis.* The imperious necessities of self-preservation were recognized both by Lord Morley and by Lord Lansdowne in the debate which took place on 3rd May, although Lord Lansdowne intimated that the real question, which will have to be considered sooner or later, is the extent to which a belligerent Power, controlling narrow waters which form a great trade avenue for the commerce of the world, is justified in entirely closing such an avenue in order to facilitate the hostile operations in which the Power finds itself involved. It is, I think, clear that the solution of a question at once so novel and so delicate must be undertaken, not by any one Power, but by the Concert of Europe, or of the civilized world, which must devise some guarantee for the safety of any littoral Power which would be called upon in the general interest to restrict its measures of self-defence. In the meantime, we may surely say that the case is provided for neither by established international law nor by "European" Treaties; and, further, that the Treaties between Russia and Turkey, which do provide for it, are not such as it is desirable to perpetuate.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

PROFESSOR T. E. HOLLAND.

OXFORD, 22nd May.

WAR CARTOONS.

The "Times of India" says :—

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اسلامیہ ہائی اسکول اتاؤہ کے مختصر حالات

اسلامیہ ہائی اسکول اتاؤہ ۲۲ سال سے جاری ہے اور مندوستان کے مسلمانوں میں کافی ایک ناصل اور شہرت حاصل کر رہا ہے۔ اسلامیہ ہائی اسکول اتاؤہ میں اسکول لیونٹ تک تعلیم مولیٰ ہے اور اسپیشل کلاس بھی موجود ہے۔ علاوہ اکبریزی کے مذہبی تعلیم اور بالخصوص ترجمہ قرآن شریف کی تعلیم مرا ایک طالب علم کے لئے لازمی ہے۔ اسلامیہ ہائی اسکول اتاؤہ کا اپنا عظیم المکان اور خوبصورت مکان بلکہ یہ لبکن بوجہ لرقی اسکول کے توسعی عمارت کی ضرورت اور حقیقی جالی ہے۔ اسلامیہ ہائی اسکول اتاؤہ کے ساتھ ایک بورڈ لک موس بھی ہے جو ان مندوستان کے مر صوبے کے دو سو سے زیادہ بورڈر دہنے میں جتنی تعلیم و تربیت کا پورا نظام ہے اور ذیرہ سو لے فریب شہر کے طلبہ میں۔ اسلامیہ ہائی اسکول اتاؤہ میں ایک اپریسٹ اعلیٰ درجہ کا کتب خانہ ہے جس میں دو مزار سے زیادہ الکالجیزی کی اور ڈھائیں ہزار سے زیادہ عربی ناشری و آردو کی عمدہ اور اعلیٰ درجہ کی کتابیں ہر علم کی موجودہ میں اور طلبہ میں کتب بھی کامڈاک پہنچا کیا جاتا ہے۔ اسلامیہ ہائی اسکول اتاؤہ میں عدود مطبوعہ کتابوں کے ایک مزار کے فریب عربی ناشری کی نیا سوچ پرالی خوش خط قلم کتابیں سلطین مغلیہ کے فرا میں اور عمدہ اور لا در خوش خطی کی تعلیمیں موجودہ میں۔ اسلامیہ ہائی اسکول اتاؤہ میں طلبہ کے وزرائی کہیلوں کا نظام موجود ہے۔

اسلامیہ ہائی اسکول اتاؤہ کے طلبہ کو اکبریزی اور اردو اگریزی اور اسماں اور ممالک اسلامیہ کے عربی فارسی اردو اور اکبریزی اخبارات آتے ہیں۔ اسلامیہ ہائی اسکول اتاؤہ میں صرف تذكرة ملازمین کا لحاظ ایک مزار روزیہ ملازمین کا لحاظ ہے۔ اسلامیہ ہائی اسکول اتاؤہ میں ڈاکٹر سوروریہ ما مزار غریب طلبہ کو بطور احمداء کے وظیفہ دیا جاتا ہے۔ اسلامیہ ہائی اسکول اتاؤہ کے تمام مصارف صرف قوم کے متفرق ہنہوں سے ہوئے ہوتے ہیں۔ اسلامیہ ہائی اسکول اتاؤہ میں توسعی بورڈ لک موس کی سخت ضرورت ہے۔ اگر بورڈ لک موس میں جگہ مو تو مسلمان طلبہ کی تعداد ہر جگہ سے زیادہ ہو سکتی ہے۔ اسلامیہ ہائی اسکول اتاؤہ کے بورڈ لک موس کا لحاظ بہت لیل ہے یعنی صرف آئندہ روزیہ ما مزار میں تمام مصارف بورڈ لک موس کے میں۔ اسلامیہ ہائی اسکول اتاؤہ کے طلبہ کے علاج کے لئے ایک استثنی سول سرجن اور کمپوندر کو الائس ملتا ہے اور بھروسہ طبیب دہلي ہے سلہ یافتہ طبیب مستقل ملازم میں۔

تہر

الحمد لله رب العالمين بشير الدين منصور اسلامیہ ہائی اسکول اتاؤہ

بابت ماہ جون سنه ۱۹۱۲



مومس ہمارا کارو، تو سال میں ایک
بھی بار ہوتا ہے۔ لیکن مبارکہ^۱
ماہواری جدید ضمیمہ سال بھر میں
بارہ صرفہ ٹائیٹ ہر کروپ اپنا گفت لکھے
میں۔ چنانچہ حصہ معمول ٹازہ
بیتازہ ضمیمہ باب ماء جون سلے
۱۹۱۲ بفرض ضمیمہ طبع شائعین
گراموفون پیش کیا جاتا ہے۔ اور
 واضح رہے کہ یہ سال حال کی آخری
خشامی کے اعلیٰ ترین رکاوے وہ کا
لچوڑ میں جنہیں ذہل کے مشہور اور
مقبول کے والوں نے عجیب و غریب
الغاز کیمیا تھیں تباہ کیا ہے۔ بعلو دو طرفہ
رکارہ ۱۰۔ الج والہ جن میں چیدہ
چھوڑ، اور مخفیہ، کالے میں ۶۔
گریبوں کے کالے میں۔ لیکن فی
رکاوے تین روپیہ۔ اس کے علاوہ اور
کالے بھی اپنے میرے صورجنہ میں۔
(۱) (محیمہ حسینی ماسٹر اور)
ہا (مولیم) کوئی جو اس سے والف
لہن! یہ اپنے طرز کا ایک میں کالے
والا ہے جیسا کہ اچواپ کاٹے ریسمی
ہا (مولیم) بھی بھاٹا ہے۔ اس کے
رکارہ تو یہ کبھی بیویوں ملکا ہے۔
(۲) (سروج الدین) ۴۰ دہی فردیس
سروج الدین میں جن کوئی مرسیقی میں
کمال حاصل ہے اس کے کالے کی اسی^۲
داد نہیں دے سکتا۔
(۳) (پھارا صاحب) ان کا کالا تمام
اطرافیہ ملہوستان میں مقبول ہے۔
(۴) (سراب جی) الفرید کمہنی
کے سرواب جن ایک بناہر ایکر میں۔
جوں ہے ۴۰ بھوپالیں ہے ان کے کالے
میں غصب کی کے، دادیوں اور بیٹا کی
غیریکی موکی ہے۔ اور جزب مراقب
تو ان پر قبول ہار گیا ہے۔
(۵) (سراب جی) دہیوں ۴۰ رکارہ
اچھوٹی اندھاڑ سے سراب جی دہیوں
لے بنایا ہے۔ مرا الیہ حاضر جو اپنے
اور صوزوں پہنچیاں سننے میں کے قابل میں۔
(۶) (تعلیم حسین لکھنؤی) لکھنؤی
الذی بھر میں ان کے بہتر کوئی لہن بھا
سکتا اور کمال یہ ۵ کوچھ و مکاہم اعلوم
ہوئی ہے کوئی خوش بالعالم کیلئے اڑاہا۔

۱۔ ۲۔ ۳۔ ۴۔ ۵۔ ۶۔

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Vol. 3. Single Copy
No. 26. Anna 4.

Calcutta : Saturday, June 29, 1912.

Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1

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The Week.

Labour Unrest.

A MEETING of railway men at Stratford which expected an order to strike in support of the dockers, in accordance with the resolution passed on the 24th instant, was surprised by the leader appealing to the meeting not to strike. They said their attitude was the result of an interview they had had with Mr. Burch yesterday, when a settlement of the dockers' strike was foreshadowed. Mr. Ben Tillett upbraided the railwaymen for "cowardice." He said the dockers would nevertheless continue the strike for a month, if necessary; it would be murder if it lasted longer. A Manifesto published by the Executive of the amalgamated railwaymen reminds members that they are bound to observe the contract with the companies.

Three million bushels of grain are held up in Australia owing to the London strike. Vessels are refusing to take grain as cargo.

The Strike Committee, after an exchange of views with other ports, has decided to recommend the resumption of work when the Arbitration Commission meets.

India Bill.

The House of Lords passed the third reading of the Government of India Bill on the 24th June.

Lord Curzon said he was informed by an expert that if the historical pictures in Government House, Calcutta, were removed to Delhi,

the climate was such that they would be doomed to destruction. His Lordship severely criticised paragraph 3 of the Government of India's despatch, and called attention to the conflicting interpretations thereof given by Lord Crewe and Mr. Montagu. It was significant that it was the latter's view which was taken in India.

Lord Crewe said that he first desired to remove a misconception in India arising from the proviso (a) in Clause One, which was interpreted as placing the Governor of Bengal in a position inferior to the Governors of Bombay and Madras. He stated categorically that such was not the case. "We have been at great pains to secure equality in every way. The sole power reserved is, that until a change is made with reference to the High Court in Calcutta, the Viceroy will continue to appoint acting judges of the High Court, which now includes Behar, and for that reason it was deemed advisable that the appointments should be made by the Governor-General and not by the Governor of Bengal. That is the sole effect of the proviso." Lord Crewe stated with reference to the new city of Delhi, that the site had been provisionally fixed as follows.—Drawing a line about south-west by west from the Jumna Musjid, the main Government buildings and Government House will be on a high ground with a park of about a thousand yards between them and the walls of Delhi. Some buildings will be on the edge of the park. Government House will be on a higher ground further back as it is at present. It is intended that the site of the camp shall not be utilised. Provision will be made for a Military Cantonment. There is no reason to suppose that it will be of very extravagant size. Regarding the argument that the Government of India ought to have remained in Calcutta till the new Delhi was ready, Lord Crewe recalled the desirability of avoiding confusion of duties and responsibilities between the Government of India and the Governor of Bengal under more difficult conditions than hitherto. In his view there was also a further reason for the change in the character of the reception the inhabitants of Calcutta had given to their proposals.

As regards the pictures, though he would gladly listen to any representations, he would think that the dry clear atmosphere of Delhi would be better for them than the atmosphere of Calcutta. With regard to Lord Curzon's criticisms of the despatch he would venture to say that if he could collect the various allusions to the subject in the speeches of Viceroys and Secretaries of State, "We would often find expression of hopes, that with the growth of education and sense of responsibility, more influence and actual power might be placed in the hands of Local Governments and bodies than is possible at present. There is a certain political school in India of Indians altogether free from the taint of disloyalty, who, while agreeing that India must remain under British rule, look forward to something approaching the self-government enjoyed by the Dominions. I say quite frankly I see no future for India on those lines. I think the experiment is an impossible one to try. Consequently it is my duty standing here as Secretary of State for India to repudiate altogether that reading of the Despatch which implies anything of the kind, or that it is the hope or goal of the policy of His Majesty's ministers or the present Government of India."

"I cannot put the matter more forcibly. I do not complain that some men hold this ideal which is a revolutionary one, though not in an odious sense, of the desire to break up the British Empire but I can only say that I hold it in no sense myself."

29th June.

Lord Crewe continued : " I do think it is our duty to encourage every reasonable and possible want or desire on the part of the inhabitants of India to participate in the further management of their own affairs. I am sure Lord Curzon never attempted to discourage the aspirations of the Indian people for greater opportunities of work in the public services."

Lord Cromer said that he welcomed the statement, that whatever concessions were made in future there was no intention to release our paramount hold on India.

Lord Curzon said that they now had a perfectly clear statement from the Secretary of State. It was a most emphatic and most unmistakeable repudiation of the interpretation placed on a sentence in the Despatch in question.

In the House of Lords on the 25th June Royal Assent to the Government of India Bill was announced.

China.

Reuter wired from Peking :—The mixed Brigade at Mukden mutinied on the 20th June. Shooting continued throughout the night and several banks and jewellers' shops were looted and burned and hundreds of houses destroyed. The lives and property of foreigners were scrupulously respected. Women and children took refuge in the British Consulate. All is quiet to-day but the shops are closed. Reuter wired from Hongkong. A detachment of the 170th Baluchis has proceeded to Canton in anticipation of trouble there.

Reuter wired from Paris.—The Chinese Loan Agreement has been accepted by the Russian delegate subject to the approval of his Government. The latter has acquiesced with a slight addition which all the delegates have accepted except the American, who has referred to his Government. The matter is thus settled subject to confirmation by Washington. Reuter wired from Paris.—The Chinese Loan Agreement has been signed. There will be further meetings of the "Six-Power" bankers to discuss future arrangements as necessity arises. Further conversations are also probable with Pekin to ascertain the views and requirements of China. Although as a general principle each Power will have to find its share of the loan in its own market each has a right under certain conditions to find a part abroad.

The *Times* in an article upon the condition of China and the proposed loan asks what can be the value of any safeguards for the legitimate expenditure of the loan when the authority of the Central Government is inadequate to enforce the most solemn treaty obligations upon the provinces. The *Times* deprecates the hasty hazarding of British money on the mere chance that things may ultimately come right. " Still less," it says, " do we wish to see British financial interests further involved at the risk of finding ourselves ultimately drawn into active intervention for their protection."

Reuter learns that as a result of the care taken to eliminate everything of a political character, the Chinese Loan Agreement contains no reference to the special interests of Russia and China, but it cannot be ascertained whether the reservations of Russia and Japan in this respect are still maintained or whether they have been withdrawn. While the general idea is to lend sixty millions sterling, the groups are in no way bound to the sum. When, how and to what extent advances will be made will depend upon how far, in the opinion of the bankers, they are warranted by the situation in China. In any case the loan will probably be spread over a period of five years.

The Washington State Department learns that China has rejected the "Six-Power" Loan probably owing to the proposed foreign supervision of expenditure.

Tibet.

In the House of Commons Mr. Montagu replying to Sir J. D. Rees, who asked whether it was proposed to adopt measures to bring the present unsatisfactory state of affairs in Tibet to a conclusion, stated that Government did not propose to take any steps of the kind suggested. There had been no change in the policy of His Majesty's Government with regard to Tibet.

The Dalai Lama left Kallmpong at a quarter-to-five on the morning of the 24th June in his palanquin, draped in yellow. The start was made at 3 o'clock. The procession consisted of Lamas and Tibetan laymen, all mounted and in a variety of costumes. A mounted Lama, a band of kettle-drums, and other musical instruments preceded the chair. The drums only were beaten owing to the inclemency of the weather. There were several Europeans assembled at his house and remained till they had wished him *bon voyage*. At his departure there was a regular carnival. All his closely attached ministers left with him. A police escort formed a guard-of-honour and will, it is said, accompany him to the frontier. The Dalai Lama will make all haste for Chumbi and stay there three days, and stop for a similar period at Pharijung, then proceeding to Khangma, and taking a short cut for Tsakoolinkha, one mile from Lhasa. One hundred mounted infantry have reached Chumba and one hundred more soldiers have reached Gyantse. They will meet the Dalai Lama at Langtang and Khangma respectively.

The tribes to the westward of Yalung Kiang on the Tibetan border have revolted. Hsiangheng has surrendered to the Tibetans who have obtained 150 rifles and twenty thousand cartridges, in exchange for provisions. The Chinese expedition has halted at Tachienlu and is awaiting reinforcements.

Chinese Opium.

In the House of Commons Sir J. D. Rees asked a question with reference to Chinese illegal prohibition of Indian opium trade.

Mr. F. D. Achund replied that the Government had taken the most serious view of the situation created, and Sir John Jordan, British Minister in Peking, was making strong representations to the Chinese Government whose inability to enforce the observance of recognised Treaty obligations both in this and other matters in the provinces, must, so long as is continued, delay the recognition of the new Government.

Afghanistan.

News received in the Kurram valley confirms the report from Kabul that the Khost rebellion is at an end. A small contingent of Ghilzais who joined the Mangals are said to have returned to their own villages and the local tribesmen have sent in their Jirgas to discuss matters with the Afghan Military authorities. A new Governor has apparently not yet been appointed and military officers are engaged in making a settlement.

Sanitation in the U. P.

The United Provinces Government have framed rules for the constitution and functions of the Provincial Sanitary Board. The Board will consist of nine members. The senior officer of the Civil Service (President) and the Chief Engineer, Public Works Department, Buildings and Roads Branch, the Secretary to the Government in the Financial Department, Secretary to the Government in the Judicial Department, the Sanitary Commissioner, the Sanitary Engineer and three non-official members, of whom two will be Indians appointed by the Government for a term of three years. The Board will give advice to the heads of Government Departments, Commissioners of divisions and others, and will be central and the controlling authority over all matters of sanitation. It will further assist local authorities in every way in matters falling within its province, and also assist these bodies with grants-in-aid of sanitary work from funds placed at its disposal by the Government.

The New Delhi.

Two Delhi experts have drawn up a comprehensive "lay-out" plan of the New Capital. It is understood that the plan has been accepted. A small local Government will now be created at Delhi and preparation of the projects will be taken in hand. The experts are being ably assisted by the officers of the Indian Public Works Department.

In view of the fact that the permanent site for the new capital has been fixed it is quite probable that the extent of the temporary works at Delhi will be substantially reduced and this question is engaging the attention of the Government of India and the Secretary of State. It may be recalled that in the recent debate on the Government of India Bill special reference was made to the expenditure on temporary Delhi. Colonel Cole is shortly expected in Simla.

In the House of Commons on the 25th June, Mr. Montagu, replying to Captain Murray, said that the Delhi town-planning experts were submitting a preliminary report on their return to England shortly. They would again visit India in the winter.



Anecdote.

M. MASPERO, the famous French Egyptologist, tells in some reminiscences of an amusing experience which befell him on one occasion when bringing an Egyptian mummy to Europe. It was the mummy of a king, and an important contribution to archaeology, and M. Maspero fancied that the French Custom House officers would not insist too rigidly upon payment of duty. The first of these functionaries whom he encountered, however, insisted upon doing his full duty. He opened the box which contained the mummy, and exclaimed—

" Halloa, what have we here?"

" A Pharaoh—a genuine Pharaoh of the sixth dynasty" said the scientist.

" A—a Pharaoh?" said the puzzled officer. " I don't seem to remember what the duty on Pharaohs is."

He set to work to look up "Pharaohs" in his tariff schedule but found no such article entered in his list.

" This importation," said the officer, finally, " does not seem to be provided for under the statutes. We shall have to follow our usual rule in such cases, and class it with the highest-taxed article of the kind that it belongs to. I shall classify your Pharaoh as dried fish."

TETE À TETE



The fairest exponent, generally, of the views of the English middle classes, and although somewhat Toryish in "Another Whale" politics, *Punch* has dealt far more fairly with the occurrences in Tripoli and Persia than the Liberal Foreign Secretary, not to mention the *Thunderer* of Printing House Square. One of its first cartoons about the Turco-Italian war depicted the utter amazement of an Italian officer in Tripoli on reading of a war in China "with battles". Many months have passed since then and evidently *Punch* is even more disgusted to-day with the methods of Italian warriors. After failing to effect anything in Tripoli, and giving up the attempt to force the Dardanelles after the loss of one battleship sunk and some others damaged, when Italy raided some of the tiny Turkish islands in the Aegean, *Punch* could not repress its disgust any longer, and Raven Hill's excellent cartoon, entitled "Autolycus in the Aegean," was published in the issue of 22nd May last. Autolycus was, of course, the craftiest of thieves who stole the flocks of his neighbours and changed their marks, or, in other words, "annexed" them. The caricaturist depicted an Italian fisherman standing on the Aegean at a depth of some six or seven inches. A small basket is slung across his shoulder and contains some small fish marked Rhodes *et cetera*. He holds aloft in one hand a trident which has pierced through a tiny little fish, while the other hand holds a trumpet through which the triumphant "Snapper-up of Unconsidered Trifles" blows the message, "Another Whale! Let 'em know in Rome!" On the shore near by a sleek Turk squat under the Crescent flag, shrugging his shoulders à la française, with a distinctly merry smile spreading all over his features. It seems that these little fishes are a deaderatum for the hungry populace of Rome which had been promised a land flowing with milk and honey in a few week's military promenade. About a fortnight ago the Italian Autolycus turned his attention from the Aegean once more to Tripoli, and caught "another whale"—on land! That was the battle of Zanzur. Baron Reuter, the accomplice after the fact of the new Autolycus, wired—of course, "from Rome"—that "the Italians after prolonged inactivity have resumed offence in Tripoli." The good Baron did not specify the offence, and it is just possible that in wiring of the offence that was resumed in Tripoli "after prolonged inactivity," he was only alluding to the breach of the commandment, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour." Anyhow, the Baron assisted him in "seizing" Zanzur. But the writers of the official Italian despatch were evidently a little out of practice, and while "defeating" the Turks and "storming the heights with bayonets," they contented themselves merely with the "capture of the edge of the oasis." As for the losses, apparently they couldn't make up their minds at such short notice, and left the dimensions of the "whale" to that redoubtable commander—who will live in history as long as Nero-General Caneva. Shortly afterwards, that hero of the holocaust of last October, killed a thousand Turks and Arabs and wounded an "enormous number." And his own bill of cost for all this slaughter was a paltry 31 killed and 263 wounded. At this rate there shouldn't have been many Turks and Arabs left to dispute the "annexation"; yet only four days later, the Turks and Arabs "surprised the Italians at Homs" on the 12th instant. But the sequel was evidently more surprising than the surprise itself, for the Baron continues—"from Rome"—that thereupon "the Italians made counter-attacks on their flanks and rear with all available force, cutting the Turks into two bodies, routing one and surrounding and annihilating the other at the oasis." General Caneva was a trifle less bloodthirsty on this occasion, for only 421 bodies were found, though "there were many other Turkish dead on the line of flight." The bill of cost did not show much originality, for the Italian killed were again 31; but a variation was made by reducing the wounded to 59, only. Here indeed was a lie circumstantial, and it would have taken in anybody, were it not for the fact that we have all supped full of lies for the last nine months. However, to reassure the pes-

simistic among our readers we cabled to Constantinople and once more sought the assistance of Field-Marshal Mahmoud Shevket Pasha, requesting His Excellency to cable to us the details of these engagements at our cost. Evidently the War Minister—who has always seen to it that no exaggerated account of Turkish successes and no extenuation of Turkish reverses should be issued from the War Office—waited till he had received detailed despatches from the field before replying to our cable. But as it is, and the following account which we have been able to obtain from a somewhat mutilated telegram, would show how abominably the raiders of Tripoli have lied this time. As Prince Hal said to Falstaff, "Mark, now, how a plain tale shall put you down."

"WAR OFFICE, Constantinople, June 24.

"In reply to your telegram of 12th June, the Italians attacked our troops defending Zanzur with a force composed of six batteries of artillery and two and a half divisions of troops. In addition they were supported by the guns of the fleet. The Italian forces were five times as numerous as our own. The battle lasted seven hours continuously. Our position being rendered unfavorable by a lateral bombardment from the fleet, the engagement ended by our withdrawal in order to avoid useless loss of life. In spite of the enemy's extreme superiority and numerous hand to hand encounters, our troops held the position by heroic resistance, and retired only after the order had been given, with one hundred and fifty killed and some three hundred wounded. The enemy's losses were more than a thousand killed. On the morning of 12th June our forces at Homs attacked the enemy's fortifications from two sides. On the ruins of the fortifications of Lebda there were eight series of barbed wire, but in spite of them the attack was pushed on, notwithstanding mines, and gun, rifle and machine gun firing and other obstacles. None of the defenders escaped. Several flags and a very large quantity of arms and military stores were captured and the guns were destroyed. In the meantime another Ottoman detachment advancing along the sea-shore surprised the enemy's reserve in their tents and annihilated the majority. During the long time occupied in destroying the additional obstacles generally, the enemy's reserve in the town and on Markab (Marghab) hill rushed to the help of Lebda, but were thrust back no less than seven times by our troops, and the field was filled with killed. It being impossible to remain at Sidi Barak, Markab or in the town of Homs under the batteries and the firing of the fleet, our men retired after completely burning the provision and ammunition depôts. The enemy's losses were more than a thousand, including seventeen officers. On our side nearly a hundred were killed and two hundred wounded.

"MAHMOUD SHEVKET"

A PERSIAN proverb has it that "a liar has no memory", and this is well exemplified in the case of this "capture" of An Earlier "Capture" Zanzur. What Reuter wired was by no means the virgin "capture" of Zanzur, for it has been "captured" almost as many times as there has

been a "bombardment" of Zuara. We give below a graphic account of an earlier "capture" from Mr. Bennet's book, which we are reviewing elsewhere—"Shortly after daybreak on the day in question (December 17, 1911) an Italian column left the line of trenches near Fort C and moved westwards along the Gargaresh road. This 'reconnaissance in force' was composed of the 50th Infantry Regiment and a portion of the 73rd, with four squadrons of cavalry and a battery of mule guns. The brigade moved cautiously along, and at length reached Zanzur, which was 'occupied' by a small Turkish picket of four men, who retired. The Italians, having 'captured' Zanzur, destroyed the telegraph office and cut the wire. The Italians are surely the only troops in the world who would have waited more than two months before they could summon up courage for this obvious and easy enterprise! The severance of this line broke off telegraphic communication with Zuara, but the damage was subsequently repaired, and I rode into Zavia with a man who carried with him £10 in order to cover the expense. Advancing gingerly to the south of Zanzur, the reconnoitring force suddenly found themselves face to face with an outpost of Turkish regulars twenty in number. One of the twenty had, on the approach of the Italians, been despatched with a report to Senit Beni-Adam. The remaining nineteen stood their ground and opened fire on the enemy, who thereupon retired *en masse*! I was in the Turkish lines at the time, and everybody, officers and men alike, was highly amused at the almost incredible timidity of the assailants. We were all longing to see them advance against Senit Beni-Adam. No such luck! All we saw was fifteen shells rushing over the desert from the retiring mule battery and bursting 1,000 yards in front of the camp—a sheer waste of ammunition. It was found the same evening that Zanzur had been evacuated, and that the Italians had once more retired within the shelter of their trenches. The Malta correspondent of the *Morning Post* makes a ridiculous comment on this reconnaissance. He remarks that 'the importance of this advance lies in the fact that by it the smuggling of arms into Tripoli from the west has been rendered impossible for

29th June.

"the future." How a march to Zanzur and back and the explosion "of fifteen shrapnel in the air could produce such a result he does "not explain." Here is a War Correspondent who remarks that the Italians are surely the only troops in the world who would have waited more than two months for the capture of Zanzur. What would he say now that Zanzur has had once more to be "captured" more than eight months after the landing of troops in Tripoli? Anyhow, we hope the Malta correspondent of the *Morning Post* would discover the esoteric significance of this exploit and tell us in what fact "the importance of this advance lies." We should much like to know what this one has "rendered impossible." Surely not lying!

"If my existence, either officially or corporeally, were prolonged twenty times longer than either of them is likely to be," said Lord Morley, in one of his great speeches on Indian affairs, "Parliamentary system in India is not the goal to which I for one moment would aspire."

Lord Crewe's Pronouncement. Evidently Lord Crewe, pressed hard by Lord Curzon and other Tory peers, and not knowing his own mind, has thought it best to play a mild variation on the same theme. In the course of his speech on the third reading of the India Bill in the House of Lords, the Secretary of State for India is reported to have said — "There is a certain political school in India of Indians altogether free from the taint of disloyalty, who, while agreeing that India must remain under British rule, look forward to something approaching the self-government enjoyed by the Dominions. I say quite frankly I see no future for India on those lines. I think the experiment is one impossible to try, consequently it is my duty, standing here as Secretary of State for India, to repudiate altogether that reading of the Despatch which implies anything of the kind, or that it is the hope or goal of the policy of His Majesty's Ministers or the present Government of India. I cannot put the matter more forcibly. I do not complain that some men hold this ideal, which is a revolutionary one, though not in the odious sense of the desire to break up the British Empire, but I can only say that I hold it in no sense myself." These words were uttered as the authoritative commentary of the Secretary of State on the passage in the Government of India Despatch on the subject of the historic changes announced at Delhi. The passage in question runs as follows . . . "It is certain that, in the course of time, the just demands of Indians for a larger share in the government of the country will have to be satisfied, and the question will be how the devolution of power can be conceded without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor-General-in-Council. The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the Provinces a larger measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, possessing power to interfere in case of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern." This clear and unambiguous passage was, we may take it, phrased with set purpose by its authors to mark the portentous dignity of the changes and the birth of a new era in the history of the country. It would be an insult to the intelligence and sense of responsibility of the Government of India to suppose that they were merely playing with grandiloquent words to cast a glamour round the annulment of the Partition and their flight to Delhi. The words were plainly intended to mean what they mean. Lord Crewe must have understood the very complete and definite vision they held forth about "provincial autonomy" and "self-government" when he blessed the Despatch with his fulsome gratulations. And yet he has been defining the import of the plainest words of the King's English under Tory taunts and Lord Curzon's sneers, till at last he has altogether defined it out of existence. No magician could have wrought a greater illusion of sense. Lord Hardinge's plain, simple words have truly grown to be enchanted, mystic, wonderful. Mr. Montagu had seen the vision which they once conjured and had tried to reach it on the wings of his sinewy eloquence. But his wings were soon clipped in the House of Commons and since then even he has grown, like the words, decidedly mystical. Lord Crewe perhaps thought that by an emphatic pronouncement he would for ever lay all vague hopes to rest. On the contrary he has turned all vague hopes into a sharp, insistent desire. He has sown the seed of an agitation that is likely to spring up in the immediate future and may grow to be as unpleasant as any the country has seen. All that we desire is that it should be possible for all communities to participate therein. Then alone is it likely to result in blessings. It will also show—incidentally—at what strange destination Diplomacy arrives when it undertakes the journey of Statesmanship!

THE Roosevelt-Taft struggle to secure Republican candidate for the American Presidency has entered a stage that may lead to startling and unforeseen developments in American politics. The Presidential Contest in U.S.A. Republican Convention met in Chicago to elect the Party candidate for final election as President of the Republic.

The issue lay between Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt. The Convention is simply a machine designed to register the decrees of the political bosses. Those who control the machine were in favour of Mr. Taft, because he is conservative by temperament and is afraid of meddling with the huge commercial combines and trusts against which Mr. Roosevelt has proclaimed a ruthless and implacable war. The big financiers and Trust magnates dominate the bosses and consequently the Chicago Convention elected Mr. Taft as the Republican candidate, although Mr. Roosevelt had secured a heavy poll in the preliminaries. This has led to a split in the Republican ranks and Mr. Roosevelt has formally seceded with his followers from the official party to organise a "Progressive" group on the basis of a new, bold and definite platform. He wants to break down the power of the machine and restore freedom of choice and political power to the people. The old American party shibboleths have ceased to have any meaning. It is quite possible new parties may grow up in the immediate future on the lines of English Conservatism and Radicalism. Mr. Roosevelt, with all his cocksureness, egotisms, and sledge-hammer ways, has on the whole stood forth for freedom and justice and his fight for these principles, especially in view of the inseparable vulgarities and subterfuges of American politics, will be profoundly interesting to watch.

We are glad to publish the following appeal received from the energetic Secretary of the Moslem Institute, Calcutta, and hope it will meet with a generous response:—

"Everyone is aware of the fact that the number of Muhammadan candidates successful in the various University Examinations is steadily on the increase. It is notorious, however, that the circumstances of the majority are not good, and in the interests of the community it is imperative that they should be properly encouraged and helped in their higher study and research. The Moslem Institute has a Charity Fund under its management from which poor and deserving students are helped with monthly stipends, occasional grants, etc. The new Session is drawing nigh and there have already been many demands on the Charity Fund of the Institute. I, therefore, beg to appeal to all interested in the cause of Muhammadan education to help us in any way they can. All subscriptions and donations to the Fund will be most thankfully acknowledged by the Honorary Secretary of the Institute."

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The Comrade.

Islam in Russia.

II

We have often observed that Mussalmans in every part of the world have got to deal with problems that are in their main features the same. Indeed, the very first impression of a student of present-day Islam in its broad social, intellectual, and moral aspects is that the essential factors of the Moslem situation are universal in scope and identical in character. Grave differences in political status, no doubt, exist, but they only serve to bring into prominence all the more clearly the universal nature of the malady that afflicts the various Moslem communities to-day. Political conditions have a great power for good or evil, but they cannot break the structure of a social organism or modify its essential features, however far-reaching and drastic they may be in their operation. Diversity of political status in the case of the Moslem communities is simply a question of facilities or lack of opportunities, of suitability of methods, of the adaptation of means to ends. The Moslem Problem in its essence remains the same, and must find, at any rate in its broad outlines, an identical solution. From Morocco to China and from Northern Siberia to the heart of Africa, amid a variety of political conditions and the influences of race and clime, the spirit of Islam is, struggling to be free. The weapons may not in every case be the same, but the nature of the hopes and the character of the efforts are identical. The hopes have found a clear, unmistakable utterance. The accents, though now and then unfamiliar, are understood of all.

The Moslem Problem is neither a political issue nor a social question, though in some of its aspects it includes elements of both. Essentially it is a religious problem. We hope we have made clear the full import of what we mean. The word "religion" has unfortunately not escaped a certain attenuation of meaning in these days of the specialist. It has become a mere technical expression in the hands of the thinker who has begun measuring social phenomena in terms of biology. To the scientific spirit "religion" is merely a form, a ritual, a bald physical satisfaction of some physical need, and he explains it as he would, for instance, explain the existence of chins, the presence of curled moustaches or shaven heads, or the human appetite for pilau or apple pies. Need we say that the vital phenomena described as "religion" cannot be strangled by specialist phraseology? The shadow of scientific dogmatism, however, lies thick across the word, and even the sanest and most clear-headed thinkers feel ashamed of using it without apology. Yet it is the one word that sums up the idealism of man as distinct from the brute realism of his physical environment and the cosmic process that has given him birth. It is at once his achievement and his aspiration. It is as vital as life. When we say that the Moslem Problem is a *religious* problem, we simply mean thereby that the Mussalmans are perhaps the only portion of mankind who accepted certain ideals of human life and purpose as true for all time irrespective of place and circumstance; and their past history, and present condition are to be explained with reference to those ideals. Their future endeavour shall manifestly be inspired by those ideals if the ideals themselves have not become shibboleths. Unlike many varieties of non-Moslem polities that have grown round the nucleus of some secular need out of the stress of economic or political forces and have decayed in the course of history, the various Moslem societies have risen and fallen in pursuit of the same principles, for the Mussalmans had definite and fixed principles for the fashioning of their social and political systems. Those principles have not been strictly followed in practice and the history of the decline and fall of the various Moslem States is in fact due to their falling off from the original standards of conduct, social duty, and moral purpose. Unless they are prepared to sink into the position of a community socially disintegrated, yet held together only by the sense of its helplessness as a despised and fallen people, they must either recover their principles, catch their pristine inspiration and make a fresh effort for progressive social development, or discard them definitely and once for all, merging themselves into the non-Moslem races that surround them. The latter alternative is abhorrent to every Moslem. He feels that he has yet his use in the world as a Musselman, that his Message is yet half-delivered, and that it is necessary for the ultimate good of mankind that it should be delivered throughout the world. In short, he cannot renounce his creed without feeling that he would thereby be beggared of every fine hope and purpose that makes his life worth living. The only course open to him is to remodel his life on the principles that he learnt at the feet of the Master more than 13 hundred years ago. This explains the identical character of the efforts that have recently been made in China, India, Egypt, Persia, Turkey and Russia to liberate the spirit of Islam from the grip of the ultra-secular influence.

Lord Cromer has learnt to think of Islam as a stagnant creed and a fearful obstacle in the way of human progress. He has written of it as a bundle of dead formulas, definitely opposed to the spirit of modern culture, science and thought. His Lordship, however, has the common dogmatism of those who lack the historic sense. He sees a certain social group under certain conditions. He finds those conditions to be decidedly harmful in their bearing on social efficiency and moral progress. Forthwith he concludes that the people are stamped with a ruthless psychology which has made them a species apart—cramped and crippled for eternity. The argument is of a piece with the series of pseudo-scientific reasoning with which "the Asiatics" are often shown to be unfit for the democratic organisations of Europe. The fallacy thrives on a gross unscientific habit of mistaking the accident for the type. The only effective refutation of this kind of arguments is to point out that the Mussalmans who have tasted something of the spirit of modern culture and have received their intellectual training in Europe or in seminaries imparting Western education, remain Mussalmans by conviction; and their love and sense of patriotism for their creed have developed a more robust fibre because their increased intellectual sensibilities have given them a deeper perception of its power, beauty and truth. At the head of every movement for Moslem renaissance in India, Turkey, Egypt and Russia are men equipped with Western knowledge or admirers of Western science and thought, who feel no intellectual absurdity in making an essentially *religious* appeal to the Mussalmans to rise to the spirit of Islamic teaching, adopt new methods if need be and prepare themselves for the growing synthesis of mankind without losing their individuality.

Every Moslem land has had its Sir Syed, and the spirit of Aligarh has found everywhere its local habitat. The leaders of the new intellectual movement in Russia are men of great strength of character and versatility of mind. Foremost among them are Ismael Bey Gasprinsky, the renowned editor of *Tarjuman*, and Ahmet Agaeff, the powerful publicist and author on Islamic subjects, who has now become a Turkish subject and has been appointed inspector of primary schools in Constantinople. Ahmet Agaeff had his former centre of activity in Baku. He has done more than any other single Russian writer to combat the prejudices of the Russian Mussalmans against Western education. By means of lectures, pamphlets and through his writings in the press he has brought home to the Russian Mussalmans that modern science and thought are not opposed to the teachings of Islam and that they must learn what Europe has to teach them if they want to lead successful and honorable lives. Ismael Bey Gasprinsky is the pioneer of what is called "the New Method Movement," i.e., a movement to create a new literature through a reformed language and to found schools in every centre of Moslem life in Russia which would impart sound modern education along with instruction in religion. Ahmet Agaeff created the necessary atmosphere for the success of the Gasprinsky programme. The movement has succeeded in evoking fresh energy and enthusiasm amongst the Mussalmans, and though it encountered fierce opposition at the outset at the hands of the mullahs of the old school, it has outlived that opposition and is now spreading rapidly in every part of the country. It has created and is rapidly multiplying a new and powerful literature in Turkish which has become the literary language of all the different Moslem tribes living in the Russian Empire. This work has been carried on with marvellous energy and devotion for the last twenty-five years and has already resulted in uniting the separate Moslem tribes in Russia into "one Moslem nation" inspired by common hopes, common ideals and the necessity for common endeavour. The overwhelming majority of the Russian Mussalmans are ethnographically of the same stock as the Ottoman Turks. It was, therefore, a wise step on the part of the Moslem leaders in Russia to create unity of intellectual outlook and greater facilities for the diffusion of knowledge by adopting Turkish as the literary language of the people. This purely educational measure has, however, been construed as a political move with the spirit of militant "Pan-Islamism" behind it. The Russian Government has always looked askance at these educational activities; and efforts have from time to time been made by reactionary officials to suppress them. The recent ukase of the Tsar stopping all Moslem schools in Astrakhan is the most violent blow yet aimed at the new intellectual movement by the Russian Autocracy. The plea for these repressive measures has invariably been sought in the existence of what has been called the "Pan-Tjoork" movement. It is alleged that an active undercurrent of sympathy between the Russian Mussalmans and the Ottoman Turks is uniting them for a common political purpose which is full of menace to the peace and security of the Russian Empire. To remove this menace the Russian Government has embarked on a campaign of repression, and its most decisive act has taken the characteristic shape of a summary fiat suppressing all educational institutions. All talks about Pan-Tjoorkism as a political movement are no better than the usual Muscovite bluffs. One might as well regard, and perhaps with much greater reason, the Pan-Slavism of the Christian Russia as a potential danger to the peace and prosperity of Europe. The true inwardness

of the motives that lie behind these acts of repression must be sought in the obscurantist nature of the Russian despotism coupled with its deep-rooted prejudice against the faith that still retains its virility and cohesive power, in spite of the fanatical efforts of a Catherine and a Peter to stamp it out of existence. One always thinks of Russia as a country oppressed as if by a hideous nightmare, where the mass of the people drag out lives of distress and of toil, deprived of even the elementary rights of humanity and occasionally serving as food for powder and shot. The Moslem situation in Russia is beset with many dangers. The next few years will reveal the extent to which the Mussalmans are intellectually and morally equipped for self-preservation. They are one of the most vigorous Moslem communities, and the success of their efforts for self-regeneration and self-discipline will react powerfully on the whole Islamic world. From Central Asia to the shores of the Adriatic, in Transcaucasia and northern Afghanistan, in the regions of the Caucasus and in Northern Persia, in Asia Minor, in the Crimea and south-east Russia the future of the Moslem communities depends to a very large extent on the success of the "New Method Movement" which has created the "Pan-Tjook" language and literature and is welding the various tribes into a united people for intellectual and moral progress. The educational institutions through which the movement is working form the most important factor of the Gasprinsky programme. A detailed study of the work that is being carried on by these schools will be full of interest and instruction for the Indian Mussalmans.

The ancient mектебы (primary schools) and medressas (high schools), which have for many centuries existed throughout the Moslem world, are being rapidly changed by the Russian Moslems into efficient modern schools for up-to-date secular education. Turkish language is the medium of instruction. The syllabus of studies has been framed on modern lines which has a fairly high standard approaching the programme of the European public schools. The curriculum for secular instruction includes Turkish Language and Literature, Arabic Language and Literature, History of Islam, general History and Philosophy of History, Mathematics (Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry), Geography, Natural History, Physics, Chemistry, Agriculture, Book-keeping, Hygiene, Psychology, Logic, Method, Calligraphy, Russian Language, and French and German (optional subjects). Religious teaching is compulsory and comprises lessons in Koran, systematic Theology, Fikh (Law), Usool-i-Fikh (Fundamentals of Law), Rules of Morals, Faras (Laws concerning Inheritance), Tefsir (commentary on the Koran) and Hadis and Fundamentals of Hads. Both the secular and the religious teaching comprised by these curricula are spread over eight years, after which a boy passes to a course of higher studies in the University of Kazan or Ufa. The most important feature of the syllabus is that it combines the liberal as well as the practical aspects of modern education and at the same time gives the Moslem boys a thorough grounding in the principles of their faith and their own secular history. The far-reaching and useful effect of this happy and wise combination can well be imagined. It is surely a great improvement on anything hitherto attempted in Moslem institutions in this country.

The principal centres of the new Method education in Russia are Kazan, Ufa, Orenburg, Troitsk and Baku. In Central Asia, Tashkend, Khokand, Andijan and Samarkand are growing in importance as centres of educational activity. Bokhara, the once famous seat of learning in the world of Islam, has lost its ancient glory and is still wedded to obsolete ways and customs. Kazan now holds pre-eminent position as the seat of modern learning and has become the nerve-centre of Islam in Russia. It is also the chief centre of the Moslem press. Many newspapers are issued from the place which enjoy a vast circulation throughout the Russian Empire and in northern Persia and Turkey. The intellectual activity of the place may be gauged from the fact that several hundred new books on Islamic and cognate subjects are published annually with a total of about 3 million copies.

Ufa is the head-quarters of the principal Moslem Ecclesiastical Assembly with the great Mufti as its president. The Assembly administers the Moslem law in accordance with which the family and religious life of the Moslems is regulated. The administration is carried on through a hierarchy of mullahs, imams, and akhunds who are nominated by and are subject to the Assembly.

The Mussalmans of European Russia are generally literate. In many districts the percentage of literacy among them is higher than that of the Russians. In the Asiatic provinces about 50 per cent. of the Moslems must be literate. The number of schools in Russian Turkestan was 6,026 in 1907. Accurate statistical data in regard to these matters are, however, not available. The Musselman population of European Russia and of the Caucasus theoretically enjoy the same rights as the Christian population of the Empire. They are admitted into military service and civic life and take part in parliamentary elections. They are allowed to act as jurymen and no restriction is imposed on their liberty to enter the government service on equal terms with the Greek Orthodox population. In practice, however,

this equality of status is reduced to a mere sham. They are often subjected to harassment by the executive authorities. In spite of their greatest efforts they have not yet been able to secure a proportionate representation in the Duma. "They have no right to be presidents of the district education boards, teachers of humanitarian sciences in Russian schools or school masters in primary schools for Christian children." The Mussalmans in Asiatic Russia "have no courts with jurymen and have no right to send deputies to the Duma." An organised agitation against these disabilities is being carried on most vigorously by the Moslem leaders with the active sympathy of the Russian Liberals. A mosque was recently opened in St. Petersburg with great ceremony and a society for the protection of Moslem interests was organised in the capital. How far their efforts to achieve real equality of treatment will be successful remains to be seen.

The material condition of the Mussalmans of Russia in Europe is as good as, if not better than, that of the Russians. There are great merchants, traders and captains of industry among them. Morally they hold a decidedly higher place in the popular estimation. They are straightforward and self-reliant and their fearless and independent bearing attracts the pagan tribes into the fold of Islam. A Moslem convert at once begins to feel pride in his new social status and becomes a "Tatar", whatever his original tribe may be. A convert to Christianity has, on the other hand, to bear a decided loss in social position.

The future of the Russian Moslems, as we have already observed, depends on the success of their new intellectual movement. The obstacles in their way are many and formidable, but the growing sense of unity and patriotism among them inclines us to believe that their future, through stress and storm, is assured. They are patiently and steadfastly charting ways and means for their intellectual emancipation. According to Ismael Bey Ilmuniyev, they have fully realised that "the world is constantly changing and progressing and the Moslems are left behind for many miles. We need to create a general awakening of the hitherto sleeping Moslems." The need is clearly general throughout the Islamic world, and the most happy sign is that its urgency has been recognised everywhere. The present day attitude of the Moslem world was summed up in a singularly direct and out-spoken expression of opinion by a leading journal of Constantinople immediately after the Revolution. Said our contemporary —

The Moslem world is in the throes of a regeneration which will affect its social as well as its political conditions, and indirectly must concern its ecclesiastical affairs. It will undoubtedly have the same influence that the reformation of Luther and the French revolution had upon society and culture. The dethronement of three absolute monarchs in three independent Moslem states is a novel chapter in the history of Islam, and calls for grave reflection by the adherents of that faith. The social and economic affairs of a nation, as well as its religion, are closely allied to its politics, and there cannot be serious disturbance in one without having a great influence upon the others. It means either decay or progress, because there is no such thing as rest or stagnation in society. The human race cannot remain in repose. It must either advance or go backward.

Some War Publications*

III.

The main interest of the brochure composed mainly of Mr. McCullagh's articles lies in the massacres between the 23rd and 30th of October. We have no desire to go over the story of the Italian atrocities again, but it is worth while quoting the Italian papers themselves which dealt with the massacres in a moment of candour. In the *Stampa*, an Italian paper, which is said to be a Conservative and patriotic paper, the massacres were thus described :—

Our soldiers have mercilessly shot down the rebels, who were inspired by the idea that they were dying for their religious convictions. I witnessed several such executions in the discharge of my duties. A man and his wife were found in possession of arms and condemned to death. They held each other lovingly by the hand and betrayed no trace of fear. The woman still kept the hand of the dead husband and calmly awaited her death. A second volley followed and her brains spattered out. Then an old man was shot, and after him a young fellow. Lastly, an old woman was shot. She was stripped naked and they had found cartridges concealed in her garments. Our soldiers are drunk with the lust of vengeance, and the officers have to use all their authority to limit the military executions.

And in the *Tribuna* of the 30th October, the place where a massacre took place is described as "a field of filth and slaughter", and it is added that "by the fire of our men almost all the inhabitants of the oasis have been destroyed. Every garden has become a cemetery or a great burial pit."

All this and more is corroborated by M. Cossira, the special correspondent of the *Excelsior*, who writes :—

1. *The Russo-Italian War and its Problems* by Sir Thomas Barclay (London : Constable and Co., Ltd., Rs. 4-6.)

2. *Italian Warfare in Tripoli and Muslim Justice in India* by W. Speight and Sons, Fetter Lane, London. As. 8.)

3. *With the Turks in Tripoli* by Ernest N. Bennett. (London : Methuen and Co. Ltd; Rs. 3.)

I cannot rid my eyes of it, and am still sick and trembling with fever. Day and night, with unuttered grand eloquence the cannon proclaimed the ubiquity of untiring death. It spared none. But it was not this that upset us, for we were at war; and before coming here we were prepared for the groans of the wounded and the sight of the dead. But who could ever have imagined what we have had to look on? The rush to assassinate, the hecatombs of old men, women, and children, the executions by heaps, the piles of mangled flesh smoking under the wool of the bonfires, like a human incense burnt before the ruined altar of a dearly bought victory. An Arab with eyes full of vengeance muttered: "We were four brothers. Now I am alone, but I must have two Italians for each of my brothers." Whilst going away from the cavalry post, I came upon a hundred corpses thrown against a wall, where they had been shot down in horrible attitudes, all mixed up together. I hurried away to escape the sight and passed an Arab village. A native family was there round a burnt-out fire, where they were about to rot. They were all dead. One little girl had thrust her head into a box, not to see anything, another had fallen back on to a cactus bush. A small white dog was running about amongst the ruins, stopping every now and then to lift up its head and howl (a photograph of this gruesome group is also published). Bullets came whistling fast, and I started away, to find myself near the prison hospital. The prisoners here had revolted and killed the colonel and some officers. Every one of them had been shot, and the walls were besprinkled with brains and prints of hands in blood. Whatever way I take to avoid the corpses, I still find them, round the farms, in the middle of the marketplace--within a couple of hundred yards of the Governor's palace.

IT is not necessary to reproduce in detail the horrors of the last week of October in Tripoli, but in the light of what has appeared since then in the Press of Europe it is worth while summarising the verdict of Mr McCullagh. He thinks that "General Caneva erred by over-caution in some directions and by insufficient caution in other directions." He was excessively anxious not to run the risk of another Adowa, of "a disaster which might lead even to the overthrow of the dynasty at home," and the following passage seems to us to give irrefutable proof of this excessive anxiety—

He was overcautious when he posted his soldiers shoulder to shoulder in a semi-circle round the town, one end of the entrenching line reaching the sea west of Tripoli at Gargash, the other end reaching the sea east of Tripoli at Sharashett. While keeping a very strong reserve in Tripoli, he should have attacked in detail the very small parties of Arabs who harassed him and occupied a position far from the town. But his line was in no place more than two miles from the citadel on the water's edge, and at night there were no outposts in front of this line, so that the Arabs could come up to within forty yards of the Italians, while the Turkish artillery amused itself for weeks and weeks by throwing shells into the city. Considering the relative strength of the two armies, this patience and humility on the part of the Italian leader was preposterous. The Turks-Arabs numbered 1,500 men, with eight old cannon. The Italians 20,000, with, at the end of October, seven field batteries, nine mountain batteries, ten machine guns, not to mention half-a-dozen men-of-war, and half-a-dozen aeroplanes. Armed with modern rifles any body of soldiers can keep at bay a force three times as great as itself, but here we find an entrenched force compelled to retreat by a force less than one tenth as numerous.

But excessive anxiety for his army's safety becomes in a General a venial offence compared with excessive anxiety for his own safety, and Mr. McCullagh regrets that he must add that "General Caneva was perhaps too careful of his own person." What is one to think of a commander who behaves as General Caneva did, and probably still does, in Tripoli? Mr. McCullagh writes—

He lived in the old citadel of Charles V. and was never visible. He never went about among the troops. He never came into personal contact with the bulk of his officers. Specially after he became convinced that the friendly Arabs were really hostile, General Caneva manifested such a frenzy, as I can only call it, for protecting his own person, that the Arabs, accustomed to look for personal bravery above all things in their own leaders, were filled with contempt, while the Italian soldiers and officers were not much elated. Whenever there was a particularly violent attack from the Arabs outside, the General surrounded his citadel with troops made soldiers lie down in rows on the roof, their fingers on the trigger, made soldiers place sand bags in the lower windows, gateways and doors of the citadel, and lie prone on the ground behind them, as if they were in the firing line. The only reason the Arabs could see for all this preparation was General Caneva's veracity that the desert Arabs would be in the city within a few moments, and his desire to have time to get off in his steam-launch before they reached the citadel.

In one of the articles that he contributed to the *Daily News* under the heading, "The Truth about Tripoli," written on the 4th November, Mr. McCullagh had said—

I have met many brave Italian officers, gentlemen in every way, but there are some here who should be drummed out of the army at once. And the first to be drummed out should be General Caneva . . . For a long time he was afraid to come ashore at all, and remained on a transport. Now he ventures to come ashore in the day time but goes back to his transport at night so as to be able to have a good start in case the Arabs rush the town. But even when ashore, he remains hidden all day somewhere in the huge grey citadel of Charles V. on the edge of the sea. And as soon as the shooting begins at the outposts, hurried preparations are made to put the citadel in a state of defence. The glass of the windows is broken so that the soldiers can fire through. Lines of sand bags are laid at the entrance, and soldiers lie flat behind them, as if the enemy had already broken the line. The roof is crowded with troops. The courtyards bristle with bayonets. The flat roofs of all the neighbouring houses are grey with soldiery. The steam-launch gets up steam, so that if the worst comes to the worst, the generalissimo may be able to make a bolt for it.

After this who can say that Mr. McCullagh is wrong in his conclusion that "such extreme precautions on the part of a Command-

er-in-Chief have seldom been seen in war since the days when the Byzantine Emperors sent out their eunuchs in charge of armies"?

Where General Caneva was not careful enough was his failure to seize all the arms in the town. This should have been the first precaution to take, yet it was wholly neglected. Incredible as it may seem, he also placed all his soldiers, save his personal guards, out at the front, a couple of miles off. There were no reserves in the town. The policing and patrolling of the city was left to Arab gendarmes who had served the Turks, and who were still allowed to go about with rifles and belts full of cartridges. Mr McCullagh says, "I really think that General Caneva intended to be magnanimous, but a weak man is sometimes magnanimous in the wrong way. He begins with neglect of precaution, which would make a boy-scout laugh, and winds up with a cruelty which would make Abdul Hamid's hair stand on end."

Mr McCullagh admits that Admiral Ricci had issued a proclamation offering to buy arms at a gradually decreasing price, but he contends that no steps were taken to make this proclamation known among the illiterate Arabs. He never heard of it himself although he employed an Arab to bring him all sorts of information, and says that he became aware of it only in Italy after he had left Tripoli. Moreover, he adds that even if this proclamation had been posted up on every house in Tripoli, it was necessary to follow it up with more energetic measures, such as house-to-house search. The offer of money roused the suspicions of the few Arabs who chanced to hear of it, and they thought that if they brought in their arms the foreigners would only punish or shoot them for stealing these weapons. Most of these weapons were the result of the looting of Turkish arsenals which had not all been emptied out before the Turks retired from Tripoli. By the evening of 2nd October, the Turkish troops, with the exception of a few fortress artillery men, had left Tripoli. The Italian bluejackets under Captain Cagni did not enter the town until October 4th. The Jews and the Arabs of the town and the oasis had thus two days in which to plunder the arsenal, the gendarmerie, the post houses, the barracks and even the Konak or Governor's residence. These weapons were stolen not necessarily because the Arabs intended to use them afterwards against the Italians. In the eyes of an Arab, as Mr McCullagh says, a rifle is a jewel of great price, the possession of it is only to be compared to a pedigree stallion, and the Arabs expected to make money by the sale of the rifles and ammunition. When on the 23rd October the Italians were roused from their dream of "friendly Arabs" and began to search for rifles and ammunition, not only was their possession made a capital offence but the possession of a razor, a dagger, a knife or anything that looked like a weapon was also made a capital offence. Up to the 23rd October, Arabs were allowed to accumulate gunpowder and other explosive matter. After 23rd October, they were all put to death if an ounce of explosive was found in their possession. General Caneva issued a proclamation calling on the people to surrender their arms. It was dated 23rd October, though to the best of Mr. McCullagh's recollection it was not published for some days later. But, as he says, by this time the people had become too frightened by the executions which they had witnessed to even dream of surrendering their arms. General Caneva probably thought that he was benevolent when he left the inhabitants of the town in possession of their arms, and he imagined that he was a deliverer whom the Arabs welcomed. This, Mr. McCullagh points out, was due to the exaggerations of Signor Galli, the Italian Consul, who had been specially sent to Tripoli and ordered to report if things were favourable there for an Italian invasion. This very active, ambitious, over-confident and overbearing man overlooked the difficulties, exaggerated the facilities and persuaded General Caneva that all the Arabs of Tripoli were dying to welcome him amongst them. This is proved up to the hilt by the whole series of the General's proclamations to the Arabs, which talked of the Turkish yoke being taken off from their necks and their marching shoulder to shoulder with the Italians against the common enemy, the Turk. What perfect moonshine all this was can be judged from the fact that while ten thousand Turkish troops were considered to be ample for the peaceful administration of the province, Mahmoud Shekhet Pasha was proposing to arm the Tripolitan Arabs, thus showing the confidence which he, an Arab, had in the Arabs of the Western Vilayet of Turkey.

One of the reasons given to explain, if not to justify, the massacres seems to be the alleged treachery of the town Arabs towards the 11th Bersaglieri. Mr McCullagh says that many Italians and a good many English people whom he met were under the impression that these Bersaglieri were playing with the Arab children somewhere far inside what he calls the Italian oasis when suddenly the children's fathers and mothers crept behind them and treacherously cut the soldiers' throats. Nothing, he says, could be further from the truth. In the first place, Mr McCullagh has no faith in the Italian's kindness to Arab children. He thinks that their reported adoption of Arab children, their alleged kindness to Bedouin babies found deserted in the oasis and all other acts of kindness which have been trumpeted by the Roman and Milanese Press, were simply advertising dodges. He writes:—

29th June.

Until the end of October, the Arab children in the oasis were treated by the Italians as if they were dogs. I have elsewhere shown how at least one such child was left on the ground to die. The Italian soldiers had no more compassion on those children than they would have had on young vipers. But once an outcry was raised about their barbarity, there was a sudden change. The word went forth early in November that soldiers were to be photographed with "rescued" Arab babies on their knees, and that long, sentimental tales were to be attached to the photographs. In this way the English and the Germans, with their curious and inexplicable affection for these dirty brats, would be won over, would be got to believe that the Italians were humane, were bubbling over with the milk of human kindness. Facile Italian pens produced in abundance interminable stories of the hero Bersaglieri, who had, at the risk of their lives, rescued Turkish infants and adopted them. Lachrymose tales were circulated of rough bluejackets who shared their food with Arab mites whom they had picked up in the desert. Photographs were produced by the score showing black children seated at the knees of Italian soldiers, while Italian officers and Red Cross nurses tried to "look pleasant" in the background. London newspaper offices were deluged with these "proofs" of Italian benignity. All this is humbug. It is manufactured stuff, turned out at order for the English, American, and German market. These soldiers would sooner wring the necks of these black children than play with them or seat them on their knees. Besides, even if this sudden affection were genuine, I should have nothing to say in support of it. If the Germans devastated Yorkshire by fire and sword, no Yorkshirer would feel flattered in the least if he saw in *Die Woche* photographs of German soldiers with "adopted" Bradford children on their knees.

In the second place, Mr McCullagh explains that the 11th Bersaglieri were on the extreme edge of the Italian line, that no Italian force was further from the town than they, and that the attack which inflicted such loss upon them was made by the fighting Arabs from outside. He admits that some Arabs inside took part in it, but most of these also were desert Arabs who had previously traversed the Italian lines in what he calls General Caneva's benevolent period. We published some time ago an account of the fighting on the 23rd October and the horrors that followed which Mr. Montagu had contributed at the time, and our readers would probably remember that Mr. Montagu incidentally affirmed from the Turkish side what Mr McCullagh had noticed from the Italian side, viz., that the attack on the Italian rear was made by fighting Arabs from the front who had got through the Italian line, and was not the revolt of the "friendlies" in the oasis. What is still more important, Signor Luigi Burzini, the extremely jingoist and anti-Arab correspondent of the *Corriere della Sera*, admits this himself in an article which appeared in that paper on November 6th. In that article he admits that the attack on the Italian rear on October 23rd was made, after all, by fighting Arabs who had thus slipped through, their rifles concealed underneath their loose flowing robes.

When everything failed, the Italians attributed their barbarities to the feeling of revenge against "Arab atrocities." About this it is instructive to read what Mr McCullagh writes on the subject.—

El-Henni was evacuated by the Italians on October 23rd, having been rushed by the Arabs an hour before daybreak, while the sentinels of the Bersaglieri were asleep. General Caneva did not retake El-Henni until November 26th, more than a month later. How did he know, then, that atrocities had been committed there? The Bersaglieri had fled too rapidly to note what was done with their dead and wounded, yet on the 26th I heard them describing the mutilations which they did not discover until a month later. Considering the extraordinary craftiness and cunning which one sometimes finds in the character of the Southern Italian, and which I noticed myself in Tripoli, we should not be too eager to credit the lurid accounts of Arab ferocity with which, by way of counter-blast, the Italian Press has been deluged. Moreover, it is extremely doubtful if the particular mutilations which the Italian correspondents describe with such gusto, and in such detail,—it is extremely doubtful if the sawing up of the eyelids, etc., would remain after a month of hot, rainy weather. Decomposition would set in very rapidly and would be assisted in its work of destruction by the dogs, carrion-birds and beasts of prey. I have already spoken of the *Times* military correspondent in Tripoli. I have shown how pro-Italian he has been. Well, writing in *Blackwood's Magazine* for January 1912, this correspondent thinks that the accounts of the Arab atrocities have been "overstated". "Men who are said to have been buried alive are probably Italian corpses that the Turks hastily interred for sanitary reasons. It is quite possible that some of the so-called mutilations were due to the packs of dogs which infest the oasis. Moreover, it is hard to believe that the evidences of brutality, as described in the Italian journals, could have survived in the minuteness of the detail given, after the exposure of a month of North African sun and torrential rain."

On the subject of the massacres Mr Bennett writes as follows:—

The Italian General believed, or affected to believe—the wish was, I fancy, fitter to the thought—that by some astonishing metamorphosis the Arabs in the oasis had, in virtue of some proclamation which 99 per cent. of them never even saw, suddenly abandoned their allegiance to their creed, their country, and their Khalif. If this conviction was seriously entertained, it affords one more indication of the stupidity and miscalculation which has distinguished this Italian enterprise from the commencement. However, if General Caneva and his officers believed that the natives in the vast oasis had surrendered their rifles and made their submission, they had a rude awakening on the 23rd, and from their point of view, great provocation. A forcible disarmament of all the Arabs, the trial and punishment of any who had taken up arms after actual submission, deportation of any still under suspicion—any of these courses of action would have been reasonable. No possible justification can be found for General Caneva's monstrous conduct in allowing the rank and file of his army to carry out indiscriminate reprisals for three or four days. This officer will leave behind him in Tripoli and the whole Moslem world a name of blood.

guiltiness, to be assured from generation to generation. The history of the Italian Army is adorned with few indeed of the laurels of victory, but its records might at least have remained unsullied by brutal and cowardly massacres.

We do not know how an eminent authority like Lord Roberts could justify the atrocities on the ground of "military exigencies." As the cartoonists of *Punch* contended, we never hear of "military exigencies" when Turkey has to put down undoubted rebels who, instigated, by foreigners revolt against their recognised sovereign and his government. When Shevket Pasha had taken stringent steps against the Albanians last year, it never occurred to anybody to talk of "military exigencies." If Lord Roberts can justify such horrors as Lieutenant Montagu witnessed with his own eyes, calling them "desperate measures to establish the equilibrium of battle" and say that "such things are unfortunately inevitable in war", we wonder whether we should not credit some of the horrors attributed to Lord Roberts himself and his subordinates in conducting the Boer War. That is, however, a soldier's view, but when a civilian and a pacifist like Sir Thomas Barclay says that he does not think "the time has yet come to speak of 'atrocities' with which the Italian army has been charged", and explains them away with the remark—which well illustrates both the mistake of "general principles" and the error of "special application"—that "war is a hideous affair at the best—especially war with North African tribes in which defeat may be followed by torture and mutilation," we confess we begin to lose hope of Christians and Europeans being ever just to Islam and the East.

Egypt.

LORD KITCHENER'S first report on Egypt as His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General is a record of some good results achieved in the financial administration of the country. The total revenue of the country for the year 1911 was £E16,793,000 exceeding that for 1910 by £E827,000. The receipts yielded a surplus of £E1,921,000 over the actual expenditure. The growth of revenue has been due to the general agricultural prosperity and the normal expansion of commerce. Agriculture is the principle industry of the country and its vital importance has been recognised by the constitution of the Department of Agriculture which has set itself to the task of imparting instruction to cultivators and overcoming the conservative methods of the fellah. Efforts have also been made to improve the cotton seed, and extensive drainage works are to be shortly taken in hand. The Assuan Dam is nearing completion. The Dam will be a remarkable engineering achievement and will afford immense facilities for irrigation and thus enormously increase the agricultural wealth of the country.

Closely allied to the improvement of agriculture is the need for the organisation and spread of mass education. Hitherto the Ministry of Education has been the most unprogressive Department of the State. Lord Cromer, while evolving order out of the financial chaos and maturing far-reaching schemes for the growth of material well-being, had utterly neglected Egypt's intellectual and moral needs. What little facilities for modern education existed had been created by the efforts of the people themselves. The sons of the wealthy and aristocratic classes still go for education to Europe, for there are few institutions in the country even to-day which can provide up-to-date instruction in the highest branches of modern Arts and Sciences. The creation of a well equipped university is the most pressing need of Egypt, and we trust the Government will devote a portion of its huge surpluses to bringing higher education within the reach of the people. It is satisfactory to note that increased attention is being paid to the development of secondary education. An interesting experiment was commenced in 1910 by handing over the control of local education to the Provincial Councils. This was a step in the right direction as has been amply borne out by the great impetus that has been imparted to education. The question of devising effective and comprehensive measures for elementary education is, however, the *cru*x of the educational problem. Lord Kitchener thinks that "what seems most required for progress in the direction is to evolve the best type of rural school, adapted to the special practical needs of agricultural districts, and when this has been done we may confidently hope to see a considerable increase in the number of boys educated. It must not be forgotten that any hasty or unthought-out development of education in rural districts, unless it is carefully adapted to rural necessities, may imperil the agricultural interest on which the prosperity of the country so largely depends. A rural exodus in Egypt would be an economic and social disaster of considerable magnitude. To avoid this contingency, a half-time system of education allowing of labor in the field for the remainder of the day, with holidays fixed in accordance with agricultural necessities, seems the best solution." Lord Kitchener suggests on the whole a sound method of grappling with the problem, which resembles that in use in the rural areas of Baroda, and we hope efforts will be speedily made to organise mass education on these lines. The Savings Banks Project, which has been recently inaugurated for the benefit of the fellah demands for its ultimate success on the spread of mass education.

A very useful reform has been effected in the administration of justice by the institution of Merkaz Tribunals which have brought justice nearer to the doors of the people. These travelling Tribunals of local judges will save the poor cultivators much expense and inconvenience and will dispose of petty cases expeditiously on the spot.

The important feature of the year under review has been the outbreak of the war in Tripoli. There are those who think that Lord Kitchener's appointment to the Egyptian Consulate was a calculated move in anticipation of the Italian coup. The British Foreign Office has not so far denied all previous knowledge of Italian intentions. It has been freely asserted in some of the most responsible organs of the British Press and by some of the most competent observers of international affairs that the British Foreign Office had got an intimation of the Italian design and that Lord Kitchener was consequently despatched to Cairo to impose neutrality on Egypt, maintain order in the country by the prestige of his name and closely watch developments. Be this as it may, the declaration of Egyptian neutrality has not yet been justified on any ground, while the pettifogging rigour with which the neutrality was exercised against the Turks may afford some clue to the character of the Kitchener regime in Egypt. The report speaks of "an extremely warm feeling of sympathy" that has been aroused in the country for "the Muhammadan combatants" on account of "the geographical proximity to Egypt of Tripoli and Cyrenaica, the close relationship existing between the people of Benghazi and the Egyptian Arabs", and the bonds of common religion and ties of trade and commerce", and it might well have been added that the Egyptian sympathies have no less been moved by the deep sense of loyalty the people feel towards the Sovereign Power.

A usually well-informed writer on Egyptian affairs has recently drawn a severe indictment of Lord Kitchener in the *Manchester Guardian*. The writer maintains that under the present military regime at Cairo the Liberal policy for Egypt has been absolutely lost sight of, that the wheels of progress in the direction of self-government have been reversed, and that the whole temperament of the Egyptian administration has been shifted back to a lower grade of morality than any noticed even in the most despotic days of Lord Cromer's one-man-rule. He thinks that Lord Kitchener, whatever excuse may be made for him on the score of instructions, has largely overdone his part. Lord Kitchener has usurped all authority. The Ministers wait on him for instructions, "while the Khedive has abdicated his rôle of prince and lives in retirement." The Legislative Council has again been reduced to impotence. A repressive campaign has been begun against the Press and the prominent members of the National Party. As for Farid Bey, the leader of the party, "quite recently he has been once more condemned—for a speech delivered by him at a private meeting of his party containing nothing of an inflammatory nature affecting public order but severely criticising the Government and condemning their policy in regard to the war—to the savage sentence of a year's imprisonment with hard labour. At the same time Ali Bey Kamel, the responsible director of the *Lawa*, and Ismail Effendi Hafiz, editor of the *Alaw*, received sentences of three months each for publishing Farid's speech, being charged therefor with 'inciting to hatred of the Government'." After reading this indictment we can understand what Lord Kitchener means when he says "that political feeling has lately been much calmer and the consideration of practical reforms for the good of the country has apparently become more interesting to the majority of the people than discussions on abstract political questions which are unlikely to lead to any useful result." Kipling thinks that "Judy O'Grady and the Colonel's lady are sisters under their skin." We do not know what "the Colonel's lady" thinks of the subcutaneous analogy. But we are sure Lord Kitchener would like it even less than Lord Curzon if it is suggested that the two are not so far apart in their motives, even if they do differ in their methods. Yet so they seem to be.

Whatever else we may think of it, Lord Kitchener's assurance about the tranquil condition of Egypt will, we trust, take the wind out of the bogus agitation that has recently been started by a number of scare-mongers led by the military correspondent of the *Times* for the increase of the Army of Occupation. The main function of this garrison is to preserve order in the country, and when Lord Kitchener is fully satisfied with the political situation no earthly cause can be made out for increasing Egypt's burdens. Egypt is still a part of the Turkish Empire and we cannot see how it can be made the "training ground" and strategic centre for British troops.



Life in America.

I.

IN THE UNIVERSITY CAMPUS.

It was a misty, chilly morning in February when I was introduced to the Registry of an American University. In about five minutes I was perfectly at home with him. We talked about my prospective electives in the University and he gave his advice

just like a friend, and was so genial that I could not but mark the difference between him and the Registrar of an Indian University. When I went out from the Registrar's office, I felt perfectly easy and wondered at the far-reaching democracy of America, where all men had equal rights.

In American Universities, generally speaking, they have professional colleges of Medicine, Dentistry, Law, Engineering and Agriculture all grouped round a College of Liberal Arts. The courses are based on the credit-hour system, i.e., one must put in a certain number of hour's work before graduation. The student can choose his own favourite subjects and put his own genuine enthusiasm into the study of those subjects which express his temperament, his inmost ideal, his life's choice. It seems to me, that we can afford to give a trial to this system of credit-hours and electives in our coming universities and find out how they thrive on the Indian soil.

It has been well said of the Dacca University, that it will be of no use unless the atmosphere can be changed, unless great minds come to live in the campus and raise the tone of life. In America they can do this because of the rich endowments. From the following table we can see at a glance how much they spend on professors and how much on students.

University.	Total Income.	Salary of Staff.	Total Staff.	Expenditure per Student.
Columbus	\$ 1,675,000	\$ 1,145,000	559	\$ 280
Harvard	\$ 1,829,780	\$ 1,141,970	573	\$ 209
Chicago	\$ 1,304,000	\$ 699,000	391	\$ 137
Yale	\$ 1,088,981	\$ 24,577	365	\$ 158
Cornell	\$ 1,088,513	\$ 10,931	507	\$ 140

We can never hope anything on this scale in the near future. But as a step towards this we must centralize education and that is why movements like those of Aligarh and Benares should be encouraged. In course of time when there is a moral capital, missionaries will go out from these centres and preach the gospel of unity and progress.

Seven-tenths of the universities of America are co-educational. In the classes the sexes number about equally and there exists a sort of healthy rivalry. From a recent report, it is seen that generally the girls show better results than the boys. This shows clearly that the fair sex when given a fair chance can beat even men in their specialized lines. To my mind, co-education has a very wholesome effect and the experiment has met with more success than was at first anticipated.

To some, the American student is an enigma. He is not discovered by a superficial glance and surely not by those who have never lived on a college campus. To find him as he really is, one needs to follow him to his laboratory or lecture room or on some vague walk at night beneath the stars. He is held by the subtle charms of youth, lost in a sense of his own significance, moving about in a mysterious paradise all his own, "full of dumb emotion, undefined longings and with a deep sense of the romantic possibilities of life."

The American college-man worships at the shrine of reality. To him,

The rank is but the guinea's stamp
The man's the gowd for n' that.

His sense of squareness is highly developed and he prefers the language of naturalness. His college slang, often absurd, is listened to with respect, but the "stumbling sentences" set a college audience wild with enthusiasm. The whole student mood is light and warm as summer sunshine,

He lives in a period when,
'Tis blis to be alive.

Rarely does one find revengefulness or sullen hatred in the American undergraduate. When such a man is discovered he is usually shown the way elsewhere either by students or professors.

The present tendency in American universities is to develop professional training. Many fear that students who will be doctors or engineers will not take part in the political or industrial life of the country. That is true to some extent, but there is no reason to be too nervous on this point. The average American student is filled with enthusiasm for civic and social investigation and improvement. He debates with zeal, economics, immigration and labour questions. Indeed, the modern American university is taking increasingly firmer hold upon the life of the nation.

There is one phase in the life of the average American student which is unparalleled in the world. There is no other country on the globe where such a system is practicable. With self-reliant courage, he works his way through college, tutoring, waiting at the table, and performing other real services. But when we see the student and professor working together upon the American farms, bringing about a new and higher type of rural life, we are bound to ask whether the undergraduate is not interested in concrete construction of life by means of ideas made real.

New York, U. S. A.

R. AHMED.

29th June.

Morocco.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, May 31.

IT IS understood that the latest proposals for the territorial demarcation and future political status of the Spanish sphere in Morocco as drawn up in concert by the French and British Governments submitted to Spain by England have some prospect of commanding themselves to the Spanish Government.

With regard to the question of Tangier, Spain is manifesting her keen political interest in the discussion of the internationalization and municipal organization of that place. The negotiations are understood to have established the unanimity of Great Britain and France on a great variety of points. Till very lately there certainly remained some difficulties with regard to the question of the future rights and influence of the Maghzen international administration. I do not know whether they have entirely been removed. It is manifest that the Maghzen will in future be entirely identified with the French Protectorate in Fez and that consequently any rights reserved for the Maghzen would practically amount to an addition to the rights of France.

The *Temps* protests with some warmth against any idea that France is not wholeheartedly prepared to fulfil her obligation to make the internationalization of Tangier effective and complete. It seems to think that "alarm" and "hesitation" on that point have been expressed by *The Times* or by its Paris Correspondent and it takes occasion to make the following unequivocal assertion.—

"The internationalization of Tangier is the first limitation which we accepted for our Moroccan policy. We accept it in 1912 as plainly as in 1904. When the word of France is engaged to her loyal friends it can neither be taken back nor discussed."

From the latest despatches received from Fez it is inferred that although the situation remains serious the activity of the rebels has diminished. On the other hand, attempts are being made to preach a holy war. The tribesmen appear to have had a sharp lesson administered to them near Sefru yesterday. The Minister of War, M. Millerand, has stated to a representative of the *Temps* that in his opinion the situation does not warrant the undue anxiety which has been aroused. The public would have to expect to hear news of further fighting such as was inseparable from colonial expeditions. M. Millerand added that General Lyautey, in whose hands all civil and military power was concentrated, enjoyed the complete confidence of the Government. All the reinforcements for which General Lyautey may ask will be despatched without delay, and the Algerian frontier force is being held in readiness to come into action as soon as the moment for its intervention has arrived.

Two transports are preparing to sail for Morocco to-morrow and on Sunday from Marsailles and Toulon, respectively, with some 2,000 men, several batteries of artillery and a large quantity of war stores. The Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Poincaré, has addressed to General Lyautey the congratulations of the Government upon the repulse of the rebels and upon the fine bearing of the troops.

The Prime Minister to-day made a statement before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber with regard to the negotiations which led up to the Protectorate Treaty of 30th March. Two explanatory letters dealing with the Sultan's position, Civil List and place of residence, and with the succession in Morocco, are appended to the Treaty. After explaining their purport, M. Poincaré stated that in deference to General Lyautey's representations Mulai Hafid had consented to defer the question of his abdication. With regard to the rising of the tribes, the Prime Minister declared that one of the principal causes of discontent had been the premature announcement which, owing to a regrettable indiscretion, had been made concerning the signature of the Protectorate Treaty. As regards the future, every confidence was to be placed in General Lyautey, who would receive a free hand. The Moroccan finances were to be reorganized by a competent official.

M Maurice Long, who was Reporter for the Franco-German Convention of 4th November 1911, was appointed to act in a similar capacity for the Protectorate Treaty, the adoption of which will be recommended by the Committee.

Paris, June 3.

Colonel Gouraud's column returned to Fez yesterday after a series of brilliant operations in the mountainous country several miles north-east of the town as the result of which the rebels have been driven across the Sebu with heavy loss. The artillery again worked terrible destruction in the ranks of the enemy. Generals Lyautey, Moinier and Brulard and El Mokri went out to meet the column, which marched back to camp, headed by the bands of the garrison, through the principal streets of the town. The native

population is said to have been much impressed. The total French losses amount to 12 killed and 31 officers and men wounded.

Paris, June 5.

General Lyautey reports that the situation at Fez is now satisfactory.

According to the latest despatches from Fez the country between the capital and Mekinez and thence to the coast is considered safe enough to permit of the Sultan's leaving to-morrow for Rabat, where he may be expected to arrive in about a week's time.

Tangier, June 5.

The situation continues to improve, both in the north and in the south.

The End of a Troubled Reign.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Tangier, June 6.

The Sultan and M. Regnault, with their suites, are reported by a wireless telegram to have left Fez early this morning for Rabat and Tangier respectively.

It is no doubt with feelings of intense relief that Mulai Hafid leaves his northern capital, where his three years' residence has been an eventful and singularly disturbing one. Scarcely was he installed in Fez when some of the responsibilities which he had undertaken in usurping the throne of his brother were forcibly thrust upon him by the arrival of three special missions—those of France, Spain and England. France and Spain had important questions to settle, and only M. Regnault's tact prevented an open rupture with the French Republic, while the relations between the Sultan and the representative of Spain accredited to his Court could not have been worse.

Serious as were Mulai Hafid's troubles from without, they fast became even worse from within. His barbarities and his extortion soon changed the sentiment of affection with which he had been welcomed at Fez as the saviour of his country into one of detestation. Yet during this period he showed praiseworthy energy and met with certain signal successes—successes that were rendered worse than useless by the fact that they were always followed by acts of barbaric cruelty. Intrigues amongst his Court and tribal misunderstandings, added to his misgovernment and extortion, drove the people into rebellion, and Mulai Hafid was besieged in his own capital. There is no need to repeat how last summer he appealed for help to France, the very nation whose troops he had sworn, in accepting the throne, to annihilate. After a splendidly organized and difficult forced march the French column relieved Fez and Mulai Hafid shortly found himself safe, only to become a puppet in the hands of a group of French officers.

From this state of servitude—for it was nothing less—General Lyautey has just released him. It was no wonder that he desired to quit Fez and abdicate. Loathed by his own people, mistrusted by everyone, not even consulted by the French military authorities, he remained impotent in his palace while his tribesmen raised rebellion after rebellion and his troops massacred their officers and pillaged the city. He went in daily fear of assassination, and the terrors through which he passed were rendered doubly horrible by a nervous breakdown. With what joy must be this morning have shaken off the dust of Fez from his shoes and turned back to curse the city from the midst of the strong guard of French troops who accompany him to protect him from his own people. It must be added that the sentiments of the population of Fez towards himself are somewhat reciprocal. But the march to the coast will be a severe ordeal, for the Sultan will pass through tribe after tribe, detested by one and all as the puppet of the very Power against whom he, in order to gain the throne, had proclaimed a holy war, and it will be the French troops alone that will protect him from being torn to pieces by his own infuriated countrymen.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, June 6.

The natives who sullenly watched Mulai Hafid leave his capital this morning cannot but have reflected that the Sultan's departure represented the end of a chapter in the history of their country. The rebel tribes beyond the walls will have realized that the chastisement they received at the hands of Brigadier-General Gouraud's column last week has meant nothing less than the failure of their efforts to rescue the Sultan from what they considered to be captivity. As the *Journal des Débats* observes:—

"It is the old Maghreb itself that with the Sultan is passing away along the road to Rabat under an escort of infidels. The Emperor of Morocco may continue to be a form which will be respected by international law, but he has completely ceased to have any authority in his own country. The fact is that the religious origin of this authority made it a force which was much more capable of opposing than of seconding foreign influence. The Sultan's part was far more to act as Commander of the Faithful and to preach a Holy War than to count arrangements which his people deemed sacrilegious. This circumstance did not allow very great results to be expected from his co-operation, but it is difficult to see now what he could be useful to all the series of events which has culminated in his departure for Rabat."

agency of a reformed Maghzen, which will have nothing in common with the old one but the name, we shall ourselves have to conduct the local native policy which is necessary in order to secure the indispensable degree of order in the country."

The *Dépêche* likewises discusses the expediency of the proposals for the transfer of the Residency from Fez to the old Imperial town of Rabat, and comes to the conclusion that from the French point of view, it is important that the present capital, which exercises considerable influence on some of the sturdiest sections of the population, should remain under the direct surveillance of the Protectorate authorities.

France and Spain in Morocco.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Madrid, May 24

MORE than twelve months have now elapsed since the first meeting took place in Madrid between the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs and the French Ambassador—the British Ambassador being also present by the desire of both France and Spain—with the object of regulating the future position of the two Powers in Morocco; yet even now the high contracting parties appear to have some way to travel before they can arrive at a definite agreement. It is not rapid work, even for diplomacy. Certainly there have been "extenuating circumstances," but when every allowance has been made it must still be admitted that progress, especially since the advent to power four months ago of the Poincaré Cabinet, in which so many hopes were reposed, has been disappointingly, lamentably slow.

In view of the length of time which has passed since the negotiations began it may, perhaps, be worth while to recall the manner of their origin. As is known, the relations between France and Spain in Morocco are at present regulated by the—until recently secret—Franco-Spanish Treaty of October, 1904—which was communicated to Great Britain, and may be regarded as a corollary of the Anglo-French Convention of 8th April of the same year—and by the General Act of Algeciras. Early last year the increasing disorder at Fez, and the consequent activity of the French in that region, created in Madrid a conviction that whatever might be affirmed to the contrary the *status quo* in Morocco was passing away before men's eyes, and that accordingly the situation foreseen by Article III. of the Franco-Spanish Treaty had already come into being. In these circumstances the Spanish Government more than once urged that Spain ought now to be free to exercise that liberty of action in the "Spanish zone" which Article III. secured to her in case the *status quo* were altered. For various reasons France was very unwilling to agree to this proposal, but in view of the increasing nervousness and anxiety manifested by Spain at the French advance on Fez—an anxiety which early in May found expression in the occupation of several strategic points between Ceuta and Tetuan—France agreed to discuss the principal points affecting Spain's position in her zone, in regard to which she desired a free hand.

On this basis the negotiations or "conversation" began, and three meetings of this were held in May and June last year. The last of these three meetings took place only a few days before the Spanish occupation of Larache and Alcazar, which caused great resentment in Paris; and as about the same date the British Ambassador was obliged to leave Madrid for London the conversation which had not been without some useful results, were for the time being allowed to drop. Then came the German coup at Agadir, which was welcomed with undisguised satisfaction at Madrid as a proof that others besides Spain felt that the changed situation required energetic action. This satisfaction was deemed to be somewhat diminished by the subsequent refusal at both Berlin and Paris to admit Spain as a third party to their deliberations.

Meanwhile Spain, thus rebuffed, proceeded to establish herself more firmly at Alcazar, and the occurrence of one or two unpleasant incidents between French and Spanish officers or officials led to the conclusion of a *modus vivendi* at the end of July by the terms of which French and Spaniards were to keep strictly within their respective zones. Spain now began to manifest a desire to resume the "conversation" which had been dropped in June, and in spite of the obvious disadvantages of resuming them before France and Germany had concluded an agreement a resumption did actually take place in September, when, for the first time, the French claim for "compensation" in return for the removal of the "German mortgage" was presented.

The French territorial claims as outlined at this time consisted of the whole of the Spanish Southern Zone, coast and all, including Ifni—in return for which it was understood that Spain should enjoy complete administrative control in her northern Zone. Spain demurred to these claims on the ground that Ifni was the only tangible result of the war of 1860 and that though she had never yet occupied it she now desired to do so and had so arranged in her treaty of 16th November 1910, with the Maghzen. Moreover she could never cede the coast opposite the Canaries. In the circumstances France invited Spain to make a counter proposal; but though the Spanish Government admitted the principle of compensation they declared themselves unable to formulate any

counter proposal unless France could guarantee that they should not later receive a second "bill" from Germany. This guarantee obviously could not at that time be given and the conversation again lapsed. The French Government subsequently regarded the proposals on which these September conversations were based as having "lapsed" also.

Early in November the publication in Paris of the text of the secret treaty of October, 1904, revealed for the first time to the French public the nature and extent of the Spanish claims in Morocco. A good deal of indignation was manifested, and a section of the French Press perversely vented its ill-humour on Spain towards whom menacing language was used, with hints that if she did not consent to evacuate Larache and Alcazar of her own free will it might be found necessary to find means to compel her. Such language naturally only evoked a corresponding spirit of defiance in Spain, but wiser counsels prevailed, and, owing to the advice of the more moderate men and, above all, to the conciliatory attitude of the French Ambassador in Madrid, M. Geoffray, who in this matter has from the first to last proved himself the best friend both of his own country and of Spain, and whose tact and discretion have more than once saved a situation which looked well-nigh desperate, a draft convention was finally submitted to the Spanish Foreign Minister on 6th December which contained nothing of a nature to wound Spanish susceptibilities. It was understood at this time, on both sides, that with perhaps a slight rectification of the frontier line to the south-west of the river L'icur, compensation should be sought exclusively in the Spanish southern zone.

During the interval which elapsed between this date and the fall of the Caillaux Cabinet in the middle of January several meetings took place at which two points soon proved to be the focus of the discussion, namely, the French desire that "general regulations" for the whole of Morocco should be issued by "the Maghzen," which to the Spaniards was only another way of saying "by France," and the question of the control of Customs at Larache and Tétuan. Spain, it should be observed, had early laid down the condition that the question of "compensation" should be postponed until her future position in her zone was clearly defined.

The fall of the Caillaux Cabinet was welcomed in Spain because it was believed, somewhat hastily, that the new French Ministry, however composed, was likely to be more conciliatory to Spain. As a matter of fact when on 9th February M. Geoffray returned to Madrid after prolonged conferences with M. Poincaré he came authorized to make liberal concessions regarding Spain's administrative and general control in her zone, and almost immediately received instructions to agree to Spain's proposal for the immediate appointment of joint Franco-Spanish Commission, to sit in Madrid, for the examination of the Customis question, provided that Spain on her part would agree to enter forthwith upon the question of territorial compensation. To this Spain agreed.

On the 17th February accordingly M. Geoffray presented the French territorial demands. They contained a claim for Cabo de Agua (occupied by the Spaniards in 1908), which was never regarded seriously in Madrid and was perhaps hardly seriously meant in Paris. At any rate it was never energetically pressed and was eventually quietly withdrawn. The really important claim, however, which produced on the Spanish Government a feeling akin to dismay, was that for the whole valley of the Wergha river. This demand was an entirely new departure, for the portion of the Wergha river assigned to Spain by the 1904 Treaty lies in the Spanish "Northern Zone," whereas Spain has always understood that compensation was to be sought only in the south. The ground on which the claim was based were, roughly, that Spain would find it difficult to control the Wergha valley, and that for France pre-dominance in that region was necessary to enable her to secure her position at Fez. Round this question of the Wergha valley discussion has turned and turned for the last four months. Spain continues to protest that to cede the whole valley is to cut her only line of military communications between the Gharb and the Melilla district. France steadily maintains that the possession of the whole valley, or at the very least the territory of all the riverain tribes, is absolutely essential to her, and since the recent outbreak at Fez her insistence has been more emphatic than ever. Spain has gone so far as to consent to cede the left bank of the river for a distance subsequently to be determined, but protests her inability to give way further. So acute did the dispute wax that at one moment a rupture seemed probable, a danger then happily averted owing in large measure to the friendly offices of Great Britain. Unfortunately these friendly efforts have not yet been crowned with success, and the moment of writing the danger of a rupture or perhaps another "lapse" of the negotiations, has not yet disappeared. Meanwhile the Franco-Spanish Commission is idle. The French members returned to Paris for Easter and there apparently they are to remain till the territorial dispute is settled. It is not a glorious record of 12 months' work when all is said and done; but if even thus little can be in harmony and agreement it will at least not have been labour wasted. Any other issue would be so deplorable, so little to the credit of either of the high contracting parties, that such a possibility cannot be seriously contemplated.

Persia.

News of the Week.

Sir Edward Grey in reply to questions from Mr. Walter Guinness and Mr. Noel Burton in the House of Commons on the 25th June said that competent military authorities, both here and in India, have been consulted as to the desirability of a Russo-Indian Railway. It was, however, contrary to usage to publish confidential views on strategic questions. The conditions for which the Government would finally stipulate would certainly take into account those views. No definite project at present existed, said Sir Edward Grey. The Government, however, after consulting the Government of India, stated beforehand that any countenance they might give to such a railway must be subject to conditions acceptable to the Government. To decide always to oppose any Trans-Persian Railway would be neither practical nor a wise judgment.

A long letter from Sir Valentine Chirol is published in the *Times*, in which he discusses the Trans-Persian Railway. He strongly deprecates prejudicing the case against it, though he admits that the case in favour of it has yet to be made out. Railway communication between England and India cannot be indefinitely postponed. Is it not wiser, he asks, to deal with the question when we have the opportunity of exercising by friendly means a decisive influence upon the solution of the problem?

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, May 27.

The great Yegrem, as he himself predicted but a short time back, died a soldier's death. He was shot during the last fight with the Salar-ed-Dowleh's forces at Shurjeh, whilst directing an operation which resulted in the abandonment by the enemy of a point of vantage. It has been said that he unnecessarily exposed himself to the enemy's fire at short range. Be this as it may, a commander of a force in action must be the best judge as to the need of his presence at any particular spot, and whether or not in this particular case the advantage gained was not too dearly purchased is not for us to say. All we can say is that he died fighting a successful action, and we cannot ask more of any soldier.

The action at Shurjeh appears to have been a severe one. It is impossible to obtain accurate information regarding the numbers engaged, but we gather that the Government force amounted to something in the neighbourhood of 1,000 men, as against about 1,500 on the side of their opponents. Similarly, in the matter of casualties, no reliable information is to be obtained. According to the official reports the enemy lost 300, and the Government five or six! After Yegrem's death the command was taken over by Gherie, the next best officer in the Armenian ranks. Once defeated the enemy was kept on the run. His dispersal is apparently complete, for the best news we have is that the Government force has arrived at Kangavar en route for Kermanshah, which town they expect to reach in about two days from now. In his last official despatch the commander states that he had received a report from Kermanshah to the effect that Salar-ed-Dowleh has been murdered in the house of his chief supporter, Daoud Khan. Whether the report be true or not, it is not unreasonable to believe that the problem of the rebel Prince is one of the past. The re-occupation of Kermanshah by the Government troops will deprive this troublesome individual of the main source of his funds. Further, the bulk of his supporters has already left him. In these circumstances the only sensible course open to him is to leave the country.

The Cabinet is at the present moment undergoing another shuffle, and during the process the work of Government is suspended. The Kawam-es-Sultaneh, Minister of the Interior, has resigned, the result of his objections to the use of a secret telegraphic code by the Prime Minister in his communications with the Kawam-ul-Mulk in Shiraz. The Vusagh-ed Dowleh, Minister of Foreign Affairs, is also resigning out of sympathy, it is said, for the Kawam-es-Sultaneh, who is his brother. There will now be a general shift round, but it is quite impossible at present to predict with any accuracy who the new Ministers are to be.

(FROM THE "MORNING POST")

Lord Lamington, who returned to London on the 30th May, left England early in the year to study the situation in Persia. Reuter's Agency is informed that Lord Lamington has had a very interesting trip, but at the present moment he does not feel free to discuss the political situation in Persia further than to say that the country was in a very distressful condition. Events seemed to be changing very rapidly, but there was an entire absence of order.

Lord Lamington visited Bushire and Mohammerah, he travelled up the Karun river to Ohvaz, visited the oil fields, and passed through the Bakhtiari country to Teheran.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

Reuter's St. Petersburg correspondent telegraphs:—A message from Tabriz announces that information has reached the Persian

authorities from Ardebil, under date 4th June, that a Russian force under General Fidaroff marched out from the town during the night against the Shahsevens, and at dawn fighting began above Serabi. When the message was despatched an engagement was in progress at two points about 12 miles from Ardebil, and on the Russian side eight men had been killed.

Persia and the Trans-Persian Railway.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—The projected railway from Russia across Persia to India raises questions of a strategical and a political character with which it would be impossible adequately to deal in a brief letter. But there is another aspect of the scheme, so far as this country is concerned, upon which I should like to say something,—namely, the probable effect of the railway upon our commerce with Persia. And there are the all-important questions how the railway will affect Persia and whence the revenues are to be derived to find the interest on the money required for its construction.

I must not trespass upon your space by attempting to do more than indicate the nature of these questions. Let me at the outset express the hope that those who take part in this discussion, whether in Parliament or in the Press, and who may be connected with the promotion of this or other railway projects in Persia, will let the fact be known. Personally, I am not concerned with the promotion of this railway. I have been sounded by one of the promoters, and the view which I expressed was that the principle which should govern the construction of railways in Persia was consideration for the needs and resources of Persia. I made it plain that, in my opinion, a *prima facie* case for a railway across Persia would have been made good if it could be proved that such a railway was best adapted to Persia's needs and that Persia possessed the necessary resources for its construction. I inquired whether it were possible to present such a *prima facie* case. As the railway could not be built without a guarantee of interest, and as the only revenues appropriate for such a purpose were, so far as I knew, the Customs duties which had been appropriated for the service of loans, I inquired to what other revenues recourse would be had. To this question I have not yet received any satisfactory answer; but it is rumoured that a guarantee by the British and Russian Governments may be forthcoming. If so, will the British guarantee be derived from Indian or from Imperial funds and will it require the sanction of Parliament? Has the Russian Government withdrawn from the decision, announced last year, that the scheme must not involve an obligation upon the Russian Treasury? We ought to have an answer to these questions as soon as possible.

As regards the features of the Trans-Persian scheme, your readers may find it useful to refer to two papers and discussions on the subject published by the Central Asian Society in their Proceedings for February and March of last year. I understand that the *trace* of the railway in its present form contemplated junction with the Russian railways either at Julia on the Araxes or just south of Baku and with the Indian railways at Karachi. From the Russian frontier the line is to be taken through Teheran, Isfahan, Yazd, Kerman, Regan and Rangpur to Charbar on the Indian Ocean, and thence along the coast to Karachi. This *trace* brings the line fairly close to the borders of Seistan and British Baluchistan. From the commercial point of view it is obvious that such a railway by itself would satisfy the needs neither of Persia nor of Great Britain. Unless British trade is to be swept out of Northern and Central Persia, the trunk railway will have to be joined up with the Black Sea on the north, through Tabriz, and with the head of the Persian Gulf on the south. From the commercial point of view our approval of the scheme would seem to be impossible unless it provides for these two arms. They are no less essential to Persia than to ourselves. There is already a large trade between Northern Persia and the Black Sea, and between Central Persia, through Isfahan, and the Persian Gulf.

The immediate needs of Persia in the matter of railways would seem to be best met by a railway connecting her capital and most productive districts with the Russian frontier on the one side and head of the Persian Gulf on the other. This would not preclude an extension eastwards of the railway system as the resources of the country develop. It would greatly assist the Persian Government in the task which lies immediately before them of restoring order in the south. Proposals for a Persian State railway of this nature, with which I was myself in part associated, were laid before the Persian Government last year. They provided that the northern sections of the line should be financed by Russia and the southern by British capital. After protracted negotiations, with the course of which the Russian Government were kept acquainted, the contract for the southern section was completed and duly required the sanction of the Persian Parliament. Now that this Parliament has been swept away, the more ambitious and much more costly scheme for a railway across Persia seems for the moment to be in the ascendant. But its promoters will have to answer the question which I have

indicated above before we can regard it as a practical scheme, alike acceptable to Persia and in consonance with the commercial interests of our own country. On its probable political effects and its strategical aspects in relation to India I will say nothing.

Yours respectfully,
H. F. B. LUNCH.

Russian Advance in Persia.

RECENT events in Persia have demonstrated to the most optimistic mind that the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1907 did not close the Central Asian question for all time. In order to present the situation created by the Russian occupation of Northern and North-Eastern Persia in its proper perspective, it is necessary to examine with some care the literature of the Central Asian question. The first document is the scheme of policy alleged to have been drafted by Peter the Great as foreshadowing the destiny of Russia. Whoever was the author of this State paper, anyone who has studied Russian foreign policy cannot but be impressed by the closeness with which that scheme of policy has approximated to the realities of history. Section VI, for instance, runs thus —

"Keep up a state of anarchy in Poland, influence the national assemblies, and above all regulate the election of its kings, split it up on every occasion that presents itself, and finally subjugate it."

That proviso has been carried into effect to the last particular. The modern world has almost accepted the partition of Poland as a final, irredeemable act. So far as the present discussion is concerned, Articles VII and VIII are vital —

(VII) Enter into a close alliance with England and maintain direct relations with her by means of a good commercial treaty.

(VIII) Bear in mind that the commerce of India is the commerce of the world, and that he who can exclusively command it is dictator of Europe. No occasion, therefore, should be lost to provoke war with Persia, to hasten its decay, to advance on the Persian Gulf, and then to endeavour to re-establish the ancient trade of the Levant through Syria.

The process of the absorption of Persia by Russia has continued steadily, writes C. H. Norman in the first of a series of articles in the *Outlook*. In 1813 the treaty of Gulistan was concluded, by which Persia acknowledged "the sovereignty of the Empire of Russia over the provinces of Karabagh and Georgia, now called Elizabeth Paul, the districts of Sheki, Shirigan, Kobek, Derbend, Bakoobeh, and such part of Talish as is now possessed by Russia, the whole of Dagestan, Georgia, the tract of Shoorgul, etc., the whole country between the boundary at present established and the line of Caucasus and all the territory between the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea." Russia was quietly stirring up strife along the Russo-Persian frontier till 1828, when the treaty of Turkomanchay was entered into, by which Persia ceded "the Khanate of Erivan on either side of the Araxes and the Khanate of Nakhichevan". Then for a period of several decades, peace reigned on the Russo-Persian frontier. Russian encroachments upon the Persian boundaries ceased, for Russia was consolidating her influence in the Khanates of Central Asia. In 1833 came Demidov's mission to Bokhara. In 1839 Perovski advanced on Khiva. In 1841 Russia seized Ashurada. In 1844 the Great Horde of the Kirghiz submitted to Russian suzerainty. In 1857 the Caucasus was formally annexed. In 1864 Turkestan acknowledged the temporal supremacy of the Tsar, while Khojend, in the same year, was taken by Russian forces.

Here one must refer to the circular despatch of Prince Gortchakov, issued to the British Government on 21st November 1864. The Russian statesman, in analysing the motives of Russian policy, argued as follows —

The position of Russia in Central Asia is that of all civilised States which are brought into contact with half-savage, nomad populations, possessing no fixed social organisation. In such case, it always happens that the more civilised State is forced, in the interest of the security of its frontier and its commercial relations, to exercise a certain ascendancy over those whom their turbulent and unsettled character makes most undesirable neighbours. First, there are raids and acts of pillage to be put down. To put a stop to them the tribes on the frontier have to be reduced to a state of more or less perfect submission. The result once attained, these tribes take to more peaceful habits, but are more in their turn exposed to the attacks of the more distant tribes. The State is bound to defend them against these depredations and to punish those who commit them. . . . It is a peculiarity of Asiatics to respect nothing but visible and palpable force; the moral force of reason and of the interests of civilisation has as yet no hold upon them. The work has then always to be done over again from the beginning. In order to put a stop to this state of permanent disorder, fortified posts are established in the midst of these hostile tribes, and an influence is brought to bear upon them which reduces them by degrees to a state of more or less forced submission. But some beyond this second line, other still more distant tribes,

come in their turn to threaten the same dangers and necessitate the same measures of repression. The State thus finds itself forced to choose one of two alternatives — either to give up this endless labour and to abandon its frontier to perpetual disturbances, or, on the other hand, to plunge deeper and deeper into barbarous countries where the difficulties and expenses increase with every advance. Such has been the fate of every country which has found itself in a similar position. The United States in America, France in Algeria, Holland in her colonies, England in India — all have been irresistibly forced, less by ambition than by imperious necessity, into this onward march, where the greatest difficulty is to know where to stop.

This brilliant State paper was a connecting link between the ancient world and modern Imperialism. Since the days of Caesar no one has more strongly enunciated the reasons why powerful communities, who are developing their resources, are compelled to extend their territories at the expense of weaker neighbours. These principles of policy were promptly acted on. In 1868 Samarkand was captured by General Kauffmann. In 1869 Stolietoff occupied Krasnovodsk. In 1871 Kizil Arvat was razed and Khiva surrendered in 1873. Khoekend was seized in 1875 and was annexed in 1876 under the name of Fergana.

This incessant advance was attracting some attention in India and in England. It was pointed out that General Duhamel's scheme for the invasion of India, which had been submitted to the Tsar in 1855, had, as its strategical principle, adored a march on India via Persia and Baluchistan. In 1868 Sir H. Rawlinson issued his famous Memorandum on the Central Asian question, in which he observed —

Anyone who traces the movements of Russia towards India on the map of Asia cannot fail to be struck with the resemblance which these movements bear to the operations of an army opening parallels against a beleaguered fortress. . . . The third parallel would be drawn from Asterabad at the south east corner of the Caspian along the Persian frontier to Herat, and from thence through the Hazareh uplands to the Oxus, or possibly by Candahar to Kabul. Established upon such a line her position would indeed be formidable. Troops, stores, and material might be concentrated to any extent at Asterabad. The country between that port and Herat is open and admirably supplied. . . . Herat has been often called "the key of India," and fully deserves its reputation as the most important military position in Central Asia. The earthworks which surround the town are of the most colossal character and might be indefinitely strengthened. Water and supplies abound. It is no exaggeration to say that if Russia were once established in full strength at Herat and her communications were secured in one direction with Asterabad through Meshed, in another with Khiva through Merv, and in a third with Tashkend and Bokhara through Mymeneh and the passage of the Oxus, all the native forces of Asia would be inadequate to expel her from the position.

In 1874 the Russian advance being still unchecked, Sir Henry Rawlinson prepared a paper entitled "Later Phases of the Central Asian Question". He answered the query "What is the particular evil or danger to be apprehended from the presence of the Russians at Merv?" by pointing out —

Russia by advancing on Merv evidently means mischief. She would never embark on an enterprise of so perilous a nature for mere purposes of trade or police. Political objects of high import could alone justify the movement. Those objects necessarily point to Herat, which would be at the mercy of a European Power holding Merv, and from whence India would be seriously threatened. . . . Russia in possession of Herat would have a grip on the throat of India . . . Herat is both strategically and politically an indispensable bulwark of India, and we cannot and will not allow its future fate to be at the disposition of a foreign Power.

Colonel MacGregor, who had journeyed through Khorassan in 1875, thus emphasised the value of Herat —

Herat has been termed the key of India, not lightly as a mere figure of speech, but by every officer who has had an opportunity of seeing its valley. It is so because it is the nearest and best point at which an invader could concentrate and prepare for the invasion of that country, advantages which it gains from its beautiful valley, the fertility of which is unrivalled in Asia, from its strategical position which gives it the command of all the important roads to India; from the great strength of its fortress, it being in fact the strongest place from the Caspian to the Indus, from its admirable climate and from the prestige it enjoys throughout Asia.

Notwithstanding these warnings, the British Foreign Office remained quiescent and Russia proceeded calmly onwards. In 1877 Kars and Erzeroum were captured. In 1878 Grodekoff reached Herat. In 1879 the Russians advanced against the Tekke Turkmans, but were beaten back. In that same year the British Government became a little uneasy and requested explanations from Petersburg. Count Schouvaloff told Lord Salisbury that —

"The Russian Government had no intention of sending an expedition from the Caspian with the object of occupying Merv.

29th June.

The expedition would be against the Tekkes only. He disbelieved in the existence of any desire to advance to Merv among Russian statesmen, and that even if it had been true that Russia had the intention of occupying Herat as a stepping-stone to India, Merv did not lie upon the nearest road between the Caspian and Herat."

In November, 1879, Mr. Gladstone gave utterance to these comforting sentiments:—

I do not believe the Emperor of Russia is a man of aggressive scheme of policy. I have no fear myself of the territorial extensions of Russia in Asia—no fear of them whatever. I think such fears are only old women's fears.

With this encouragement Russia began the Transcaspian Railway and seized Bahmi. In 1881 Geok Tépé fell and the Turkomans were annihilated. In the same year Askabad was taken and the Tekkes were subdued, the Transcaspian Railway reached Kizil Arvat and Mr. O'Donovan arrived at Merv. In February, 1882, M. de Giens, in answer to further inquiries, stated to Sir Edward Thornton: "Russia has no intention whatever of occupying Merv and Sarakhs." That was the solemn undertaking of the Russian Secretary of State to the British Ambassador.

Persian Women.

MR. A. W. MORGAN SHUSTER, lately Treasurer-General of Persia, has an interesting article on "Persian Women in the Recent Crisis" in the May number of the *Century Magazine*. Mr. Shuster writes—

We live to-day in an era of change and great surprise. We discover every moment new laws of human existence, or novel applications of old ones to modern conditions. For example, if such things could be expressed in mathematical formula, we might assert that the capacity of a people to observe without nervous shock radical and even epoch-making reforms increases as the square of past experiences, or that the momentum acquired by a people in the pursuit of some long-desired condition is in direct proportion to the past restraints under which they have fretted.

During the last five years, the women of Persia have become almost at a bound the most progressive, not to say radical, in the world. The fact makes one gape with astonishment, and upsets the previous notions of centuries.

Without the powerful moral influence of the Persian women,—those so-called chattels of the Oriental lords of creation,—the shout lived, but marvellously conducted, revolutionary movement in Persia which has recently been smothered by Russia and England would have paled early into a mere disorganized protest. It was they, from their cloistered lives, who, with the patriotic support of the Islamic priests, fostered the national movement of the Persian people for the adoption of constitutional forms of government, and for the inculcation of Western political, commercial, and ethical codes.

Throughout the five years following on the successful, but bloodless, rising of the Persians in 1906 against the unendurable oppressions, cruelty, and extortions of their Shah, a feverish and at times fierce light of patriotism has gleamed in the veiled eyes of Persian womanhood. In their thirst for liberty and its modern expressions, they have broken down many of the most sacred customs which from the beginning of history have bound their sex.

During my recent brief sojourn in the land of Iran my astonishment increased daily at the manifestations of the influence and high purposes of the Mahomedan women. We have long been accustomed to the increasingly large rôle played by Western women in business, in the professions, in literature, in science, and in politics; but what shall we say of the veiled woman of the near East who overnight become teacher, newspaper writers, founders of woman's clubs, and speakers on political subjects? What shall we think when we find them vigorously propagating the most progressive ideas of the Occident in a land until recently wrapped in the hush and gloom of centuries of despotism.

It is interesting to consider whence comes their desire to play a part in the political and social regeneration of their country, and their unwavering faith in the political and social institutions of the West. That the desire came, and still exists, there can be no possible doubt, and with it was born the discriminating intelligence which as a rule is acquired only by long years of practical experience. The Persian women have given to the world a notable example of the ability of inexperienced minds to assimilate rapidly an absolutely new idea, and with *clan* of the crusader who has a vision, they have set to work to accomplish their ideals.

The American finance administrators who went to Persia in May, 1911, to reorganize the fiscal system of that country were fortunate enough to win the confidence of the National Assembly, or Mejlis, a body which fairly represented the hopes and aspirations of the great mass of the Persian people. This point gained, we were soon made aware that another great, though secret, influence was watching our work with jealous but kindly eyes. It is well known in Teheran that there are dozens of more or less secret societies among the Persian women, with a central organization by which they are controlled. To this day I know neither the names nor the facts of

the leaders of this group, but in a hundred different ways we learned that we were to be befriended and supported by the patriotic fervour of thousands of the weaker sex.

A few examples may suffice. I was sitting in my office one morning last summer, several months after our arrival at Teheran, when I was told that one of the Persian clerks in the Treasury Department wished to see me on an important matter. Information comes unexpectedly and from such curious sources in the Orient that no offer can safely be rejected. A young man came in whom I had never before seen. We spoke in French, and after receiving permission to talk freely, with many apologies he said that his mother was our friend, that she had commissioned him to say that Mrs. Shuster should not pay a visit to the household of a certain Persian grandee, by whose family she had been invited since he was an enemy to the constitutional government and my wife's visit would make the Persians suspect me. I thanked him, though at the time I did not myself know of the contemplated visit, but I soon learned that it was true, and of course advised against it. I called the young Persian again and asked him how his mother knew of this purely private social affair. He said that it had been known and discussed in the secret society to which his mother belonged, and that it was decided to warn me against it.

On another occasion last fall a large crowd of poor women came to the Atabak Park, where I lived and had my private offices, to make a demonstration because the Treasury had been unable to pay the Government pension, on which over a million dollars was then due. The available funds had been necessary for the volunteer troops who had been fighting against the ex-Shah, Muhamad Ali Mirza, who was attempting to regain the throne. I sent one of my Persian secretaries to ask these women who had told them to come and make this demonstration. He reported that it had been instigated by a reactionary grandee who was well known to be favouring the cause of the ex-Shah. I had them told that they would be given an answer on the following day if they dispersed quietly, which they did.

I then sent to one of the women's societies a simple explanation of our financial straits and the impossibility of paying these pensions because of the needs of the constitutional government, with a request that the Society prevent any further agitation against the Treasury. Though it did not become possible to pay these pensions, there was never another demonstration by women on this account.

They have a saying in Teheran that when the women take part in a chuluk (strike or riot) against a Cabinet or the Government, the situation has become serious.

On 9th and 10th October the confiscation of the properties of the two rebellious brothers of the ex-Shah, took place, despite the illegal and outrageous intervention of the Russian Consul-General at Teheran, who with Russian Cossacks made the Treasury officials prisoners on the first day. Finding that their Consul-General had no excuse in law or fact for his conduct towards Persia, the Russian Cabinet concocted and gave out the pretext that one of these properties was mortgaged to the Russian bank at Teheran, and that its former owner, the Prince Shua-u-Saltani, brother of the ex-Shah, owed the bank some \$225,000. Everyone knew that the claim was both false and absurd, but as there is no recognised system for recording mortgages, and as the rebel Prince himself would doubtless swear to the transaction in order to save his property from confiscation, we were at a loss how to disprove this claim.

To all demands that the Russian bank should produce its books and other proofs of the debt a deaf ear was turned.

It was then that I received a striking proof of the courage and patriotism of Persian womanhood, and of the practical value of their moral support. One of my principal Persian assistants, a very highly educated and patriotic man, came to me and said that his sister was one of the wives of Prince Shua-u-Saltani, and that she had obtained one of the copies of the Prince's last will and testament, executed within the year, just before he had left Persia, and in compliance with all the ceremony and formality required by law and the Mahomedan religion for a man of that rank. She had informed him that this document, as was required, contained full lists and inventories of all the Prince's lands and property, and a statement of all debts due to him or by him—in fact, a complete and solemn report of his financial situation. The sister of my informant had told him to bring me this document, though at enormous risk to the lives and property rights of herself and her children, because she believed it was her duty to her country. I received the document, and while it was able to refute absolutely the last falsehood on which the Russian Government had depended to justify the hostile and unfeeling acts of her consular officials in this affair.

We come now to the occasion on which the Persian women, in their zeal for liberty and their ardent love for the nationality, threw down the last barriers which distinguished their sex, and gave evidence of a courage and heroism worthy to be sung in imperishable verse.

The Russian Government, on 29th November 1911, had delivered a second forty-eight-hour *ultimatum* to Persia, demanding my expulsion from the post of Treasurer-General, the full control in future of all foreign administrators or advisers, the payment of a heavy indemnity by Russia, and a promise to decide all past, present, and future questions between Persia and Russia to the satisfaction of the Russian Government. The acceptance of the terms of this *ultimatum* meant the complete abdication by Persia of her sovereignty. A few minutes before the time expired, on 1st December the National Assembly, in public session, gave its unanimous vote to reject the conditions.

The Cabinet was panic-stricken, and a gloomy foreboding was in the air. There were neither men nor means with which to oppose successful resistance to the thousands of troops and the batteries of artillery which Russia was already pouring into Northern Persia. The days passed, and another effort was made by the now thoroughly frightened Cabinet to get the National Assembly to vote them powers to accept the Russian and British demands. The deputies again solemnly refused. As one of the religious representatives phrased it in the chamber, "It may be the will of Allah that our liberty and our sovereignty shall be taken from us by force, but let us not sign them away with our own hands." The people in Teheran and throughout the provinces heard of the Assembly's brave stand and were delirious with joy.

Then came the dark days when doubts were whispered as to whether the Assembly would stand firm; sickening fears arose as to the effects of the threats and bribes which were being freely used on the deputies by Russian emissaries and *protégés*. It was rumoured more than once that in secret conclave the Assembly had decided to yield. The bazaars and people of the capital city were torn with anxiety. What could they do to hold their representatives to their duty?

Comes forward now the Persian woman! Out from their walled courtyards and harems marched three hundred of that weak sex, with the flush of undying determination in their cheeks. They were clad in their plain black robes, with the white net of their veils dropped over their faces. Many held pistols under their skirts or in the folds of their sleeves. Straight to the Assembly they went, and, gathered there, demanded of the president that he admit them all. What the grave deputies of the land of the Lion and the Sun may have thought at this strange visitation, history saith not. The president consented to receive a delegation of them. In his reception hall they confronted him, and lest he and his colleagues should doubt their meaning, these cloistered Persian mothers, wives, and daughters showed their revolvers threateningly, tore aside their veils, and confessed their decision to kill their own husbands and sons and add their own dead bodies to the sacrifice if the deputies should waver in their duty to uphold the liberty and dignity of the Persian people and nation.

A week or two later, the Assembly was destroyed by a coup d'état executed by Russian henchmen, but its members were stainless of having sold their country's birthright.

All honor to the veiled women of Persia! With the constraining traditions of the past about them, with the idea of absolute dependence upon the fancy and caprice of men ever before them, deprived of all opportunity to educate themselves after modern ideals, watched, guarded, and rebuffed, they offered up their daily contribution to their country's cause, watching its servants each moment with a mother's jealous eyes, and failed not, even in that grim, tragic hour when men's hearts grew weak and the palsyng dread of the prison and its tortures, the noose and the bullet, had settled heavy on the bravest in the land.

The dearest hopes of the Persian people have been cruelly smothered, but the memory of their heroic women will live to inspire mankind wherever the love of justice dwells in the hearts of men.



Lord Kitchener's Report on Egypt.

(FROM THE "TIMES")

Lord KITCHENER'S first report as His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General dealing with the finances, administration, and condition of Egypt and the Sudan in 1911 was issued last night by the Foreign Office as a White paper [Cd. 6149]. In the introduction to his report Lord Kitchener, after paying a tribute to the memory of his predecessor, Sir Eldon Gorst, says that it gave him great personal pleasure to return to Egypt, and after an absence of 11 years he was in a position to realise, better perhaps than those who had been continuously working in the country, the progress and changes which had taken place. Alluding to the effects of the Turco-Italian war, he says:

"Almost simultaneously with my arrival in Egypt the whole political situation in the Near East was radically disturbed by the totally

unexpected action of Italy in declaring war against the Turkish Empire and proceeding to invade Tripoli and Cyrenaica. It was not surprising, in view of the geographical proximity to Egypt of these two districts, the close relationship existing between the people of Benghazi and the Egyptian Arabs, and the bonds of common religion and ties of trade and commerce that an extremely warm feeling of sympathy should have been aroused in the country for the Muhammadan combatants. The excitement caused by the war was widespread and deep, but notwithstanding the mischievous efforts of some of the more irresponsible native newspapers, the people of Egypt have displayed the most praiseworthy self-restraint, and have devoted themselves to quite justifiable and generous efforts to relieve the distress and the suffering caused by the war and to the equipment and despatch of Red Crescent hospitals to succour the wounded. Egypt was declared neutral, and that neutrality has been strictly maintained by Egyptians, who have thus shown an admirable devotion to duty, law, and order, in spite of the intensely sympathetic and religious feelings roused by the long struggle which has been going on so close to their frontier."

"I am glad to be able to report that political feeling in other respects has lately been much calmer, and that the consideration of practical reforms for the good of the country has apparently become more interesting to the majority of the people than discussions on abstruse political questions which are unlikely to lead to any useful result."

Continuing Lord Kitchener states that the future development of the people of Egypt depends on improved conditions of agriculture and educational progress. In this respect the newly-formed Agricultural Department is doing its best to impart instruction to cultivators and to overcome the conservative methods of the *fellah*. Efforts are also being made to improve the cotton seed used by the poorer classes and much-needed drainage works are to be carried out as soon as possible. The expenses incurred by the raising of the Asuan Dam, which is to be finished next May, will be covered many times over by the benefit accruing from the increased irrigation of the country. In speaking of education the report states —

"In 1910 an important and very interesting experiment was commenced, viz., the handing over of local education to the then recently constituted Provincial Councils, funds being provided by a percentage on the land taxes. The Ministry of Education has been careful not to interfere with the manner in which the various educational schemes prepared by the Provincial Councils have been carried out, although it has been always ready to give advice and assistance when asked to do so. The Councils took up the work with enthusiasm, and undoubtedly, under their supervision and control, a great impulse has been given to education. This new departure has introduced a much-needed elasticity and diversity into the system of instruction and has enlarged the field of free education. Time and scope must be given to enable their efforts to develop and crystallize, and it is premature at present to give any definite opinion on the result while the experiment is still in a somewhat indeterminate and provisional stage."

After referring to the improvements required in the system of elementary education which has hitherto prevailed, the report proceeds —

"What seems most required for progress in the direction is to evolve the best type of rural school, adapted to the special practical needs of agricultural districts, and when this has been done we may confidently hope to see a considerable increase in the number of boys educated. It must not be forgotten that any hasty or unthought-out development of education in rural districts, unless it is carefully adapted to rural necessities, may imperil the agricultural interest on which the prosperity of the country so largely depends. A rural exodus in Egypt would be an economic and social disaster of considerable magnitude. To avoid this contingency, a half-time system of education allowing of labour in the field for the remainder of the day, with holidays fixed in accordance with agricultural necessities, seems the best solution."

Lord Kitchener concludes his introduction to the report on Egypt by referring to the Legislative Council, the Capitulations, and the Mixed Tribunals —

"The Legislative Council has been working well, and I think its members are fully imbued with an earnest desire to improve the condition of the people. How far, however, owing to the manner of their election and their numbers in the Council, they represent effectively the well-considered wishes of the inhabitants of all classes appears to me to be open to question and to require careful study."

"My predecessors have so often and so fully pointed out the clog to the progress of Egypt caused by the Capitulations, that it is almost unnecessary for me to refer to this hindrance to the advance of the country imposed by foreign Powers. It is hoped that some alleviation of the tutelage in which the country is still held may be

the outcome of a protest made by Egypt at the last International Sanitary Congress, which was well received by the experts assembled in Paris.

"The condition of the Mixed Tribunals has attracted considerable attention of late. These Courts, as has been frequently pointed out, constitute an *imperium in imperio*, and I apprehend that inherent defects in the fundamental principles of their organization are the main causes of recent developments in the institution which have given rise to so much comment.

"There can, indeed, be little doubt that these Courts are no longer adequate to deal satisfactorily with the large volume of civil and commercial business which comes before them, and I hear constant complaints on this head from the commercial community. This is scarcely surprising, in view of the steady increase of arrears during the last few years, both in the Cairo Tribunal and the Court of Appeal. The remedy usually suggested for the present unsatisfactory state of affairs is very simple and merely consists in an increase in the staff of judges. I am not, however, myself convinced that such an increase in the existing number of judges as the Egyptian Government could reasonably be asked to make would prove an adequate corrective of the defects so much complained of. The real remedy is to be sought in the adoption of certain essential modifications in the existing organization of these Courts, such as an increase in the number of benches by means of a reduction in the number of judges required to form a chamber. Unfortunately the difficulty of obtaining the necessary agreement of all the Powers to certain measures of reform proposed by the Government has hitherto proved insurmountable. I greatly fear, therefore, that in spite of the efforts of the many capable judges who compose these Courts, little substantial improvement in their general efficiency and output can be looked for under existing circumstances.

"As regards the Native Tribunals, considerable progress has been made since I was last in Egypt. The number of summary Courts has been substantially increased, and the institution of Merkaz Tribunals has brought justice very much nearer to the doors of the people, though in this respect I consider a further extension might be made. The work is undoubtedly heavy, but the arrears are nowhere large, and justice is in general administered by the native judges with efficiency and despatch. Indeed, it frequently happens that foreigners assign their claims to natives in order to get them dealt with rapidly in the Native Courts. Though I am glad thus to be able to record a great advance in the morale and capacity of the native judiciary, there should be no relaxation in the efforts of all concerned to inspire among the whole community implicit confidence in the administration of justice by the native magistrates.

In dealing with the financial situation of Egypt the report reproduces at some length some remarks of Sir Paul Harvey, the Financial Adviser to the Khedive, included in his Note on the Budget of 1912, the substance of which was furnished to us by our Cairo correspondent and published in the *Times* of January 8th. Lord Kitchener states that he entirely concurs with the Financial Adviser's statement of the satisfactory features of the situation, which, he adds, "are in great measure due to the prudent economics realized in past years, and which reflect the greatest credit on the wise and careful administration of the resources of the country by Sir Paul Harvey."

The accounts for 1911 were published in March and a brief summary of their results appeared in the *Times* of March 12th. The total revenue for the year was £E16,793,000, and the expenditure £E14,872,000, leaving a surplus of £E1,921,000. The revenue exceeded that for 1910 by £E827,000 and was greater by £E425,000 than that for 1907, in which year the highest revenue previously recorded was collected. A saving of £E128,000 was effected in the actual as compared with the estimated expenditure.

After various sections dealing with the Departments of Agriculture, Public Works, Education, Interior, Public Health and Justice, the report, so far as Egypt is concerned, concludes with a short review of the military situation —

"In all the operations carried out during the year the Army has borne itself with credit and shown that it is thoroughly efficient in every respect.

"In Egypt the military situation remains unchanged.

"The distribution of the available troops in the Sudan is determined by the desire to concentrate in suitable stations, whence striking forces can be speedily despatched to any threatened locality, and at the same time to guard the extensive frontiers from any hostile raids or invasion.

"Operations are in progress against the Beir tribe, who had been engaged in continual raids on the Dinkas.

"With a view to checking the arms traffic, it has been decided to occupy the country from Sobat to Uganda along the Abyssinian frontier.

"A beginning has been made with the formation of a locally enlisted force in Mongalla for service in that province, and it is hoped to extend this system to Behr-el-Ghazal."

In his introduction to the section of the report devoted to the Sudan Lord Kitchener calls attention to the visit of the King and Queen in January and the effect which it has exercised on the tribes:

"It is impossible to over-estimate the excellent effect which this visit has produced throughout the country. It has succeeded in bringing home to the people the great interest which His Majesty the King takes in their welfare, while many of them have had the satisfaction of seeing His Majesty in person. After the departure of Their Majesties the Sheiks and notables assembled at Khartum to discuss the affairs of the Sudan with Government officials, and it was very evident from their conversation how greatly they had been impressed by all they had seen and heard."

Lord Kitchener goes on to state that the experiments in cotton growing in the Sudan have been completely successful. The opening up of this new field of enterprise leads to the consideration of population. Before the Dervish conquest the number of inhabitants amounted to about nine millions. The rule of the Mahdi and his successor reduced this, however, to two millions. Under British rule the numbers have already increased to three millions which, it is expected, will be doubled in the next five years. The prosperity of the inhabitants has increased by leaps and bounds, and to-day it may be said that there is hardly a poor man in the Sudan. A surplus of £E145,000 is anticipated on the ordinary revenue.

Lord Kitchener then proceeds to deal comprehensively with all the various branches of internal administration, and an interesting statement on frontier affairs is added. In speaking of the Abyssinian frontier the report says:—

"The eastern frontier districts have been comparatively undisturbed. As a result of representations by His Majesty's Minister at Addis Ababa, the Abyssinian Government have taken action which should prevent the recurrence of the raids which have been prevalent in past years.

"On the southern frontier the position is less satisfactory. During the year there were four armed raids on a large scale by the Anuaks, and the Sudan Government are now organizing a force to be despatched to the disturbed region in order to restore tranquillity. If there is to be any hope of putting an end to the Anuak raids, the Abyssinian Government will have to co-operate with the Sudan authorities in procuring either a general disarmament of the Anuak tribe or in introducing some measure for the repression of the arms traffic in Abyssinia, which is directly responsible for the present disturbances."

After mentioning that most cordial relations exist between the officials of the Sudan Government and those of the Belgian Congo, Eritrea, and the French Congo, the report proceeds to deal in the following terms with the question of arms traffic:—

"The Sudan Government have shown great activity in dealing with the question of arms traffic. The aim of the Government is to confine the possession of a rifle, with a strictly limited supply of ammunition, to a few of the most loyal and influential chiefs, and to disarm the remainder of the natives. North of latitude 13°deg this policy has been partially realized. South of this latitude, although much progress has been made, complete disarmament must await the development of administrative control. An important factor in suppressing the trade has been the order, promulgated in July, adding sulphur to the list of articles whose import into the Sudan is prohibited. The desert barrier of the Northern Sudan, the rigid precautions taken at the Nile and Red Sea ports, and the presence of the French and Belgians on the western and southern frontiers, as of the British in Uganda and East Africa, are factors which should enable the Sudan authorities to deal thoroughly with this traffic, which is the chief obstacle to the extension of civilization and tranquillity. On the eastern frontier alone a situation exists which gives cause for serious apprehension. Constant patrolling of the frontier, however, has done much to regulate the evil, though the inability of the Abyssinian Government to exercise any control, especially in the Anuak region, has had a most disastrous effect. In this district the Anuak armed raids have resulted in desperate efforts being made by their Nuer victims to obtain rifles at any cost, and smuggling is rife. The Sudan Government are endeavouring to deal with this situation by arresting the Galla parties who are trading rifles for ivory with the Nuer, and by diverting into authorized channels the extensive ivory trade which is the direct cause of the Anuak raids.

"It is, however, evident that nothing short of the establishment of a strong and capable administration of the Anuak country and Galla districts near the frontier can be of much effect in putting an end to the present state of affairs."

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Reuter wires from Constantinople.—The Minister of the Interior projects the establishment of a corps of inspectors to control officials in the vilayets of the Empire beginning with Macedonia. They will rank after the valis. He proposes to engage Englishmen.

Reuter wires from Rome.—The Chamber of Deputies has agreed to establish a Ministry for the Colonies.

Reuter wires from Tripoli:—While a wagon-load of shells was being unloaded here yesterday, one shell exploded killing one officer and seven bluejackets, while three bluejackets were injured.

A serious mutiny has broken out among the troops in Macedonia, some two hundred Albanians at Monastir, Ochrida, and Perlepe deserting with arms and joining the Albanian insurgents south of Ipek. It is believed that the mutiny is a revolt against the Young Turk régime and that a number of ex-Deputies are involved.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

REUTER'S Constantinople correspondent telegraphs.—According to a semi-official statement issued here, the Italians have executed two inhabitants of Derna, one for having returned to the town without permission, and the other for having refused to be enrolled in the native legion and for having torn his Italian uniform, which he was forced to wear. The native stoutly refused to enlist, preferring to die rather than fight his co-religionists.

Reuter's Constantinople correspondent says a telegram from Smyrna of Friday's date reports that the Italians have bombarded Plaka, near Scalanova, to the south of Smyrna.

A Smyrna message says the bombardment at Scalanova by Italians is confirmed. Two vessels fired ninety shells and then withdrew. Another account says the town itself was not bombarded, but the fire was directed at the military camp outside. All is quiet at Smyrna, but anxiety prevails.

The following semi-official statement has been issued, says Reuter's Athens correspondent.—On the occasion of the Italian National Festival, a committee from the Aegean Islands, now at Alexandria, sent a telegraphic appeal to King Victor Emmanuel, Signor Giolitti, the Italian Premier, and the Presidents of the Italian Senate and Chamber of Deputies, in which expression was given to the hope of the islanders that Italy, the liberator, would complete the work already begun by giving the captured islands the same autonomy as that enjoyed by Samos, or by uniting them with that island.

Telegrams were also despatched by the committee to Mr. Asquith and Lord Kitchener at Malta calling attention to the arbitrary privileges which the Turks have always arrogated to themselves and to the dangers of a return to the old régime. The committee in this message likewise demand a grant of autonomy guaranteed by the Powers, like the system in force in Samos, or in the alternative the union of the islands with the Principality.

(FROM THE "MORNING POST" CORRESPONDENT.)

I learn from an official quarter that a despatch of the greatest importance has reached the Foreign Office from the British Embassy in Constantinople in connection with the efforts being made at mediation between Turkey and Italy by the Powers. The despatch for the first time sets out concisely and completely the terms upon which the Ottoman Government would consent to a cessation of hostilities, and as it exhibits a more reasonable attitude than has previously been the case, it is believed that it may necessarily strengthen the hands of Sir Edward Grey in his present efforts to bring about peace.

(FROM A "MORNING POST" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Asiria, May 24.

This morning early a large force of Italians came out eastwards of Bukeesh with the object of taking Sidi Said. After a fight lasting five hours they were again beaten back to their old position.

On the 20th the Italians also made a sortie from Bukeesh with five regiments of newly-arrived troops, having with them two guns and two mitrailleuses. They were beaten back and pursued right into the peninsula. The Turks entered Kaar (?) taking a great quantity of ammunition and some rifles. The quantity of bodies found strewn over the battlefield show that the Italian loss was very considerable. The Turks lost nine killed and 18 wounded.

Constantinople, May 27.

According to a report received at the Ministry of War, the fortifications of Barka, west of Benghazi, have been captured by Turkish forces, who hope to secure the town.

(FROM THE "DAILY NEWS" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, June 5.

The Government has summoned all Italian day labourers, piece labourers, skilled workmen, and foremen contractors in Turkey, whom the Turkish Government had exempted from the expulsion order, to return to Italy. The summons is made through the German Embassy at Constantinople, which is charged with the protection of Italian citizens in Turkey during the war.

Italians are informed that measures have been taken to provide them with work in Italy. It is not doubted that the summons will be obeyed. This exodus will, it is expected, seriously cripple Turkish industries.

The step is regarded as most significant. Evidently Italy contemplates further aggressive action against Turkey in the near future, and it is desired to remove Italians from any danger of attack by exasperated Turks at home.

A Reuter message from Constantinople gives the following detailed list of the classes which were not affected by the Turkish measure of expulsion:

1. Foremen and labourers employed in the building of railways.
2. All workmen using their hands, such as masons, painters, carpenters, lock-smiths, etc., and also all labourers paid daily. Musicians are, however, excepted even if they are in receipt of daily pay.
3. Aged people.
4. Single women dependent on themselves.
5. Persons entrusted with the care of the sick or aged.
6. Hospital doctors and surgeons.
7. Widows.
8. Monks and nuns.

The Italian employees of the Public Debt Administration, says the Constantinople message, have been granted leave, and are receiving travelling expenses and an indemnity.

(FROM THE "PIONEER'S" CAIRO CORRESPONDENT.)

Talking of the Italo-Turkish war reminds me that this past week the *Egyptian Gazette* received from its correspondent in the Turkish camp a long account on the trend of the campaign. From what he writes it would appear that the Italian reports of victorious actions are far from true and that the headway they have made against the Turks and Arabs is more of the nature of General Kurapatkin's famous "advance northwards" than anything else. The most advanced point of the Italian defences at Derna are but one kilometre distant from the sea, and their efforts to protect themselves from the attacks of the Arabs have proved unavailing, for night after night the latter have managed to get into their lines and inflict great injury on them.

By far the most interesting part of this despatch is in the reference to the now famous engagement of the 3rd March. The lie direct is given to the Italian version published by the *Neue Freie Presse*. The correspondent writes:—"According to him (the Vienna reporter) the Italians fought from morning to night with the greatest determination, several times charging the enemy with fixed bayonets, and chasing him from position to position. Now as a matter of fact up till about noon only our outposts were engaged . . . the attack begun by the outposts was later developed and a general attack on that flank was ordered . . . We saw whole battalions rushing up *en masse* to the support of the enemy's firing line which was being mostly effectively kept in check by a handful of Arabs. No advance in the true sense of the word was made throughout the day; they certainly threw out an additional flank firing line and of course its supporting and reserve lines, but they were the only troops who may have been said to have advanced in any direction and then only to lie down and do nothing at the first opportunity on reaching danger zone. . . . As for the bayonets, I don't think I saw even the gleam of one the whole day, and no Italian did anything with one, I am quite certain. In mid-afternoon they were so hard pressed that a movement rearwards was noticeable, but again receiving reinforcements they stood their ground for a little time urged on the whole while by their officers.

"Towards nightfall or about 5 P.M. the most amazing retreat I have ever imagined could be perpetrated by trained European

troops started. The post they had been occupying and which had been the bone of contention all day is about 1,000 metres from their big fortress. Along this route which appeared to us as a horizon we could see the Italian troops running in companies, in files, in fours, *en masse* and *en bloc* in the utmost disorder towards this nightly shelter. Had we had more troops at our command at the time that disgraceful retreat would have been converted into such a bloody defeat and utter disaster for the Italians that I doubt if 1,000 men of the division in action would have returned to their walls. The Italian report admits 150 casualties, and adds that the following day hundreds of bodies were found. Bodies, yes; but they do not say that they were Italian bodies nor do they admit the loss of some 100 rifles thrown away and which were that night brought back into camp. The bodies of seven officers were also found by us, but Italian officers... The Italian account also states that hundreds of the enemy were killed. The facts are 31 killed, 55 wounded."

According to this correspondent during the past few months the Italians have little by little been vacating the advanced posts held by them, the position which was the scene of the fight on 3rd March and which they had been in the habit of holding in the day time, was definitely abandoned by them at the end of the same month, and since then they have not ventured out of their lines. The Arabs, whilst they admire the Italian officers for their pluck, have the greatest contempt for the soldiers, who appear to be completely demoralised. This despatch is of interest since it gives the version of the trend of the war from the other side. Up to now we have had very one-sided accounts of the fighting, and it has all along certainly looked as if the actual position did not bear out the Italian version of success.

Situation in Albania.

THE following are the decisions taken by the Ottoman Government in execution of the measures adopted towards the Malissors.—

1. A general amnesty has been extended to all those who took part in the disorders and have since submitted. There has been no prosecution of any Malisor of this category.

2. It has been decided that the Malisor conscripts would do their military service in the Constantinople circonscription or in the vilayet of Scutari. There has been no necessity for carrying this decision into effect, as all the vilayet of Scutari has been exempted from military service this year.

3. The present Kaimakam of Touz speaks Albanian, and henceforward officials knowing that language will be chosen for the post of Kaimakam. The Mudirs of the communes will be chosen from among the Albanian Bairaktars and their salaries will be paid by the Government. To prevent strife the Sub-Governor had requested the Bairaktars to choose from their own numbers those who ought to be appointed Mudirs in the different nahiets, but as they could not agree upon their choice he has had to choose himself those who were most qualified for the positions of Mudirs. Thus three Mudirs have already been appointed to the Caza of Touz and nomination of the others will take place in the same way. Since the members of the Administrative Councils are elected by the population, the latter are free to choose those they think best qualified for the above posts.

4. Considering the precarious situation caused by the disorders, the Malissors will be exempt from taxation for two years. The taxes will then be assessed according to the economical condition of the population.

5. A Bill will be introduced in Parliament for the levying of one piastre only per head of sheep from the Malissors, to take effect from next year, as a sheep tax (Aghnam).

6. Leave is granted to the Malisor shepherds to carry arms, except in the towns and marketplaces. As almost all the Malissors are shepherds, this measure practically extends to the entire Malisor population.

7. The opening of primary schools at Chale, Chouch, Kastrati, Groda, Hioti and Clementi has been decided, where the language taught will be Albanian and the masters employed will be paid by the Government. Insuperable difficulties have, however, been encountered in the selection of masters. It was then decided to open in Scutari itself a boarding school for the young Malissors, but the Bairaktars refused to send their sons to that institution. It was then thought of opening one class-room, where the priests would teach; but the Malissors refused this solution as well. It was then decided to open two primary boarding schools—one at Touz and another at Zagori—so that the pupils will not have to go a great distance from home. The erection of three primary day schools has begun in three communes, and the Scutari boarding school, moreover, will serve as a public school for the young Malissors. Credits have already been allowed for all the schools.

8. The Government will construct roads and ways in all the communes inhabited by the Malissors.

9. Immediate orders have been given for the construction of these roads as soon as the Malissors return. Those already commenced are nearing completion. A thousand Turkish pounds have been allowed for the building of the causeway at Touz, where Malisor workmen will be employed.

10. A commission, having at its head an official from the vilayet of Scutari and a representative of the bishop, will be formed in each commune to fix the assistance to be extended to everyone who has suffered from the disorders, and those whose houses have been burnt down.

11. His Imperial Majesty the Sultan has granted 10,000 Turkish pounds assistance to the Malissors and the Government will add the necessary sum towards their relief.

12. Every Malisor returning to his home will receive a certain quantity of maize seeds and certain help in money proportionate to his needs.

The following sums have been allowed up to March 26th by the Imperial Government as regards the expenses mentioned in paragraphs 10, 11 and 12.—

	Piastres.	Parsas.
For those houses which have been burnt down ..	4,802,284	14
Maize and other food reliefs ..	1,787,109	06
One pound relief per individual ..	763,754	16
Rewards to the Chiefs ..	12,414	24
Weighing, costs of carriage by land and sea, warehousing, porters and other similar expenses	69,776	32
Indemnities paid for losses experienced by that part of population which did not join the insurrection and for damages caused to the churches and to the priests' belongings ..	326,574	31
Officials' travelling and other expenses ..	60,305	31
Total ..	7,822,217	34
Price of maize to be distributed until the end of June ..	700,000	...
Grand total ..	8,522,217	34

The following are fresh decisions on the part of the Inquiry Commission presided by Hadji Adil Bey, and of which Mr. Graves is a member as regards the further demands of the Malissors:—

1. Upon the presentation of a list by the archbishop a sum of 4,200 Turkish pounds had been allowed for the damage caused to the religious objects of the churches and to the priests' belongings, of which sum only 2,200 Turkish pounds had been paid for the religious objects. It has been decided to pay the remainder of the above sum.

2. As the inhabitants of Touz had asked for an indemnity of 300,000 piastres for their shops, which had been looted by the Malissors during the disorders and had afterwards accepted 40 per cent. of the said sum, a credit of 1,260 pounds had been allowed for the purpose.

3. As the insurgents at Kastrati had asked for an indemnity of 1,700 pounds for the loss of their cattle and chariots left at their habitations during the disorders, the said sum has been allowed by the Ottoman Government.

4. Some tribesmen who had joined in the insurrection and claimed no indemnity for damage suffered, have asked for relief as paupers. The Government have, in consequence, decided to grant them assistance also, in the form of maize out of the sum of 7,000 pounds allowed for that item.

The total expenses necessitated by the four above-mentioned demands amount to 11,946 Turkish pounds.

As the Ottoman Government have thus received kindly the demands drawn up after the disorders as well as the last four mentioned claims, the inhabitants of these districts having no longer any cause of complaint have since returned to their respective occupations.

Constantinople, June 5.

In the Chamber to-day the Minister of the Interior made his promised statement in reference to the situation in Albania. After alluding to recent events in that province, which he attributed to the work of agitators, and after denying that the Albanians contemplated a rising, the Minister said that the Government would do everything possible to consolidate internal security and to arrest and punish agitators. The Minister concluded with a eulogy of Albanian loyalty to the Throne, and added that the authorities in Albania had been instructed to explain to the population the intentions of the Government, which was anxious for their well-being, and in order to avoid irritating the people would only have recourse to arms should the Albanians be too aggressive. Finally, as a proof that the recent events were only of a local nature, the

Adil Bey said that during the past twenty days no further incident had occurred at Djakova, and a delay of forty-eight hours had been granted to the remainder of the Albanians in the hills to return to their homes.

The Chamber declared itself satisfied and applauded the Minister's statement.—*Reuter.*

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonika, June 5.

Though the Albanians remain massed near Ipek, there has been no further fighting. A Mission of Ulema has been sent to the rebels with an ultimatum to the effect that unless they return to their homes within forty-eight hours the army will proceed on a punitive expedition. In face of this new aggravation of the situation the optimism hitherto manifested in official circles has given way to a feeling of pessimism.

Constantinople, June 5.

Reports are current this evening that an Albanian armed gathering at Yunik, between Djakova and Ipek, having refused to disperse within forty-eight hours, has been attacked and scattered by a force from Djakova commanded by Ismail Fazil Pasha. News from other parts of Kossovo province is satisfactory.

Szumika, June 5.

Brief particulars are now to hand regarding the march to Ipek of Fadil Pasha with eight battalions from Djakova and of Hassan Bey with ten battalions from Mitrovitzn. Hassan Bey's force was the first to get into touch with the rebels. A two hours combat resulted in the defeat of the Albanians and the entry of the troops into Ipek. The actual losses appear to be unknown, but apparently they were not heavy on either side. Fadil Pasha succeeded in reaching Ipek without incident and is now encamped two hours from the town.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" BELGRADE CORRESPONDENT.)

In a long article, published to-day (June 1st), the *Ergebnisse Glasnik*, the most highly esteemed Servian paper, gives renewed warnings, and puts forward fresh suggestions on a subject which seems to haunt and terrorise all Servians. It is always that nightmare, the foe of Servia, it is said, that threatens complications in the Balkan peninsula, always the existence of Servia which is threatened. This is an incubus that no Servian can shake off.

The present unrest in Albania does not accord with the wishes of the more enlightened Albanians. These local uprisings are not the spontaneous movements of an oppressed people. They are instigated by the local chiefs, who receive support from abroad, which renders suppression all the more difficult.

Before 1910, says the *Z-gornjanski Glasnik*, when it was of frequent occurrence that Servians were killed and deprived of their property by Albanian bands, no European paper mentioned the subject. Nor did Europe take any notice when the Turkish Government seized a large quantity of arms that came from Herzegovina, or when an Albanian band obtained ten thousand small arms from an Austrian magazine, which it was supposed they had stolen. Europe ceased to be deaf and blind to these foreign interventions only when Turkish guns began to thunder against the revolutionaries, when the ordinary combats developed into a species of civil war and autonomy was demanded for Albania. Only then is it discovered that the demands of Albanian plunderers are justifiable and that they also have a right to freedom—which, according to Albanian ideas, represent disorder, violence and anarchy.

The present uprising in the districts between Petren and Prizrend, the journal continues, has a grave aspect, because Turkey is now engaged in a war. When it is borne in mind that Austrian and Italian propagandists are actively at work in Albania and Old Servia, and when one considers that Italy and her allies do all they can to stir up the Albanian element, it is easy to perceive the source of serious complications in the Balkans!

The Reform Commission.

In the course of a recent tour through Macedonia and Albania, Mr. M. H. Donohoe, the *Daily Chronicle's* enterprising correspondent, came across Hadji Adil Bey's Reform Commission at work at Ohrida. Some particulars of his own adventures and experiences, which he gives in an article published on 28th May show that travel in these parts is not without excitement, but perhaps the most interesting part of his letter is that in which he reports the opinions of Hadji Adil Bey and Mr. Graves, the financial expert and English member of the mission, upon the result of their tour. "Albania," said the Minister, "was reconciled and grateful, for she had been set upon the road that led to peace and progress."

Touching upon Macedonia, he asserted that no Turkish Cabinet would ever be found willing to discuss the question of autonomy. However much agitators might endeavour to incite the people to

revolt, he felt that the influence of the bands in the various vilayets was diminishing. Administrative reforms were being carried out, and the Government was acting in a firm but, at the same time, conciliatory spirit. By this means they hoped to alienate the public sympathy that had hitherto been shown towards the revolutionary organisations. When this had been accomplished Bulgarian bands would cease to exist in Macedonia, for when not killed or captured they would die of inanition resulting from public indifference to their propaganda.

Mr. Graves, when asked for his opinion regarding the work of the mission, was even more enthusiastic than the Minister, and unhesitatingly declared that it had accomplished a great deal of good. The results so far had exceeded his most sanguine anticipations. He had nothing but admiration to express for the way the minister had grappled with the various economic and administrative problems encountered on the journey. From avowed enemies he had converted the Mahsures into ardent friends. By reason of the present treatment of the Albanians it was clear that the Government had seen the errors of its ways, and was now by wise and generous measures attempting to make reparation for past administrative neglect. The Government had taken a great step forward in the handling of the Albanian question, and he felt convinced that the ultimate results would prove that it was well worth the price the experiment was costing.

With the Turkish Forces in Tripoli.

(FROM A "MORNING POST" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Tunis (Turkish Headquarters), May 1.

While I was at Tunis I heard of the occupation of Bukemesh by the Italians. Accordingly I put off my visit to Mesrata, and after travelling for six days on end arrived on 23rd April in the new camp at Sidi Said, near Bukemesh. I have already telegraphed details of the big fight at Bukemesh, which was very severe. The Italians advanced under the protection of the guns of nine warships—three cruisers, three destroyers, and three torpedo boats—and their newly constructed fortifications. The Turco-Arabs, after a conflict which raged from 6 A.M. to 1 P.M., succeeded in driving the enemy back and getting into their trenches. The Italians retired towards the sea, and took refuge in their old fort, while the guns of the warships prevented the Turks and Arabs from advancing further. The Turks, however, succeeded in taking two small mountain guns to within 900 yards of the Italian fort and effectively silencing the fire of the latter. Their losses were 32 killed and over 100 wounded. The Italians, probably anxious to avenge their defeat, started a vigorous bombardment of Sidi Said in the afternoon. The warships wasted a tremendous amount of shells and shrapnel, which were strewn all over the unoccupied ground outside the Turkish camp, but did no harm whatever.

I gather that the Italians wish the world to believe that they have succeeded in stopping the road to supplies coming from the Tunisian frontier by the route which I took myself when joining the Turkish Army. As a matter of fact the caravans abandoned that road some time ago in order to avoid the fire of the Italian warships, and have since taken one of the five or six which run further south, and which the Italians, if they proceed at the same rate as during the last seven months, will not be able to reach for several years. I may add that provisions enough to keep the population of the country alive for the next year or two are stored in different places and the rainy year has produced, even in this arid country, a fine crop of wheat, the principal foodstuff of the Arab, besides the dates which grow abundantly everywhere. The story that the Turco-Arab Army is starving is absurd. The spirit of the Arabs is excellent, and they are confident that the Italians will find plenty of occupation for the next hundred years should they insist on remaining in the country.

I am the only active correspondent left here except Mr. Seppings Wright. The remainder have gone away, either for reasons of health or from weariness at the protracted campaign. This morning an Italian airship appeared and dropped about a dozen bombs over the camp. It was market day, and there were thousands of Arabs in the market, but not a single bomb fell in the crowd. The Turks fired a few shots from one of the mountain guns, on which the airship left again in the direction of Tripoli.

Interview with Signor Giolitti.

(FROM THE "DAILY CHRONICLE.")

Rome, May 30.

At his office in the famous Braschi Palazzo, Signor Giolitti was kind enough to receive me yesterday. His greeting was characteristically direct. "I am glad," he said, "to welcome you as the representative of a great English newspaper which has done much for Italy." The premier, who is in his 70th year, although he looks decidedly younger, is a man with a curiously quiet manner, a softly

modulated voice seemingly at variance with his sharp searching eyes and a face full of determination. Frugal as he is of speech and sparing of rhetoric, there is a sort of sledge-hammer directness about his statements and phraseology which removed all possibility of misconception and carries conviction. We talked of the war and the prospect of an early peace.

"We are quite willing and ready to treat with Turkey now as we have been from the first," he said; "but whether Turkey sues for peace to day, to-morrow or a year hence, it will have to be on the basis originally laid down by us—that as a preliminary she recognises our sovereign rights over Tripoli and Cyrenacia. This was our stipulation at the beginning, and we have not receded from the position then taken up, nor will we recede from it."

"Some misconception seems to have arisen as to the action of the Italian Parliament in regard to Tripoli. There has been talk of a decree of annexation. Now there has been no annexation in the sense of making Tripoli and Cyrenacia an integral part of the kingdom of Italy. What we have done is to proclaim our sovereign rights over the territories in question. Much stress has been laid upon this point of annexation by Turkey, but there is a difference—an important difference—and—

"I should be glad if you would draw special attention to this. The distinction between outright annexation and the proclaiming of sovereign rights over Tripoli is of especial importance to the Moslem inhabitants to whom we have guaranteed inviolable liberty, justice, and certain special rights and privileges. These latter include the free, unhampered exercise of their religion and the continuance of their old established laws and customs. What has really taken place is that the overlordship of the territory in question has been transferred from the Sultan of Turkey to the King of Italy."

"Our country has never countenanced religious persecution, and under the Italian flag full liberty of conscience is assured to the Mussulmans of Tripoli and the rest of the country. No one realises this better than the late victims of Ottoman misrule in Tripoli, who are showing their sentiments very clearly and unmistakably by voluntarily accepting our protection and by subscribing, as they are doing every day, to the funds for the relief of the Italian wounded."

"A Turkish statesman recently made a sneering allusion to the doubtful quality of the civilisation which we had promised to carry into Tripoli. But what have been the blessings which Turkish civilisation has brought there? Has it not meant a country steeped in ignorance, no schools, no roads, no railways and, above all, an unfortunate population groaning under the degrading yoke of the slave dealer and the trafficker in human souls? Need I say more?" he asked with a deprecatory wave of his hand. "The inhabitants of Tripoli have only been too glad to relinquish the 'blessings' of Turkish rule and avail themselves of the advantages offered by the Italian occupation."

"Turkey is grossly deceiving herself if she really imagines that the Mussulmans of Tripoli are seriously concerned at the collapse of the Turkish power in the province, or that they are eager to take arms on behalf of the Sultan. It is true that in the hinterland some of the Arab tribes are fighting against us, urged on to resistance by Turkish officers, but these unhappy people do not understand what the struggle is about and that Italy has come in the guise of a friend and liberator seeking to promote their moral and material welfare, and not as an enemy bent upon their extermination."

That the end must come soon was the Premier's closing theme.

Italy in her might had hitherto been merciful, but her patience was nearly exhausted. Shortly she would be compelled to strike hard, and, if that did not bring about Turkey's submission, she would need to strike still harder. Italy could and would go on indefinitely, Signor Giolitti stated, with calm confidence. Her finances were in an excellent condition, and her people unanimous in wishing for the continuance of the war on lines which would bring assured victory to the Italian flag.

"You have seen our people," said Signor Giolitti, "you have had opportunities for observing and talking with them. Am I not right in saying that in the present war Italy speaks but with one voice?" And I felt bound to give an emphatic assent to this asseveration.

"No," he said, in reply to a further question, "the expulsion of our Nationals by the Turkish Government has not embarrassed us in the least. Money has been freely subscribed for their assistance, and the majority of them have already found remunerative employment in Italy."

"And the talked of international peace conference?" I asked. "That," said the Premier, with his quiet smile, "is a matter I prefer not to discuss just now. Shall we not wait a little while and see whether it passes from the region of hypotheses into that of actuality?"

M. H. DONOSTUA.

The Expulsion of Italians.

Turkish Official Explanation.

THE following, Reuter's Agency is informed, are the reasons given by the Turkish Government for deciding upon the expulsion of Italian subjects residing in Turkey;

"In consequence of the unexpected difficulties which she encountered from the start of her expedition against Tripoli and Benghazi and of her powerlessness then and now to break down the resistance offered to her on land, Italy believed herself justified in making use of every means to force indirectly the Imperial Ottoman Government and the Ottoman nation to cede to her the provinces which she has not succeeded in occupying with her troops

"The Ottoman Government has indeed no legal right to object to the advantages which Italy may derive in this struggle from her superiority at sea. The Ottoman Government itself has profited on land as much as possible and with perfect legitimacy from certain advantages which the peculiar nature of the patriotic ardour of its inhabitants have given the defence. But the methods against which the Ottoman Government is not only justified in protesting, but is bound to protest and take counter measures, are those which Italy is using contrary to international law and to the principles laid down at The Hague Conference and in defiance even of humanity and civilisation. It is superfluous to recall here the massacres of thousands of inhabitants of Tripoli, and the wholesale deportation of an entire population, actions against which the whole universe protested.

"The Ottoman Government at that time restrained the shudder of indignation and the call for reprisals which these cruelties aroused throughout the Empire, and abstained from replying, as it would have been fully entitled to do, by the expulsion of all Italians from Turkey.

"This restraint was ill interpreted by Italy and served but to encourage her to act towards Turkey as if all these rules did not exist. After the measures which have been mentioned above she continued intentionally to violate every custom of modern warfare, bombarding unprotected towns, under the pretext of firing at some disarmed gunboats, daily dropping bombs from her balloons and aeroplanes, contrary to the declaration of The Hague, on civilian inhabitants. Turkish troops and ambulances. She stopped a hospital ship to which she had granted a special safe conduct, and this with a view to preventing a few unfortunate sick and wounded men of the Turkish Yemen Army from returning to their native country in search of life and health, she took as prisoners of war all the crew, including the sick-bay attendants, of this hospital ship as well as other non-combatants taken by her warships from neutral ships.

"Finally, when landing recently on Rhodes and the neighbouring islands, the Italians made prisoners of the representatives and agents of the authorities, whose duties have no relation to military operations, and even the Judges of the Courts. Again, with the evident intention of sowing discord and distrust among the elements of the population, they have systematically tried to take also as prisoners of war to Italy inhabitants who have no official capacity; and, what is more serious, they have ostentatiously shown favour to the Christian population by putting all sorts of restrictions on the liberty of the Musselman population, who have been confined like prisoners in their own quarters.

"The Ottoman Government could bring forward this well-founded indignation of public opinion as justification in itself for the order of expulsion against Italian residents in Turkey. The Government has, however, thought fit to show by the above that it was only forced to adopt this measure, after showing great forbearance, by the conduct of the enemy, and it would point out that the greater part of Italy's actions are formally prohibited by The Hague Conference. The right of wholesale expulsion is, however, one of those measures of war which The Hague Conference did not desire to condemn."

Italian Official Reply.

THE following semi-official *communiqué* has been issued in Rome in contradiction to the statement recently issued by the Ottoman Government to justify the wholesale expulsion of Italian subjects from the territory of the Turkish Empire.

1. It is untrue that several thousand Arabs of Tripoli have been massacred or deported. In consequence of the events of October last, a certain number of Tripoli Arabs were necessarily executed. A more considerable number were deported to Italy as an unavoidable measure of public order; many of these have already been able to return to Tripolitania and Cyrenaica.

2. It is untrue that the Italian fleet has bombarded unprotected towns under the pretext of sinking a few disarmed gunboats. In all the bombardments which have taken place only ships, barracks, or military establishments have been hit.

3. It is untrue that bombs have been thrown from aeroplanes at defenceless civilian inhabitants or Ottoman ambulances. The bombs, the use of which is not forbidden by existing Conventions, have always been thrown at groups of combatant enemies.

4. It is untrue that an Ottoman hospital ship has been arbitrarily arrested. The ship *Kaisarie* was, according to the existing Conventions, regularly searched by the Royal warships. As it was ascertained that the ship did not fulfil the conditions required by the same Conventions and was undoubtedly intended for war purposes, the ship was captured and detained at Massowah. The crew, whom it was impossible to consider as sanitary personnel, were made prisoners.

5. It is true that some few officials and citizens of Rhodes, who were all known as active members of the Committee of Union and Progress, have been taken prisoners. But this step was taken as a temporary measure of public order and also as a reprisal, allowed by international law, against the illegal and prolonged detention by Turkey of the members of the Italian Mineralogical Mission—this mission was travelling in the interior of Tripolitania when the war was declared—and of several Italian citizens who had nothing to do with the warlike operations.

6. It is not true that the Italian authorities have imposed restrictions on the liberty of the Moslem population in their own quarters. All the inhabitants of Rhodes, as well as those of the occupied islands, have been treated, irrespective of their religious creed, with equal benevolence and kindness by the Italian authorities. No measure has been taken which could in the least way injure the Moslem population in the exercise of their faith. A great quantity of victuals was delivered to the Cadi to be distributed among the poor Moslem.

In the general principles, although the Italian Government has not yet ratified The Hague Convention, it has taken the greatest care, throughout the whole conduct of the war, to act in full accordance with the rules of that International Act.

With these proceedings it is sufficient to contrast the incredible acts of ferocity committed against the Italian soldiers by the Arabs, under the command of Turkish officers and also the numerous outrages and vexations of all kinds to which the peaceful Italians in Turkey have been subjected up to the very moment of their wholesale expulsion from the Empire.

Suggested Conference.

(FROM THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople. May 29.

For several days past political circles and the Turkish newspapers have been seriously concerned with the question of the possible meeting of a Congress or Conference for the solution of the Italo-Turkish conflict. The newspapers display great hostility to the idea, recalling the fact that from all previous Conferences or Congresses Turkey has come out a loser. Even those journals which do not absolutely reject the plan of a Conference, such as the *Jeune Turc* and the *Iktibam*, demand not only that the programme shall be strictly confined to the Tripolitan question, but that Turkey shall receive a previous assurance that the discussions shall proceed on the basis of the complete and effective maintenance of Ottoman sovereignty.

The more Radical *Tarzis* will have nothing to do with a Conference. It admits that a termination of hostilities would be very desirable, but it can see no acceptable solution except war at The Hague, admitting the hypothesis of a juridical debate before disinterested legislators, but preferring the fortunes of war to the Machiavellism of diplomacy. The *Hakk*, and even the very moderate *Sabah*, declare themselves quite as plainly against the idea of a Conference.

This attitude of the newspapers is an exact reflection of the general opinion of the Army and Parliament, and even of the lower classes of the people, who are unwilling to accept at any price the idea of the cession of Tripolitania, and apprehend that the object of the Conference may be a compulsory cession. This current of opinion, the direction and intensity of which are obvious, is not without its influence on diplomatic circles in Constantinople, and on certain members of the Cabinet whose tendencies are specially pacific.

Last autumn I reported to *The Daily Telegraph* the pressing advice given to the Sublime Porte by the German and Austrian

Ambassadors to hasten the solution of the conflict, on the basis of similar clauses to those of the Austro-Turkish protocol relating to Bosnia and Herzegovina, and at the same time I mentioned that certain members of the Cabinet were moved by this advice, which was rendered increasingly attractive by the accessory suggestion of the entry of Turkey into the Triple Alliance, either directly or through Roumanian mediation, which was held glitteringly before their eyes, and which was held represented as the sole and assured means of saving Albania and Macedonia.

Since then there has been a great development of ideas. The conviction of the profoundly national character of the resistance to Italy caused Said Pasha to assume a still more uncompromising attitude, which found expression in the drafting of the Speech from the Throne, and the decision in favour of a general expulsion of Italians. To-day particularly conciliatory statesmen, still under the spell of the accession of Turkey to the Triple Alliance, conceive as the limit of admissible compromises the cession of Tripoli and Homs to Italy under the reservation of a guarantee of a privileged position for the Mussalmans inhabitants, and the Turkish maintenance of Cyrenaica and the whole of the hinterland. But even this combination is declared to be unacceptable by the immense majority of politicians.

As for the diplomatic body, I have been enabled to discover that even the Ambassadors who are particularly well disposed towards Italy, seem now to regard it as undeniable that the Italian decree of annexation was a mistake, and that no combination would appear to be practicable which does not contain some formula for safeguarding the principle of the sovereignty of the Caliph. I have reason to believe that efforts are now being directed towards discovering such a formula which would satisfy Turkey and at the same time honour the *amour propre* of Italy. In other words, an "Italian Egypt," have been pronounced, but this very simple formula was so badly received in Ottoman circles that it appears to have been abandoned and the search for possible combination continues.

Appeal For Destitute Arabs.

The Times received from Mr Alan Ostler of Stafford Royde, Halifax, a letter describing the sufferings of the Arabs in Tripoli and endorsing Captain Dixon-Johnson's appeal published in *The Times*. He writes—

"Unfortunately, the suffering of a few thousand dirty and uncivilized women and children slowly starving to death in the wilderness do not seem to appeal to the popular imagination as forcibly as do those of people of our own kind upon whom disaster has fallen in a more dramatic manner. Nevertheless, I venture to hope that some feeling of sympathy with a people who are gallantly resisting what they hold to be an attempt to rob them of their homes and their country will induce English people to send just a little of the help which they so sorely need."

"It is astonishing how far a very small subscription can be made to go amongst the desert folk, for whom flour and oil make a sumptuous repast. I have seen, in the barrack-square of Azizia, how two women and children can be fed upon hardly more than 25 francs' worth of coarse food. And when so little is needed to stand between these poor creatures and death by starvation, one is not afraid to appeal once more to a public which has just given so freely in aid of sufferers whose case, though more dramatic, is assuredly no more dreadful."

Mr G. F. Abbott, who has spent several months in Tripoli as correspondent to various journals, wrote to the *Times* in connection with the appeals which are being made on behalf of the Tripoli Arabs—

"The condition of those poor people is pitiable beyond description. I have never in any part of the world seen poverty like theirs. Day after day during all the months I spent on the spot women and children might be seen going about the various Turkish camps picking up the grains of barley which the horses had dropped, or even searching in the dung, and when they had collected a handful eating it. When human beings have come to live on the droppings of beasts I think the limit of misery has been reached. The Turks are doing their very best to alleviate this misery. Food is doled out to the sufferers at each camp, but the quantity of these doles is necessarily limited by the necessities of the troops and varies according to the arrival or non-arrival of provision-bringing caravans. In spite of all the assistance rendered locally, there still is ample room for help from outside, and I earnestly hope that such help will not be withheld in a country which is always ready to succour the distressed."

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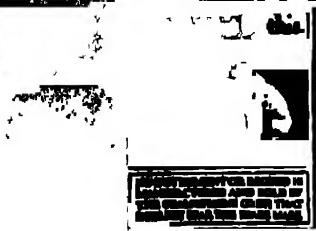
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۱۵

حمد بشیر الدین جنیجر اسلامیہ ہائی اسکول اتناوہ

22-6-12.

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